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Comunicação, mídia e consumo

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Foreword

In the last edition of the CMC magazine in 2017, the highlight is an article that is highly awaited by the scholars who participated in the International Congress in Communication and Consumption (Comunicon) 2016, organized by the PPGCOM (Post Graduate Program in Communication) at ESPM, the keynote conference of Néstor García Canclini, which was never published before, and now is fully available in our magazine. In this study, the author of the classic Consumers and citizens promotes the notion of "access" to update the debate on communication and consumption nowadays. In order to comprise this promotion, Canclini approaches generational issues about consumption related with practices in the digital environment and discusses complex themes such as participation and citizenship. More than bringing a closed circuit of ideas, Canclini invites us to think, brings up issues and points out many developments of his main theme of access as consumption to inspire future dialogues.

The articles within this edition materialize, in different ways, aspects dealt by Canclini: it is the case of "Quilombolas on WhatsApp", in which the access of digital media is inserted in the field of fight for recognition. The dialogue with the theme of consumers-citizens is even closer in the text of Jéssica Retis, who discusses the cultural consumption of latin American immigrants in Spain. The issue of migration is also present in the article "Macroposiciones y legitimación", discussed through the analysis of representations in the anglo-saxon and Hispanic press in the United States of America.

The generational theme comes back in the text "Funk e MacDonald's", which focuses on the symbolic negotiations and disputes generated

from the advertisement campaign Novinhos Cheddar. The cultural consumption is debated from the notions of autonomy, canon and value in the article "What's Going On é o Sgt. Pepper's da soul music'" and in the analysis of practices around the game League of Legends.

To close the edition, we have a connection established around the mainstream cinematic production in the article "The superhuman in the successful cinematic imaginaries" and the notion of televisual frame proposed by the study which discusses the "re-settings of the ways of watching TV". The review on the book Rádio e mídias sociais: media-ções e interações radiofônicas em plataformas digitais de comunicação, by Marcelo Kischinhevsky (Uerj), complements this issue of CMC magazine, in which we identify an intricate web of crossings - around cultural consumption, symbolic clashes, fights and movements around participation and recognition, mediatic production and its different forms of access.

We wish you a great reading and an excellent 2018 to all of our readers.

Denise Cogo and Vander Casaqui
Editors of CMC Magazine

Sumário

Artigos

A R T I C L E

Del Consumo al Acceso: Viejos Y Jóvenes en La Comunicación

From Consumption To Access: Old and Young People in Communication

Néstor García Canclini[1]

Resumen: *Este artículo fue elaborado especialmente para la Conferencia Magna impartida durante el COMUNICON – Congreso Internacional en Comunicación y Consumo (organizado por el Programa de Postgrado en Comunicación y Prácticas de Consumo de la Escuela Superior de Propaganda y Marketing (ESPM), el 13 de octubre de 2016, en São Paulo, Brasil. El trabajo dialoga con la obra clásica Consumidores e Cidadãos (1995) a fin de actualizar la discusión sobre el consumo a través de la noción de acceso. Así, trata de cuestiones generacionales, de las prácticas de consumo en el ámbito digital así como de las formas de participación y ciudadanía en la contemporaneidad.*

Palabras clave: *consumo; juventud; comunicación digital; participación; ciudadanía*

Abstract: *This article was prepared especially for the Magna Conference held during COMUNICON - International Congress on Communication and Consumption (organized by the Graduate Program in Communication and Consumer Practices at ESPM) on October 13, 2016, in São Paulo, Brazil. The work starts from the dialogue with the classic work Consumidores e Cidadãos - Consumers and Citizens- (1995) to update the discussion about consumption through the notion of access. In order to do so, it deals with generational issues*

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of the consumption practices related to the digital environment and the forms of participation and citizenship in contemporary times.

Keywords: *consumption; youth; digital communication; participation; citizenship*

Introducción

La escena parece copiada internacionalmente. Los abuelos reúnen a la familia los domingos en sus casas o en un restaurante. Los hijos, de 40 a 50 años, conversan con los padres, se interesan por su salud, comentan las noticias políticas o de sus trabajos. Entretanto, los hijos de los hijos, de entre 10 y 18 años, chatean o buscan imágenes, textos y músicas en sus celulares.

¿Estas conversaciones paralelas indican desconexión? ¿Hay un abismo entre hábitos comunicacionales y maneras de estar en la misma mesa, a la misma hora, entre distintas generaciones? Quizá no sea tan radical. Los padres y abuelos comentan las noticias políticas que leyeron en diarios y vieron en televisión; los adolescentes se informaron de algunos de esos hechos en ambientes digitales –Facebook, tuits- y hablan también de política pero poco de partidos, más bien de movimientos y causas. En algún momento las conversaciones se cruzan y discuten películas o series que interesan a todas las edades. La abuela oye que los nietos hablan de animes sobre cocina molecular y les pide que le cuenten de qué tratan. Un nieto le contesta, luego mira su iPhone y les recuerda al padre y al abuelo que está por comenzar el partido de fútbol que acordaron ver juntos.

Esta escena se repite, con pequeñas variaciones, en muchos países, pero no siempre con las interacciones fluidas de este relato. Gran parte de los mensajes mediáticos exaltan a los jóvenes como modelos de belleza y felicidad; envejecer, en cambio, es visto como una degradación que conviene retrasar con técnicas cosméticas y quirúrgicas. Las narrativas sobre la vejez son especialmente agrias con las mujeres, a las que la publicidad les exige mantenerse bellas y seductoras, a diferencia de los hombres, a los cuales – como anotan Maria Luiza Martins de Mendonça y Conceição Ferreira da Silva- se les atribuyen valores desvinculados de su imagen física, "por ejemplo, la madurez, el encanto, el poder y el éxito financiero" (MENDONÇA; SILVA, 2013, p. 124). Han avanzado, como estudian estas autoras, perspectivas distintas en películas y series televisivas –ellas analizan A *vovozinha*-, donde se estiman los placeres de

mujeres mayores, así como el mercado de la moda las reconoce como un nicho con diferencias legítimas.

La mayoría de los discursos subraya la alteridad generacional creada por distintos modos de socializarnos en la segunda mitad del siglo XX y en estos primeros años del XXI. El relato inicial evidencia la importancia de la comunicación y el consumo culturales en este distanciamiento. Quienes nos habituamos a informarnos en los diarios y la televisión, y a vincularnos con los bienes culturales en salas de cine, teatros y librerías, tenemos una visión territorializada de la oferta cultural y de su comunicación. Esos modos de consumir, que se ampliaron con la difusión televisiva, traían las noticias y los entretenimientos del mundo en horarios precisos y bajo una programación en la que solo participábamos como espectadores que se interesaban o dejaban vacías las butacas. Ser público implicaba modos diversos, no pasivos, de relacionarnos con los contenidos culturales, maneras diferentes de interpretarlos y usarlos luego en nuestra vida cotidiana, pero esa interactividad estaba limitada por decisiones que tomaban los proveedores de información y entretenimiento.

Cuando me pidieron esta conferencia, me propusieron como título el que había colocado en un artículo que escribí a principios de los años 90, "El consumo sirve para pensar", y que recogí en el libro *Consumidores y ciudadanos*, publicado tanto en español como en portugués en 1995. Supongo que la intención de los organizadores de este congreso era que actualizara aquel texto, cuyo título fue en ese momento provocativo para quienes asociaban consumo con consumismo y lo veían como una zona de gastos inútiles y compulsiones irracionales. En las dos décadas transcurridas desde entonces se ha vuelto común aceptar que el consumo es parte de la racionalidad económica y un recurso de distinción entre clases. Consumir es pensar, pues al elegir los productos ejercemos cierto discernimiento entre deseos, capacidad económica personal y a veces desciframos los engaños de la publicidad.

¿Qué ha cambiado desde aquella época en esta articulación entre estructuras de la oferta, comunicación de los productos y sujetos

consumidores? Muchos procesos que sería imposible resumir en esta conferencia. Quiero centrarme en unos pocos, que podemos condensar en la noción de *acceso*.

Jóvenes, padres y abuelos somos ahora consumidores de otro tipo. Siguen operando las antiguas distinciones económicas y educativas que dan diferentes capacidades de consumir. Pero los vínculos entre ofertas y consumidores cambian porque, junto a los lugares territorializados de oferta cultural, hay otras vías que expanden el acceso a los espectáculos y la información: la circulación digital es *trans*territorial. No hablo de comunicaciones desterritorializadas, sino que trascienden las fronteras nacionales sin eliminarlas. La recepción, por tanto, se ha transformado: podemos acceder a películas, periódicos, músicas, libros, blogs, y muchos etcéteras, importando poco el lugar en que estemos situados: la ciudad, el campo o una selva.

No se trata solo de una ampliación espacial, sino temporal. El menú rígido que proponía el diario al agrupar las noticias cada día para leerlas al día siguiente, o la televisión que prefijaba los días y horas de cada programa, son desafiados por los hábitos de los usuarios frecuentes de Internet. Los adolescentes y jóvenes eligen ver las películas, videos y series cuando quieren, donde quieren y con quienes quieren. Los poseedores de computadoras, celulares y tabletas de todas las edades experimentamos la libertad de escoger no solo los contenidos culturales sino los lugares y momentos en que nos relacionamos con ellos.

Sabemos que el predominio del acceso sobre el consumo está modificando las maneras de hacer periodismo impreso y en red, telenovelas y series, películas para exhibir en salas o en otras pantallas. Sin embargo, observamos resistencias de productores culturales y comunicacionales, no solo para cambiar sus prácticas sino las preguntas que nos hacíamos cuando estudiábamos estos procesos en términos de consumo.

Para entender la importancia prioritaria de *cambiar las preguntas* –no solo los soportes o el modelo de negocio- voy a resumir algunos hallazgos de la investigación antropológica sobre lectores que acabamos de realizar en México.

¿Cuánto o cómo se lee?

Un ejemplo elocuente de la dificultad de incorporar al consumo las nuevas preguntas sobre el acceso lo hallamos en las encuestas sobre lectura, hechas casi siempre desde la perspectiva de la cultura letrada. El cuestionario se elabora con la preocupación de que podrían desaparecer los libros, revistas y diarios ante el avance de dispositivos digitales.

En Brasil la encuesta sobre lectura efectuada en 2011 por el Instituto Pró-Livro, parte de una definición muy restrictiva de Leitor: "aquele que leu, inteiro ou em partes, pelo menos 1 livro nos últimos 3 meses". La encuesta registra que, entre 5 y 17 años, acceden a internet todos los días 20% de los entrevistados y 23% algunas veces por semana. De 18 a 29 años, el 30% todos los días y el 22% algunas veces por semana. Si bien 58% señala que usa internet para recreación o entretenimiento (que posiblemente incluya actividades no considerables como lectura: videojuegos, escuchar música y ver películas), 40% dice emplearlo para trabajo escolar/estudio/pesquisa y 42% para conocer personas y "trocar mensagens", prácticas que implican leer y a menudo escribir. Pero esas formas de lectura y escritura no siempre relacionadas con libros (o con su lectura completa) son subestimadas desde la propia definición del lector. La encuesta juzga como no lectores a quienes no leyeron ningún libro en los últimos tres meses. En esta misma lógica, se destacan dentro del uso de internet el acceso a "redes sociais o blogs que falem sobre livros ou literatura". ¿Por qué desestimar las muchas horas que cada día adolescentes, jóvenes y un buen número de adultos dedican a leer y escribir en Facebook y en otras redes sociales? La indagación hecha en otras preguntas sobre la "penetraçao da leitura de livros digitais" y los perfiles de estos lectores no es suficiente para comprender las frecuentes prácticas de lectura efectuadas en computadoras y celulares.

En las encuestas argentinas y mexicanas de lectura encontramos esta misma reducción del acto de leer a lo que se hace con libros, revistas y periódicos: en los dos países las encuestas llegan a la conclusión de que los argentinos y mexicanos leerían menos de 3 libros al año. Pero en esos mismos países los estudios sobre jóvenes muestran que los nacidos luego

de los años 80 del siglo XX van conociendo los libros, diarios y revistas junto con las computadoras y los videojuegos. Más de la mitad de la población tiene acceso a Internet en América Latina. Las pantallas y el papel son, desde los primeros aprendizajes, escenas en interacción. Los dispositivos digitales no sustituyen la cultura impresa; la reubican en otra configuración cultural y comunicacional.

Fue a partir de estas observaciones que decidimos cambiar las preguntas en un estudio antropológico no tanto sobre la lectura sino más bien sobre los lectores, que hicimos en 2014 y 2015 en la Ciudad de México. En primer lugar, averiguamos no *cuánto* se lee, sino *cómo* se lee. En vez de encuestas, realizamos etnografías registrando todas las relaciones con textos, cualquiera fuera su extensión. Prestamos atención a todos los modos de leer –en computadoras, tabletas y teléfonos móviles- junto a los cambios de las bibliotecas, la expansión de salas de lectura, libroclubes y ferias de libros.

Una primera conclusión: en todos los sectores sociales y edades buena parte de lo que se lee se hace por necesidades o proyectos. Esto es más evidente entre los jóvenes creativos. En vez de elegir qué y para qué leer de acuerdo con los cánones escolares o de la alta cultura, van leyendo según sus necesidades coyunturales: para estudiar una materia, postularse para obtener una beca o un trabajo, para comunicarse con sus amigos. Estas motivaciones variables corresponden al aumento de las lecturas breves, discontinuas, más próximas al *zapping* televisivo o digital que a las prácticas lectoras lineales, de textos completos, valoradas por la formación escolar. Como dijeron algunos escritores y artistas visuales entrevistados, pueden ser más productivas lecturas "de muchos principios y pocos finales". La computadora y los celulares contribuyen a este estilo en el que los soportes para leer son usados como centros de operaciones para múltiples tareas: se mezclan no sólo los textos y materiales de diversa índole, sino también las herramientas para gestionarlo. *"Tienes 17 ventanas en la computadora, 3 libros abiertos, una llamada telefónica, la música sonando y el gato entrando… y te acostumbras: ya*

no es ruido sino lo cotidiano" –explica una entrevistada (BICECCI; CO-BOS, 2015).

La observación etnográfica e histórica indica que no descendió el tiempo de lectura. La gran modificación reside en que no se hace solo en los tradicionales soportes en papel, sino también en pantallas. No leemos solo en los recintos clásicos, como las bibliotecas, la casa y la escuela, sino también en el transporte y mientras esperamos para hacer un trámite. Tampoco se lee del modo lineal y con los objetivos de distinción simbólica y cultura general que se atribuyeron a la lectura y la escritura en los siglos XIX y XX.

Si lo que queremos averiguar no es cuántos libros y revistas se compran o se leen sino *cómo* se lee en papel y pantallas, el segundo cambio decisivo en las preguntas tiene que ver con *dónde* estudiar lo que sucede al leer: ¿en los comportamientos singulares de cada persona o en las interacciones sociales? Las encuestas y las políticas de promoción de la lectura suelen dirigirse a individuos como si leer fuera un acto solitario y se estimulara convenciendo a cada uno de los beneficios de leer para su trabajo, su desarrollo y sus placeres. Los estudios de consumo muestran que, aun cuando compramos solos, participamos de tendencias sociales, atendemos a modas, recomendaciones, estamos pensando cómo nos van a ver con esa ropa y con quienes cenaremos estos alimentos. Sin embargo, la concepción individualista del consumo persiste al analizar el acto de leer.

El carácter social de la lectura se vuelve evidente en los estudios sobre las ferias del libro y los grupos de lectores. Mientras en México las encuestas de lectura indican que se lee en promedio 2.9 libros al año por persona y los libreros sostienen que las ventas bajan, en la Feria del Libro de Guadalajara el número de visitantes crece cada año: en 2010 tuvo 612.474 y en 2014 llegó a 767,200. La Bienal Internacional del Libro realizada en Sao Paulo, que en 1972 recibió 80 mil visitantes, en 2010 tuvo 743 mil visitantes. La mayoría de los asistentes son jóvenes y más de la mitad son compradores.

¿Cuáles son los atractivos de las ferias de libros? Con frecuencia los visitantes llegan a las ferias para conocer personalmente a autores que algunos han leído y muchos sólo oyeron que era célebre, para que les firmen sus libros y tomarse con el smartphone la foto con él, que subirán de inmediato a su página en Facebook. La asistencia física a la feria, situada en una ciudad precisa, se multiplicará en la red digital para seguidores de varios países.

Estas actividades suelen ocurrir en un ambiente distendido, con recorridos flexibles, a menudo en tono de fiesta. Se curiosean los stands y se hacen largas colas para escuchar a autores extranjeros. En las ferias se obtiene información más panorámica y diversificada sobre la oferta de libros y revistas, se pasea, se disfruta interactuando con otros y se asiste o se participa en actividades performáticas relacionadas con la lectura y la escritura. Es comprensible que el interés fuerte de los editores y libreros sea principalmente la venta, pero desde la perspectiva de los visitantes-compradores-lectores importan las actividades que los involucran en experiencias. Las ferias hacen evidente la importancia de las relaciones individuales con los libros y la pertenencia a comunidades lectoras. Gracias al streaming y a los blogs el consumo de quienes asisten se complementa con el acceso de quienes están en otras ciudades.

Nuevas extranjerías

Los estudios sobre cómo leemos hoy muestran que tanto en el consumo de libros, diarios y revistas en papel como en el acceso a esos mismos medios a través de la web la sociabilidad es un factor insoslayable. Pero ¿qué ocurre con la sociabilidad entre generaciones cuando nuestros modos de relacionarnos con los mundos virtuales son tan distintos a las interacciones presenciales?

Las distancias entre jóvenes, adultos y viejos suele conceptualizarse con la metáfora creada por Marc Prensky: nativos digitales vs migrantes. Ese modo de nombrar la diferencia entre ambos universos ha sido cuestionado, pero la persistencia de su uso en el lenguaje ordinario evidencia que es útil para nombrar experiencias de extrañamiento entre

las generaciones. Las investigaciones sobre esta difícil interculturalidad entre jóvenes y viejos están bien sintetizadas en la siguiente descripción:

> El adulto o anciano necesita narrar y explicar su proceso de incorporación y domesticación de la computadora estableciendo un antes y un después en su biografía; el nativo joven actúa prescindiendo de toda referencia temporal y biográfica en el manejo de la tecnología, salvo la que marca el paso de un modelo a otro. El adulto necesita ser comprendido, apoyado y auxiliado personalmente en sus dificultades con el software; el *Otro* (el joven) las resuelve solo o consultando a un amigo en la red social. El adulto necesita separar, controlar y administrar los tiempos y los espacios (al menos imaginariamente) *online* de los *offline*; el joven solo vive en la práctica del presente continuo, el espacio deslocalizado y la simultaneidad de operaciones y ventanas. El adulto necesita traducción del lenguaje icónico y a menudo demanda unas instrucciones escritas que vayan indicando lo que se debe hacer desde el "principio hasta el final", de "arriba hacia abajo" y de "derecha a izquierda", mientras el nativo habla el lenguaje original. El adulto siente culpa y temor de perder privacidad y calidad de vida al estar todo el tiempo conectado, el joven siente que gana autonomía y mejora su calidad de vida cuando domina las herramientas que le permiten ampliar sus recursos, redes y contactos horizontales. El adulto tiene miedo de equivocarse, de echar a perder el trabajo, de ser víctima de un virus, de un intruso o un hacker, el nativo no tiene cuenta de banco, y aunque a menudo sufre más las consecuencias de virus e intrusos, las enfrenta, digámoslo así, con espíritu deportivo. Por una parte tienen más recursos para solucionarlos, y por otra asumen el riesgo como una condición natural de vivir y moverse en la Red. En síntesis: mientras el inmigrante digital invierte muchas energías en controlar la incertidumbre, y minimizar los riesgos, el nativo las invierte en ampliar sus horizontes y trascender sus circunstancias con una apertura total a la novedad y a la contingencia digital (WINOCUR, 2012).

Estas diferencias entre jóvenes, adultos y viejos trastornan las jerarquías entre generaciones: entre padres e hijos, entre maestros y alumnos, entre gerentes o jefes y personal joven subordinado. Los padres pueden controlar menos los tiempos de ocio de sus hijos. Los ancianos ven que, a la incertidumbre de su edad y de su salud, se añade la inseguridad por

el uso torpe de las herramientas tecnológicas y se agrava su exclusión de los modos actuales de desempeñarse socialmente.

La extranjería de los migrantes digitales no existe solo ante los aparatos, sino ante los universos ampliados en que se mueven las generaciones jóvenes. Los mayores se sienten extraños en un mundo que se expande y también en las nuevas experiencias con el tiempo. Para los jóvenes que usan redes sociales, piden un coche a Uber o se desplazan con Google maps, estas herramientas les permiten ganar tiempo; los migrantes que no las emplean o sienten dificultad para hacerlo, perciben que esos recursos les hacen perder el tiempo.

Los adultos que nos formamos en la cultura letrada y seguimos dando mucha importancia a las relaciones presenciales nos resistimos a subsumir nuestras interacciones en conexiones virtuales. Preferimos vernos y hablar personalmente, o si no escucharnos por teléfono: la voz sigue siendo un modo de presencia que nos cuesta reducir a los mensajes de texto.

Estos desfases entre generaciones de consumidores y de usuarios de las redes no es solo una diferencia comunicacional y de acceso a los bienes económicos y simbólicos. Forma parte de una desintegración social, en la que están volviéndose obsoletos modos anteriores de organizar las sociedades y de ejercer la ciudadanía.

Las nuevas formas (y dudas) de la ciudadanía

El consumo sirve para pensar. El acceso, en el que coexisten formas antiguas de consumo con interacciones virtuales, también sirve para abrir las redes de una densa y conflictiva interculturalidad. Al acceder a los bienes a través de las redes expandimos nuestro horizonte de apropiación hacia otras sociedades y hacia los diferentes de nuestra propia sociedad. La coexistencia cercana con otras culturas acentúa las contradicciones nacionales y transnacionales.

Cuando decíamos que el consumo sirve para pensar, para discernir y distinguirnos de otros, apuntábamos al potencial de los actos de consumir para crear ciudadanía, para convivir. Tratamos de demostrar hace

veinte años que muchas preguntas propias de los ciudadanos –a dónde pertenezco y qué derechos me da, cómo puedo informarme y quién representa mis intereses- se contestaban más en el consumo privado de bienes y de medios masivos que en las reglas abstractas de la democracia o en la participación colectiva en partidos y sindicatos desacreditados.

La creciente incapacidad de los partidos, sindicatos y gobiernos para representar los intereses de los ciudadanos-consumidores es vivida de maneras diferentes entre adultos y jóvenes. Quienes tenemos más de 50 años seguimos más pendientes de los partidos o abrumados por el desencanto que nos producen, mientras los jóvenes buscan en su comunicación virtual y en movimientos sociales más flexibles, menos institucionalizados, otras alternativas de participación.

La era del acceso generó nuevas maneras de informarse y de ejercer la ciudadanía. Pero ¿qué sentido adquieren entonces lo público, la gobernabilidad y la participación social?

Comenzamos a entrever las respuestas al observar los múltiples movimientos que expresan, en distintos continentes, la convergencia de una nueva ecología comunicacional con formas no tradicionales de ejercicio ciudadano. Se viene hablando mucho del papel de Twitter y de Facebook en la primavera árabe de 2010 en Túnez y otros países del Magreb; en las protestas estudiantiles chilenas iniciadas en 2011 para democratizar el acceso a la educación insoportablemente mercantilizada en ese país; en el movimiento 15M de indignados españoles que comenzó en mayo de ese mismo año; en los Occupy Wall Street en septiembre de 2011; y en otras movilizaciones protagonizadas por jóvenes, como las de *Yo soy 132* en México hasta las que en los últimos meses suceden en ciudades francesas contra la regresiva legislación laboral (*Nuit Debout*). ¿Configuran una ola mundial de resistencia al modelo neoliberal?

No podemos dejar de preguntarnos por qué todos los movimientos citados han sido de alta intensidad y corta duración. Mientras las políticas económicas persisten pese a sus fracasos, los movimientos que proponen modos alternativos de sociedad, economías solidarias, maneras creativas de hacer cultura y comunicarla son efímeros o poco numerosos.

Una explicación podría hallarse en los rasgos actuales de la condición juvenil. En las sociedades mencionadas (las árabes, Chile, México, España) la precariedad caracteriza la vida laboral de las nuevas generaciones. Sus trabajos son breves, inestables y a menudo peor remunerados que los de sus padres.

Ya en 2008 un estudio de la CEPAL sobre América Latina mostraba las siguientes paradojas: los jóvenes "tienen mayores logros educativos que los adultos, medido sobre todo en años de educación formal, pero por otro lado menos acceso al empleo. Manejan con mayor ductilidad los nuevos medios de información, pero acceden en menor grado a los espacios consagrados de deliberación política, y están menos afiliados a los partidos. Expanden exponencialmente el consumo simbólico pero no así el consumo material" (HOPENHAYN, 2008, p. 53).

En 2010 la Organización Iberoamericana de la Juventud reveló que en América Latina "los jóvenes son el sector más vulnerable a los trabajos irregulares, con el sueldo más castigado": en México, Colombia, Ecuador, Panamá y Perú, mientras el 50.3% de los adultos tiene empleos informales, en los jóvenes de 15 a 29 años el porcentaje sube a 82.4% (CALDERÓN, 2010, p. 6). Es paradójico que, siendo los jóvenes los mejor habilitados para el acceso a la información, constituyan el mayor porcentaje de excluidos del trabajo. También son los que menos participan en las elecciones y las organizaciones políticas tradicionales.

La experiencia de buscar trabajo una y otra vez, y pasar largos periodos sin ser aceptado, o encontrar alguno que dura pocos días o semanas, es semejante a la de los jubilados: es la experiencia de sentirse prescindible. Jóvenes y viejos ven que, al estrecharse el acceso al trabajo, también se los excluye de muchos consumos.

Sin embargo, los estudios sobre los imaginarios de los jóvenes y la creatividad con que ensayan nuevos lugares y proyectos sociales incita a salir de esta sombría descripción. Los jóvenes, especialmente los que se dedican a actividades creativas, son exaltados como creadores de nuevas oportunidades de desarrollo y renovadores de tendencias. Los emprendimientos de estos jóvenes que renuevan y expanden la producción de

música, diseño, gastronomía y artes visuales llevó a imaginar en ciudades como la de México, Barcelona, Seattle y muchas otras la posibilidad de que, en tanto *ciudades creativas*, generaran empleos y dinamismo económico para revertir la escasez de trabajos y la exclusión. La creatividad como detonante de nuevas formas de acceso para los jóvenes y para renovar la vida urbana.

Varias investigaciones antropológicas matizan este optimismo. En los estudios de Angela McRobbie en Londres y Berlín, así como en el que efectuamos en Madrid y México (CANCLINI; CRUCES; URTEAGA, 2012) percibimos discrepancias entre la valoración de la creatividad si se la mira desde la perspectiva hegemónica o desde la experiencia de los trabajadores creativos: donde los economistas ven mayor libertad de los emprendedores gracias al autoempleo, los antropólogos hallamos precariedad y la ansiosa autoexplotación de trabajadores que no saben cuánto va a durar lo que hoy hacen y cuál va a ser su próxima ocupación; mientras los empresarios y gobernantes encuentran emoción e intensidad en el uso del tiempo de los trabajadores independientes, su vida diaria revela pérdida de derechos laborales, nuevas discriminaciones de género y étnicas.

Sin duda, el creciente movimiento internacional de emprendedores jóvenes exhibe aspectos positivos. Se acomodan imaginativamente a trabajos inestables, combinan recursos públicos y privados, formales e informales, se agrupan en redes novedosas para desarrollarse. Son cosmopolitas, muy versátiles para desempeñarse en oficios diversos, usan intensamente los recursos digitales para cooperar anudando comunidades nacionales e internacionales donde algunos consiguen trabajos y expanden sus productos. Lo que no pueden consumir lo obtienen mediante el acceso virtual: música, películas, libros.

Son vidas creativas y precarias: deben estar disponibles todo el tiempo y completar los ingresos como artistas o músicos independientes con lo que pueden obtener en otras tareas. El egresado de una escuela de arte como pintor puede desempeñarse seis meses como fotógrafo, luego hacer escenografía para una película, durante tres meses estar sin

trabajo y después asociarse con técnicos de Internet para diseñar páginas web. Tener varios perfiles profesionales y aprender a trabajar con especialistas en campos diferentes es indispensable en los mercados creativos efímeros. Dice la encargada del programa educativo de un museo mexicano: "La mayoría tenemos uno o dos trabajos y mientras estás en un trabajo vas pensando en el otro. Mandas *mails* sobre un proyecto mientras te metes a Skype o distintas redes, para armar la producción y la gestión de otros eventos o proyectos".

Un rasgo común de estos jóvenes, que los diferencia de las generaciones mayores, es la organización de la vida en proyectos y el desvanecimiento de la noción de carrera. Pasamos de una sociedad en la que se podía hacer carrera a otra en la que escasean las plazas laborales y son casi siempre inseguras. La creatividad y la innovación, dos rasgos altamente valorados para conseguir empleo, más que las competencias profesionales duraderas, vuelven frágiles las actividades de los jóvenes y sus agrupamientos laborales y políticos.

Perder la noción de carrera y remodelar la vida como una serie de proyectos es coherente con la desafección hacia instituciones estabilizadas, como los partidos o sindicatos, y con la corta duración de los movimientos sociales. ¿Pueden salir de ese vértigo precarizador los movimientos que lo impugnan o acaso el marco tecnológico y cultural en que se desenvuelven ha "normalizado" esa inestabilidad y discontinuidad de las batallas sociales? Una respuesta la hallamos en la multiplicación de marchas contra gobiernos y empresas, que a menudo impulsan protestas al consumo que se nos impone. Las manifestaciones pidiendo el *Pase Livre* en el transporte que hubo en Brasil en 2013 son un ejemplo. El consumo insatisfactorio es el detonante de las protestas en muchos países, como lo sintetizan las consignas que movilizaron a los indignados de Estambul en el Parque Gezi: "Compartan e intercambien, vayan a pie, no miren TV, ahorren gasolina, y, si no pueden cocinar, coman en pequeños bares".

Ya el consumo no es solo una escena de distinción simbólica y realización sustitutiva de deseos frustrados. El consumo, potenciado por

el acceso, aparece como lugar de emancipación de quienes no pueden o no quieren volver a comprar lo que se rompió sino que se reúnen en grupos o "cafés de reparación", como se los llama en Alemania, para arreglar o hacer los propios bienes, cultivar los propios alimentos. *Do it yourself*. El movimiento de hacedores (movimiento *maker*) comparte sus planos digitales en comunidades *online*. Lo hacen con código abierto (*open source*) para que cualquiera pueda apropiárselos.

Algunos tratan de alcanzar mayor autonomía del abastecimiento industrializado y transnacional no solo cambiando el modo de producir y reparar sino compartiendo los bienes con más racionalidad. Las cooperativas de consumidores tienen larga historia y se expanden ahora con la economía solidaria en Internet: se busca compartir contenidos informativos y de entretenimiento, autos personales y viviendas. Pero ¿se puede compartir todo? "Los estudios indican que la predisposición depende de lo que se vaya a compartir, dicen Diana Giesecke y Louise Tremel. El umbral de inhibición es muy bajo cuando se trata de cosas inmateriales, como experiencias, consejos útiles o MP3. Igual de abierta se muestra la gente con sus herramientas, electrodomésticos de cocina o casas de veraneo, porque no son cosas que uno necesita de manera permanente. Pero cuanto más impregnado está un objeto de su dueño, cuantos más recuerdos y emociones se relacionan con él y cuando mayor fue su cercanía a su piel (el caso de zapatos, equipamiento deportivo, colchas, ropa interior) compartirlo se torna menos atractivo" (GIESECKE; TREMEL, 2016, p. 8-9). En la medida en que esta lógica comunitaria se desarrolla cambia la idea del consumo como posesión individual y se ve como oportunidad de contacto social, se hace posible que muchos accedan.

Queda la pregunta de qué capacidad de expansión y renovación de las estructuras sociales tiene la economía de compartir. Estamos viendo que el acceso libre a contenidos culturales genera apropiaciones por parte de empresas que comercializan y al final lo restringen (Google, Youtube). Las iniciativas de compartir el coche o los alojamientos derivaron en la formación de corporaciones transnacionales que los

explotan, como Uber y Airbnb. Controlar esta desviación depende, dice Neal Gorenflo, el fundador de shareable.net, de que la gente se organice para autogestionarse y que el Estado regule la gestión de "lo común", no permita que los bigdata y los algoritmos se apoderen de las iniciativas cívicas (GORENFLO, 2016, p. 9).

Vincent Caradec observa que son los jóvenes y los jubilados quienes más participan en actividades asociativas voluntarias. Si bien ambas franjas etarias son consumidores intensivos de la llamada industria del ocio, también se aproximan por su interés en las innovaciones y en la cooperación social (CARADEC, 2016).

Viejas instituciones y nuevas vías de participación

¿Qué impacto tienen el aumento del acceso a la información y el uso de redes en la crítica social sobre la corrupción política y económica, el desempleo y la precariedad de los jóvenes o el agravamiento de la inseguridad? La baja votación de los colombianos en el reciente referéndum en el que se rechazó el acuerdo de paz con las FARC (37%) y el descenso general de la participación en elecciones europeas y latinoamericanas, así como la farsante seducción masiva de Trump, exhiben descreimiento hacia los partidos políticos y hacia el sistema democrático. Si los partidos y los votos importan poco ¿los cambios se lograrán mediante *likes* en las redes?

Sabemos que hay mucho más en juego que la opción entre votos y redes. En la descomposición actual de las democracias latinoamericanas participan los políticos que traicionan los programas con que fueron votados, los empresarios y mafias que los compran, las masas que siguen eligiendo a gobernantes corruptos y desautorizan los imaginarios de la sociología política sobre la sabiduría del pueblo y la sociedad civil. ¿Cómo se viene fabricando esta incapacidad social para construir mundos alternativos? Me detengo en una explicación frecuente: el poder televisivo. Aprendimos en los estudios comunicacionales que la manipulación mediática no es omnipotente porque los espectadores son descifradores activos. ¿A qué se debe, entonces, su poder? Una zona

aún ciega en el diagnóstico son las batallas perdidas por los sectores progresistas en el uso de las industrias comunicacionales a fin de redistribuir la cultura y la participación inteligente de los ciudadanos en la vida pública. Las perdimos porque no se emprendieron cuando nació la televisión y se difundían masivamente la radio y el cine: los partidos tradicionales cedieron la administración del espectro radioeléctrico a corporaciones gigantes como Televisa y Globo. Por su parte, los partidos de izquierda no escucharon lo que desde los años 70 las investigaciones demostraban sobre el auge de la videopolítica, ni garantizaron los intereses públicos mediante la regulación de las corporaciones privadas. El papel clave de los medios masivos en la descalificación de gobiernos y movimientos progresistas en Argentina, Brasil y México, así como promoviendo a políticos neoliberales, evidencia los riesgos de carecer de políticas públicas que garanticen la información plural y razonada para que los ciudadanos tomen decisiones. Se hizo algo con leyes tardías (medio siglo después de la irrupción de la televisión) cuando la privatización de esos medios había empoderado a sus empresas más que a los partidos y a las asociaciones por los derechos de información.

Internet trajo las promesas de una comunicación horizontal, pero los gobiernos latinoamericanos siguen ausentes en los debates de organismos internacionales, como la OMPI y otras escenas de gestión y decisión sobre propiedad intelectual y derechos de las audiencias. Al retirarse los Estados de la regulación de las comunicaciones, se pierde el sentido de lo público y el acceso y uso de los contenidos queda en manos de corporaciones transnacionales como las grandes televisoras y empresas de Internet (Microsoft, Google, Yahoo) que los comercializan junto con la información privada de los usuarios.

Comenzamos hablando del paralelismo entre los circuitos del consumo de los adultos y las redes de los jóvenes; es más inquietante este paralelismo entre el sentido público y el privado de la comunicación que advertimos en la competencia perdida por los Estados frente a las empresas mediáticas y frente a los poderes ilegales o paralegales en los territorios nacionales.

Es difícil que las mayorías voten razonadamente si la publicidad electoral prevalece sobre el debate de expertos, si amplios sectores (los indígenas, los afroamericanos, los jóvenes y adultos precarizados o desempleados) son ignorados en las pantallas y se los acusa de subversivos cuando protestan. Está de moda atribuir culpas a los populismos políticos, pero se cuestionan poco los populismos comunicacionales. No podemos reimaginar nuestras democracias sin escenarios y redes para debatirla entre todos.

Las diferencias en el consumo y el acceso pueden dividirnos entre generaciones, alejar un poco a las comunidades de adultos y viejos de las redes de los jóvenes. Pero quizá lo que más entorpece la convivencia es el envejecimiento de nuestras corporaciones políticas y económicas, sus trabas a la comunicación y la participación social innovadores. Para que otro mundo sea posible, necesitamos otra política, otros medios y otras redes.

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Quilombolas in WhatsApp: the role of collective learning in recognition struggles

Quilombolas no WhatsApp: o papel do aprendizado coletivo nas lutas por reconhecimento

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Abstract: *This study analyzes the interactions of a group of quilombolas from Pará in WhatsApp about the Special Selective Process of the Federal University of Pará. It seeks to understand if and how such interactions allow collective learning about the PSE, and the importance of learning in their political actions. The analysis reveals, from data collected between 2015 and 2016, that WhatsApp, for its instantaneousness, informality and simplicity, enables conditions for collective learning through: the exchange of information; adjustment of opinions; and the prescription of actions, from which also emerge possibilities for strengthening political actions to struggles for recognition. Thus, the findings contribute to show the political and social relevance of everyday interactions and the complexity of the communication networks provided by social media.*

Keywords: *quilombolas; WhatsApp; collective learning; recognition*

Resumo: *Este estudo analisa as interações de um grupo de quilombolas do Pará no WhatsApp sobre o Processo Seletivo Especial da Universidade Federal do Pará. Busca-se compreender se e como tais interações possibilitam aprendizado coletivo sobre o PSE e a importância do aprendizado em suas ações políticas. A análise revela, a partir de dados coletados entre 2015 e 2016, que o WhatsApp, por sua instantaneidade, informalidade e simplicidade, possibilita condições*

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para o aprendizado coletivo por meio da troca de informações; do ajustamento de opiniões; e da prescrição de ações, dos quais emergem, também, possibilidades de fortalecimento de ações políticas de luta por reconhecimento. Assim, os achados contribuem para dar a ver a relevância política e social das interações cotidianas e a complexidade das teias comunicacionais proporcionadas pelas mídias sociais.

Palavras-chave: *quilombolas; WhatsApp; aprendizado coletivo; reconhecimento*

1 Introduction

The democratic potentials of the internet and of the appropriations of the social media through mobile technologies are occupying the limelight of investigations of different areas in the field of communication. For this research, it is particularly interesting the uses that the quilombolas[3] in the state of Pará have been doing of WhatsApp,[4] understanding these uses as permeated and incorporated (HINE, 2015) in their daily practices. In a specific manner, we made a reflection on the online conversation around the Processo Seletivo Especial (PSE—Special Selective Process), affirmative action that gives quilombolas the right of entering higher education at the Universidade Federal do Pará (UFPA).

It is important to highlight the reality of the hardship of access of the quilombolas to broadband internet and the considerable territorial distances amongst quilombola communities in Pará. Usually immersed in conflict, with their territories under threat, quilombolas have been intensifying their bonds and going towards the fight for their rights, especially since 1988. In this context, our intention is to perceive how the interactions through WhatsApp contribute to a process of collective learning of the quilombolas about the PSE and in what way such learning possibility reverberates in their organization and political action in terms of fights for recognition (HONNETH, 2003).

Many researchers have already developed experiments, analysis and revisions about the importance of informal conversations (CONOVER e SEARING, 2005; MARQUES e MAIA, 2010; MAIA, 2012, 2017) and the collective learning of political practices (HAMPTON, 2012; KANRA, 2012; KILGORE, 1999). Other scholars dedicated themselves to analyze online practices as "real social activities" and about their socio-cultural and political significance (HINE, 2015).

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3 Quilombolas are communities of descendants of Afro-Brazilian slaves who escaped from slave plantations that existed in Brazil until the abolition in 1888.
4 Whatsapp is an instant messaging app bought in 2014 for 16 billion dollars by the social media website Facebook. According to data shared by Whatsapp itself, Brazilians were, in February 2014, about 8% of their users around the world, which translates to over 38 million people.

However, researches that seek to articulate in a more detailed manner the interactions within WhatsApp and their implications seem incipient, given the restricted character of data access, methodologic challenges, among other aspects.

Thus, this study is developed around two main issues: 1) Is it possible to notice any dimension of collective learning around PSE in the daily flow of communicational exchanges on WhatsApp amongst quilombolas? If so, which one? 2) What is the meaning of this collective learning for the organization and political actions about PSE?

We examined the Abayomi group on WhatsApp and, with our participation in the group, it was possible to follow the interactions and discussions about PSE. We chose to focus our analysis in the textual aspect due to the complexity of investigating, conjointly, images, audio and text, which would demand a bigger space than the one available here.

Thus, this work is divided in the following manner: in the first section, we presented information about the *quilombola* community in Pará and their struggles, understood as fights for recognition, and we described PSE as a theme of common interest among *quilombolas* and an object for fight; in the second section, we discussed the notion of collective learning that we've adopted in the article; next, we've detailed our methodologic procedures, the configuration of online interactions and the characteristics of the debate around PSE. Finally, we made an analysis about the role of collective learning in the widest perspective of the recognition theory.

2 Quilombolas and the fights for recognition

Quilombola communities are considered traditional populations - concept registered in the Brazilian legislation[5] that seeks to give support to the specific groups that live in strong relationship with natural resources, constituted by solidarity bonds in which the ethnical aspect is central

5 Decreto presidencial 6.040/2007.

(ALMEIDA, 2010). The case of quilombola communities has a specific norm. After one century of abolishment of the slavery in Brazil, the term "communities remaining from the quilombos" written in the Article 68 in the Act of Transitory Constitutional Dispositions (ADCT) from the Constitution of 1988, became a big milestone of political actions in these groups.

> Enslaved black people in the past, as well as their descendants, have a complex history of fight coming from forms of disrespect and violence. Situations like these are perceived by Axel Honneth (2003) as part of a moral grammar that guide our society, born out of social conflict and struggle. According to Honneth, it is possible to understand these forms of disrespect as moral damages, or as impacts that harm the "practical relations to self" (HONNETH, 2003, p. 214) of the subjects. These damages, in turn, manifest themselves in three main spheres of recognition:[6] in the intimate sphere, circumscribed to close, affectionate relationships; in the sphere of law, manifesting itself in the consecution of norms that ensure equality between subjects; And in the sphere of social esteem, in which everyone can be considered as capable of positively contributing with the society (HONNETH, 2003)

> Under this perspective, damages are understood as the motion power of political battles. In the case of quilombolas, the struggles which they went through historically - physical violence, privation of freedom and rights and vexation or degradation of the social esteem – created an inter-subjectively built strength that propelled these fights as we know them today. The bonds between the suffering these groups went through in the past and the resistance of these groups are presented in the form of collective actions that varied throughout the socio-historical context: escapes, rebellions in the past; fight against racism from the abolishment of the slavery onwards; constitution of a quilombola political project in 1988.

> Thus, the category "quilombo" nowadays, does not only make reference to a place of refuge of their ancestors, but it also marks a process of resistance written in the constitution of collectivities oriented for political actions (BARGAS and CARDOSO, 2015. Among them, the fight for

6   Honneth based his study on Hegel's and Mead's writtings to ground his recognition theory. From Hegel, he develops, in a nuanced form, the spheres of recognition. From Mead, he used the notion of inter-subjectivity, grounded on social psychology and in processes of subjectivation.

territorial titles, for the grant of compliance of other laws, such as those related to education, and in the positive affirmation of what it means to be quilombola, granted, therefore, as fights for recognition.

2.1 Legal recognition: the case of the Special Selection Process (PSE)

Amongst the institutionalized accomplishments of the quilombolas is the Special Selection Process (PSE), which is a part of UFPA's policies of affirmative actions. Approved by the Superior Council of Teaching, Research and Extension (Consepe) of the university, the process was applied for the first time in the selection of the years 2012/2013. In the first call, quilombolas were running to fill two positions in each course of UFPA, in a total of 117 positions.

The selection has two stages: the first, eliminatory and classificatory, consists in an essay and a general knowledge test. The ones who pass this first stage go to a second stage, classificatory only, in which they go through an interview. At this point, the candidates are appraised on their historical-social relationship with their community, their participation on civil organizations and their intentions regarding university. Still in this process, the quilombola identity of the candidates is "checked" through a letter of belonging sent by the association of their community.

According to Honneth's (2003) thoughts, we consider the PSE as part of the legal recognition of the quilombolas, therefore, the sphere of recognition related to the legal dimension of relations, which generates a pattern of recognition named "author-respect" (HONNETH, 2003, p. 216). It is about conceiving the satisfaction of pretensions starting from the idea that there is equality amongst individuals and an equal participation in institutions.

Thus, PSE represents a political-institutional win that promotes to the quilombola subjects opportunities of getting in the university, in a way that softens the inequalities of opportunities in this field, built historically through racism and material and structural inequalities.

3 Collective learning: from conversation to political action

In this study, we argue that online interactions among quilombolas from Pará may contribute for the constitution of a collective learning about PSE and this type of learning can be converted into chains of a collective semantics in fights for recognition.

This denomination of collective learning has its roots in the 70's with the writings of Vygotsky (1978), especially the concept of Zone of Proximal Development (ZDP) in the study of pedagogic processes and their ideas about the distinctions between individual learning and group learning. According to this idea, there are two levels of development: the real, i. e., "the level of development of a child's mental functions that was established as a result of certain cycles of development that were already concluded" (VYGOTSKY, 1978 p. 85), and the potential, that is "determined by the resolution of problems under adult's supervision or in collaboration with more capable colleagues" (VYGOTSKY, 1978, p. 85). Thus, ZDP is the gap between these two levels; it allows us to understand how someone who learns something with the help of others today can also be able to teach tomorrow (KILGORE, 1999; VYGOTSKY, 1978).

In more recent studies about the processes of teaching and learning, for example, the idea is more commonly associated to the term "collaborative learning" (BRUFEE, 2006, p. 635; WIENER, 1986; TRIMBUR, 2003) to designate a tool of pedagogical work in which two or more people learn or try to learn together. Or, more than that, "to engage people in processes of intellectual negotiation and collective decision-making processes" (TRIMBUR, 2003, p. 461)

In the field of social psychology, Schudson (1997) makes a distinction between sociable conversation and conversation geared towards problem resolution. Informal discussions (sociable) tend to be trivial, without defined focus and they lack public reasoning. Discussions geared towards problem solving focus on subjects of public interest and tend to be uncomfortable, developing themselves through arguments.

The author questions the political importance of such conversations, confining their value to the aspect of making decisions. However, in the sociable discussion of concrete groups, in which bonds of solidarity are some of the main bonds between members, the sociable conversation can comprise multiple forms of cohesion that can lead to a legitimate political process in increasingly bigger scales (HABERMAS, 1979)

In another perspective, according to Kanra (2012), deliberative situations can comprise to distinct moments: learning and decision-making. In this sense, reciprocal learning can contribute to supplant sensations of dismay or disengagement of social actors that, facing a system in which their interests are taken by others, in formal instances, are seen as autonomous in their issues and compelled to mobilize. Thus, another brief definition of collective learning can be the one who deals with a intersubjective process of search of mutual understanding around certain issues (KANRA, 2012).

When we brought this definition to our study, we also put the idea of group and social conscience of justice (KILGORE, 1999) in the center of the analysis. That is because it is just over the terrain of collectivity in which learning and action come about. Thus, collective learning is also related to conditions of emancipation. Merizow (1996) argues that a relation of teaching-learning has the mission of promoting understanding and ideal conditions of speech that, through critical reflection, become possible to generate what he calls emancipatory learning.

Coming from the idea of ZDP, Kilgore (1999) defends the idea that looking at processes of collective learning, instead of individual learning, is a useful way of understanding how actions of specific groups and social movements occur. She adds to Vygotsky's idea the widening of the concept of ZDP made by Wells (1996), which explains gains of learning that are made beyond the peer's abilities. In other words, "a group has innovative abilities of development, due to the diversity of its members" (KILGORE, 1999, p. 198).

4 The internet, mobile technologies and the Quilombolas

As one of the forms of self-expression of communities united by a collective identity, either on political or sociocultural terms, quilombolas of Pará began to use the technologic devices available to them. Their presence on social media websites such as Facebook and in groups for the most different reasons on WhatsApp is incorporated in an almost naturalized way (HINE, 2015).

About mobile technologies, what is particularly interesting to us is the forms of use and the issue of sociability, i. e., forms of interaction resulting from relationships between individuals in which effects are produced on one over the others (SIMMEL, 2006). With that, our intention is to promote a type of readjustment of the look on the processes of construction and maintenance of social bonds and individual and collective identities (KILGORE, 1999), now going through apps and social medias.

Thus, in the intensification of organization and the political actions of quilombolas in Pará, what has been happening is what McAdam (1999) considers as cognitive liberation of new milestones of reference for the collective action. The diffusion of mobile phones, smartphones and mobile internet to these groups levered the use of social media both in political mobilization, sharing protest messages and asking for justice and messages of self-affirmation and in the exposition of mundane elements, them being individual or in groups. Thus, the medias are present in an strategic way in the quilombola movement and, in an informal way, in the daily life of those who aren't necessarily engaged in political actions.

4.1 Interactions on WhatsApp

Given the difficulties of internet access of many quilombola communities in Pará, usually located in rural spaces, as it is the case of the communities of Salvaterra, mobile devices and the use of WhatsApp

enable easy communicative exchanges. Three characteristics seem determining for that:

a. Immediate interaction. Considering that the groups analyzed here are composed by people who already have previous contact and, in many cases, established social relationships, the instantaneity of message exchange enables something close to a reproduction of "natural" conditions of face-to-face conversation. This attribute coincides with the interest in argumentation in relation to certain subjects, with immediate reply.

b. Less exposition of the user profile. Engaging in discussions about complex and, sometimes, polemic themes creates the need of identification and action of the involved subjects, as well as their position on the matter. On the contrary, the fear of the invasion of privacy, of a public change of opinion and the "embarrassment" of public scrutiny (CONOVER, SEARING e CREWE, 2002) may compromise the engagement. Therefore, the pre-selection utilized to compose WhatsApp groups constitute a factor to create a lack of inhibition in the participation.

c. The simplicity of the interface - similar to the SMS - linked to a tool of compression of images and video that makes the exchange of data easier. Facing the difficulty of internet access, the sharing of text, images, videos, audios or documents require mechanisms to make this task easier. In this case, WhatsApp offers this possibility and complexifies the conversation, now multimedia conversation, making it more attractive in many cases.

5 Methodology

This study concentrates particularly in the WhatsApp group Aba-yomi, one of the most active amongst those we had access, in terms of conversation. The group, composed by 33 members, was created in July 3rd, 2014 with the objective of gathering the quilombola youth of the

communities of the city of Salvaterra, in the island of Marajó,[7] to promote the formation of new leadership figures. This formation started with the project Ije Ofé, promoted by the Fórum Amazônia Oriental (Faor)[8] in the states of Pará, Maranhão, Tocantins and Amapá.

Starting in this project, that had the objective of working with quilombolas from the age of 18 to 26 to promote youth protagonism, the preservation of biodiversity and the sustainable use of natural resources, Salvaterra youth decided to maintain this articulation through WhatsApp. The group is formed by youngsters that already act or acted in the political organization of their community (associations) and other youngsters that do not have a formal political activity in the quilombola movement, youngsters that participated in the project and/or that were added after the project.

The authorization for our participation in the group and the completion of the study was given by the admin and the other members, with which we have had relationships prior to the research. Our participation generally varied between the roles of "viewer" and "interlocutor" in terms of a participating observation (FLICK et al., 2007)

We also performed, through the backup of the history of conversation, available through a tool inside WhatsApp, a quantitative study of speeches and themes in which there were a greater engagement of the members.[9] The period analyzed was from July 3rd, 2014 to March 29th, 2016. In our codification, the theme PSE was the highlight, with 308 speeches, 21.76% out of the total.

In this study, examples of speech were considered unit of analysis, being seen as content in themselves, who had written these sentences and

7   Salvaterra is one of the major cities in the region of Marajó and has 15 quilombola communities certified by the Fundação Cultural Palmares. They are: Bacabal, Bairro Alto, Boa Vista, Pau Furado, Vila União, Salvá, Campina, Caldeirão, Mangueiras, Providência, Deus Ajude, São Benedito, Paixão, Siricari and Rosário. Other two communities that are demanding recognition: Boca da Mata and Cururu África.
8   Organization without lucrative means geared towards the promotion of the sustainable development in the Eastern Amazon. The project Ije Ofé was performed from 2011 to 2014 through workshops and meetings in many quilombola communities of the region.
9   The themes were categorized as: complaint, events, women, works, partnerships, PSE, informal. N= 1.145.

the sequence of conversation[10] in an qualitative approach. From the sentences, we highlight, after an exhaustive reading of the material, three big groups that make reference to the "type of relationship" established between the interlocutors, having as base the idea of collective learning (KANRA, 2012; KILGORE, 1999). We highlight that our intention was not to develop a content analysis. Instead, we proposed an interpretative analysis of the speech considering the empirical context and the concepts that were adopted.

We also chose to literally reproduce, in this study, the excerpts of speech that serve as example for our analysis. The intention is to keep the original characteristics of the interactions, which will help us reveal and reinforce the typical traits of conversation through WhatsApp, according to what we showed in the previous item, as well as aspects of the social relationships between group members, as certain proximity, distancing, empathy, etc.

6 Analyzing aspects of collective learning

Starting from what was exposed here, we listed three characteristics that seem to promote or build conditions for collective learning about PSE through WhatsApp amongst quilombolas: 1) Sharing of information; 2) Expression of an opinion; 3) prescription of suggestions or recommendations aiming at problem solving.

6.1 Information

In the interactions on WhatsApp, it is possible to provide information between the people involved in the communicative exchange. Such information can be absorbed, acted on or not, explicitly or implicitly, while the conversation or face-to-face practical actions occur. In this case, it is not possible to measure exactly how does that occur, we can only identify the provision of information put into the app:

10   The participants of the group are identified as fictional names with the intention of preserving their identities and relations with the researchers and their communities.

Dilberto: Hello everyone, good evening. Jamile, I'm confused with this year's PSE notice and I would like to know if there's been any change. If so, send me the number, I have some doubts, ok? I hope hearing from you soon (Grupo Abayomi, Apr. 19th, 2016).

Luíza: Elaine, you could have asked to have the test delivered to the hospital!

Dilberto: But she came to the hospital on Saturday. I don't think she could then.

Luíza: She could've sent an email! Registered and then asked!

Elaine: 😳

Luíza: This is how we do it! (Grupo Abayomi, April, 19th, 2016).

In the isolated speeches or in sequence, it is clear the possibility of exchange of information specific about the PSE. In the first example, Dilberto asks for details about PSE's notice to Jamile, leadership figure who's already studying at UFPA and participates on meetings about the theme at the university. Dilberto thinks the answer will help other members of his community. In the second example, it is exposed a possibility of taking the test that was unknown by one of the candidates. Because she was sick, the candidate would have the right to have the test taken in the hospital, information that could be used on other similar situations.

We defend that, facing that, this information exchange works both for improving the communication among members of the group and understanding a topic and strengthening the trust (KANRA, 2012; KILGORE, 1999). The socialization of information tends to reduce noise about basic questions while content of discussion.

Therefore, the publicity of information, along with previous relations between the participants, potentially reduces the uncertainties around the subjects themselves, about their place of speech, enabling the judgement of coherence between one and another - publicity and accountability (GUTMAM and THOMPSON, 1996) creating trust or lack thereof. In addition to that, it is possible to check, among the menu

of information, these subjects of bigger or smaller relevance, enough to maintain the topic in discussion.

6.2 Position

When people express their position on something, with the interlocutor's nod (EGGINS et al., 2002), the speaker shows their opinion about the theme, sharing their experiences and delimiting their action on the conversation and their references about the subject (HASLAM et al., 1996). In the context of conversation, the position also contributes for the formation of opinion of other participants in the interaction:

> Nelson: 😊😊😊😊😊😊😊! Congratulations. I hope everyone pass and bring benefits to their community, and work towards the common good.
>
> Sandro: I feel happy to help the people who passed the test there [comunidade de Vila União]. And to those who passed from the other communities as well.
>
> Lúcia: I am rooting for you, I hope you collaborate both for the community and the city.
>
> Luíza: Congratulations to the ones approved in this first phase (Grupo Abayomi, Feb. 12th, 2016).
>
> Dilberto: People, I found 37 quilombolas approved in the essay of ethno[-development] only from Salvaterra, I think we will paint UFPA black and show that now it is our turn.
>
> Manuel: Hooray, what a victory (Grupo Abayomi, Feb. 17th, 2016).

In the first sequence of speeches, Nelson shows his position about the quilombola approved candidates for the university. According to his point of view, which can influence or not the position of other members of the interaction, the knowledge acquired in the university must be at service of the "common good". The same way, Lúcia adds a new component to the argument, saying that this knowledge must extrapolate the limits of the communities, changing the city as a whole.

Next, Dilberto, in addition to giving information about the number of people approved in the first phase of selection, strongly sets his opinion about the meaning of the approvals for the quilombolas. When

He says, "let's paint the university black and show them that now it is our turn", Dilberto makes reference to the social aspect of the affirmative policy of UFPA - which would reset, in racial terms, the student body – and the process of exclusion of black groups from the university.

When exposing his opinion about certain aspect of the theme and having the freedom to do so, the participant of the group builds the idea of mutual respectability, which comes from the authority conceived by others to his possibility of speech (EGGINS et al. 2002). In addition to that, the expression of feelings, thoughts, opinions, etc. strengthens the connection between members, in which the self-definition or identity is also adjusted and updated (KANRA, 2012).

Therefore, either agreeing or disagreeing with the position, the interlocutors have the possibility of producing adjustments of their opinions, since the position expressed becomes a reference on the theme (HASLAM et al., 1996; KANRA, 2012). This last point is fundamentally linked to the third aspect of the collective learning, which we will approach next.

6.3 Prescription

The function of prescription is not necessarily about the decision-making process, but a suggestion or recommendation of actions or solutions to certain issues.

> Suzana: We have to gather and schedule a meeting in Belém with the dean, Ceps, Academic Center and leaders of the group of recognition! To discuss this subject [notice from the PSE]!

> Jamile: Tomorrow there is a meeting to discuss how the process of interviews is going to be. I want to come. Whoever wants to state their opinion I can also add it, I will come as a student (Grupo Abayomi, Jan 18th, 2016).

> Dilberto: We should schedule a conversation with the people interested, i. e., give some tips about the interview, if the leaderships could map the people approved in their communities so any declaration wouldn't leak for the ones who don't belong or deserve to hear it.
>
> Suzana: It's up to us (Grupo Abayomi, Feb. 17th, 2016).

Suzana, in the first sequence, suggests the creation of face-to-face meetings with the institutions who make decisions at UFPA with the objective of minimizing the problems of the notice - from the point of view of the quilombolas. Jamile, in this same sequence, adds the suggestion, making herself available to take opinions from other people to the university, expressed in the WhatsApp group, for the previously scheduled meeting.

In the second excerpt, Dilberto also suggests meetings to gather the candidates who got approved in the first phase of the PSE, reinforcing the importance of a specific preparation for the interview and seeking protection from the quilombolas from possible problems in granting the declaration of belonging - demanded by the notice to "prove" the quilombola identity.

Here, the constitution of a point of reference coming from clarifications of certain positions establish a kind of synthesis of common points put into circulation in the flow of discussion (HASLAM et al. 1996). The possibility of changing or taking an attitude, in turn, becomes viable when there is a consecration of these common elements between the participants.

Such meanings take us, thus, to respond affirmatively to our first question, which asks about the possibilities of building collective learning about the PSE in interactions through WhatsApp among the quilombolas. In this first analysis, where we can highlight three basic aspects about the collective learning, we go through, then, the reflection about the role of this learning for the political actions of quilombolas about the PSE.

7 Collective learning and fights for recognition

Keeping oneself in the online conversation providing information, giving one's opinion and prescribing attitudes or solutions to a certain problem does not exclude them from the interaction processes of maintaining social hierarchy present in the groups or the occurrence of a "contest of identities" (DRYZEK, 2005), among the participants, i. e. a dispute among the social places filled by the group members. Despite that, the exposure to an argumentative exchange in a certain way free from pressures of time (typical of formal decision-making processes) opens up possibilities for the qualitative construction of opinions and for the definition of situations (KANRA, 2012).

Despite the cognitive and moral competences immanent to the individuals (HABERMAS, 1979), such aspects reinforce the importance of cooperative processes of learning. In this sense, the process of collective learning aims at developing an understanding of the other, or, in other words, the approval and appraisal of other perspectives (KANRA, 2012; KILGORE, 1999).

According to Honneth (2003), starting from forms of disrespect that impute to the individual negative feelings and reactions, it is possible to emerge to a collective action, The author explains, however, that the disrespect is not converted automatically into resistance: the change in nature of the consequences of lesion, i. e., the displacement of the subjective plan for the action plan depends on the existence of a context that offers possibilities and political and social content to the harmed subject. In other terms, so that the disrespect is converted into political resistance, it is necessary there is a fertile terrain constituted with political content that strengthens and legitimates the collective action (HONNETH, 2003; YOUNG, 2000).

In this sense, online interactions through WhatsApp around the PSE make clear the relevance of reciprocal interactions and actions geared towards the understanding of the construction of a useful content for the political actions in a wider context in terms of collective semantics (HONNETH, 2003). In this perspective, it is possible to affirm the

favor of online interactions for the inter-subjective construction of what is justice or common good.

About the legal sphere of recognition, constitute oneself as subject of right in the field of intersubjective exchange (GARCES, 2011; HON-NETH, 2003) act as a cognitive bond between self-conscience and revindication, as an epistemic gain for political actions.

Here, quilombolas see themselves as leaders of situations that can define future paths, for instance, mutually inviting themselves to act incisively in the preparation of candidates for the second step of selection at the PSE, where they would be inquired about their belonging to communities, or even when they claim the importance of not loosening the liberation of letters of association for subjects that do not maintain bonds of solidarity and belonging and that, therefore, "do not deserve" to be considered quilombolas. That differs from the systematic forms of disrespect for these subjects, in which, for centuries, weren't even considered as rightful subjects. The status of "thing/object" obstructed, in this sense, the constitution of self-respect.

In addition to that, the board of intersubjective interpretation (HON-NETH, 2003; MAIA, 2014), as substrate of collective actions, depends on this internal adjustment in which the feelings of injustice and the meanings of justice are permanently constituted and shared. Thus, the uses of the WhatsApp group and the interactions that happens inside of it certainly contribute to these adjustments, that already belong in a complex web of appropriations and practices of these subjects in their communities and social context.

The functions highlighted here in this process of collective learning through interactions on WhatsApp – information, positioning and prescription – fill the role of a semantic bond between individual experiences and the collective level, promoting and/or strengthening identifications, refutations, sensitizations and/or mobilizations around the lived situation. Specifically, about the PSE, online interactions allow the participants to thicken their practices around the theme, strengthening their political competences and individual capabilities. In addition,

this thickening process can transpose to social relationship in which they are a part of, replying knowledge and upgrading the application of PSE according to what is defended as intersubjectively fair.

In the process of intersubjective "gain", it is possible, then, according to Honneth (2003), to deconstruct historical forms of disrespect, build new moral codes and institutionalize them. Thus, the struggle for recognition has a structuring role in a process of moral evolution of societies, based then in the historical construction of normative ideals centered in the self-realization of subjects.

9. Conclusion

To respond the questions that initiated this study, we start from the assumption that from the simplest interactions in daily life can emerge the most complex social processes, useful to the establishment of patterns of recognition considered fair by the subjects involved.

The focus on the online interactions among quilombolas calls attention, at the same time, to the alterations in the ways of sociability enabled by appropriations of social media, as well as the specificity of quilombolas while social group in strong fight with historically built patterns of non-recognition and their attempts of reversing it. The case of the PSE for quilombolas comprises, in this sense, new ways of engagement in a common issue, without any definitive outline yet, but it already reverberates in the construction or maintenance of parameters of belonging and positioning of subjects around the theme.

It is not possible to affirm now that the online interactions and the uses of WhatsApp have the power to produce, in the three spheres of recognition shown by Honneth (2003), wider effects. It happens because these processes are linked to other variables, as the own vicissitudes of prior relationships, hierarchies, access to the app and to the internet, among other structural aspects.

Nevertheless, facing territorial limitations and the precariousness of access to the internet and to quality information, WhatsApp interactions became an important tool of collective learning for quilombolas in which

is possible to make exchange of information, the adjustment of opinions and the construction of solutions for the struggles they live with. This set of possibilities overflows, also, through leadership, for political practices that are more organized in the form of social movements.

It is obvious that, from the more informal interactions to the centers of decision-making processes, the road is long and complex, and not always linear. However, if the processes of intersubjective adjustment are primordial for the construction of a struggle for recognition built over solid basis, it seems to us that we have found a fertile ground to understand how these adjustments have been occurring in the complexity of social webs.

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¿Consumidores o ciudadanos? Prácticas de consumo cultural de los inmigrantes latinoamericanos en España

Consumers or citizens? Practices of cultural consumption of Latin American immigrants in Spain

Jéssica Retis[1]

Resumen: *El presente trabajo[2] analiza el fenómeno migratorio de la población latinoamericana en Europa, específicamente en España, centrando su atención en las dinámicas y los rasgos que caracterizan el consumo comunicacional y cultural que esta población, en tanto diáspora, efectúa en su nuevo contexto vivencial, marcado por el vínculo entre lo local y lo global.*

Palabras clave: *Migración; Población Latinoamericana; España; Consumo Comunicacional y Cultural*

Abstract: *This paper analyzes cultural practices of Latin American immigrants in Spain. Based on surveys and in-depth interviews, it analyzes dynamics and characteristics of communication and cultural consumption, diasporic practices and intersections between local and global synergies on transnational contexts.*

Keyword: *Migration; Latin Americans; Spain; Communication and Cultural Consumption*

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Introducción

Los desplazamientos de población desde América Latina hacia España han sido constantes a lo largo de la segunda mitad del siglo pasado y hasta nuestros días. Sin embargo, el incremento acumulado de migraciones económicas provenientes especialmente de Sudamérica empezó a ser significativo a partir de mediados de los ochenta, cuando los flujos económicos superaron a los provenientes de los exilios políticos. Fueron principalmente peruanos y dominicanos quienes se incorporaron a los «nichos laborales» abiertos en las «ciudades globales» (SASSEN, 2001) de Madrid y Barcelona: sectores de cuidados de ancianos y niños, servicios y hostelería. La última mitad de los años noventa, pero particularmente el cambio de siglo, trajeron consigo los efectos de las políticas de reajuste estructural del modelo neoliberal en las crisis económicas y financieras sudamericanas, mientras que se asentaba la bonanza económica en España. Las sinergias de expulsión de flujos migratorios desde América Latina y de atracción de flujos en Europa se conjugaron con las reformas del contexto migratorio hacia Estados Unidos, principal país atrayente de flujos latinoamericanos, produciéndose una reconfiguración de los desplazamientos. Las crisis financieras en Ecuador, Colombia y Argentina, particularmente, se compaginaron geopolíticamente con un mercado laboral que se abrió a la mano de obra extranjera en España. Los migrantes siguieron la estela de los flujos de capital internacional extranjero, pero en sentido contrario: la «década dorada» de las inversiones españolas en América Latina (CASILDA, 2002) se compaginó con los procesos de salida de las clases medias castigadas por las crisis económicas y sociales (Retis 2006). Esta coyuntura marca en España lo que en su momento se consideró la época de «los preferidos del siglo XXI» (Izquierdo, López y Martínez, 2002): los latinoamericanos irrumpieron en el contexto migratorio extracomunitario en condición preferencial tanto en las administraciones públicas como en el sector empresarial y en el clima de opinión (RETIS, 2006).

Entre finales del siglo pasado y la primera década de éste, la acrecencia de latinoamericanos se hizo una constante en las contabilidades

anuales españolas. Bolivianos, venezolanos, paraguayos y uruguayos se sumaron a los flujos latinoamericanos precedentes y se concentraron principalmente en entornos urbanos para, posteriormente, dispersarse hacia zonas agrícolas que requerían mano de obra extranjera. Aunque la crisis económica desatada en 2008 supone un aletargamiento en los desplazamientos migratorios internacionales, las diásporas latinoamericanas que se han venido asentando en España en las décadas recientes han propiciado complejos procesos de instalación y asentamiento en las prácticas comunicativas y de consumo, jugando éstas un papel central.

El incremento de la inmigración extracomunitaria tuvo un efecto pernicioso en la opinión pública española, debido a que la prensa de referencia tendía a representarla principalmente en su condición de conflicto social, con un profundo desconocimiento de las condiciones socioeconómicas estructurales y políticas que propiciaron la llegada de trabajadores extranjeros y sus familias. En el caso latinoamericano, como hemos anotado en otros trabajos, los ecuatorianos fueron percibidos desde una mirada compasiva, situando su condición de pobres económicos y de agencia; los colombianos fueron principalmente representados desde una mirada atemorizada, muy relacionada a las imágenes de Colombia como la metáfora del horror, la delincuencia y el narcotráfico. Sólo en el caso argentino encontramos una mirada fraternal, al ser considerados como hijos y nietos de los españoles migrantes en Argentina (RETIS, 2006).

La condición de las familias transnacionales fue ignorada en el «debate social» (BAÑÓN, 2002), pues en las sociedades receptoras el discurso público tiende a representar a los migrantes esencialmente como trabajadores masculinos, temporales y desarraigados de sus lugares de origen (RETIS, 2006). Los jóvenes latinoamericanos fueron escasamente motivo de interés para la prensa española y cuando aparecieron en los titulares fue principalmente en su condición de causantes de conflicto (RETIS; GARCÍA, 2009). Y tal como ocurre en el discurso de la prensa generalista estadounidense, las mujeres latinoamericanas fueron motivo de interés de los medios españoles en mayor medida por su condición de

víctimas o generadoras de conflicto (RETIS; GALÁN, 2010). Los efectos del discurso público dominante tuvieron eco en la opinión pública que empezó a colocar a la inmigración como uno de los principales problemas de preocupación. Sin embargo, desde las organizaciones no gubernamentales, la academia y los sectores más progresistas, se empezaron a generar sinergias para fomentar una mejor comprensión de la llegada y asentamiento de trabajadores extranjeros y sus familias (RETIS, 2006).

En otros trabajos hemos anotado cómo frente a las estrategias del discurso público dominante se generaron otras sinergias discursivas sobre la presencia de latinoamericanos en España. Por un lado, el discurso publicitario propiciado por los negocios en torno a la inmigración promovieron una percepción más positiva: los inmigrantes se convirtieron en «clientes», independientemente de su condición administrativa. Así durante los primeros años después del cambio de siglo, los anuncios publicitarios que daban la bienvenida a los nuevos usuarios de telefonía móvil y servicios bancarios convivieron con discursos discriminatorios en los medios informativos y la producción de ficción (RETIS; GALÁN, 2010). Por otro lado, las necesidades de comunicación inmediata y mediada por parte de los latinoamericanos generó nuevas formas de producción, distribución y consumo de medios. Así, junto con la formación y consolidación de asociaciones y grupos culturales inmigrantes, vieron la luz los medios diaspóricos: aquéllos que comenzaron a generar formas alternativas de autorepresentación, de distribución de información específica y espacios de promoción y publicidad (RETIS, 2008).

El «boom» de los medios dirigidos a inmigrantes de mediados de los dos mil, propició, entre otras cosas, que las agencias especializadas en estudios de mercado empezaran a interesarse por tener un conocimiento más específico sobre los comportamientos de consumo. A partir de entonces se generaron iniciativas por acceder a un mejor conocimiento sobre el comportamiento de los latinoamericanos en términos de consumo. En el terreno académico resulta central avanzar en dos áreas de investigación: por un lado la producción y distribución de medios en el

contexto transnacional; por otro lado, las prácticas de consumo cultural de los latinoamericanos en el vivir transnacional (RETIS; SIERRA, 2011). El reciente incremento de latinoamericanos en ciudades con larga trayectoria en recepción de extranjeros como Londres, París, Toronto o Sydney, viene siendo apuntado por investigadores que destacan la escasez de estudios sobre estos grupos considerados como minorías dentro de las minorías, especialmente en ciudades catalogadas como hiperdiversas (GUARNIZO, 2008; BERMÚDEZ, 2008; BLOCK, 2008; PRICE; BENTON-SHORT, 2007; RETIS, 2010). Más se conoce sobre las condiciones de llegada y asentamiento en los dos principales países receptores de flujos latinoamericanos. En Estados Unidos ciertas ciudades continúan siendo los principales centros de concentración demográfica de hispanos, tal es el caso de Los Ángeles, Miami, Nueva York o Chicago. En España, la mayor parte de los latinoamericanos se concentra especialmente en Barcelona, Madrid, Murcia, Valencia y Alicante. Como consecuencia, el estudio comparado sobre producción, distribución y consumo de medios y prácticas culturales es un área fértil porque nos permite comprender el comportamiento de las diásporas latinoamericanas en contextos migratorios.

El consumo cultural de los latinoamericanos en España

Existen escasos estudios sobre consumo cultural de los inmigrantes extracomunitarios en España. En la mayor parte de las investigaciones sociológicas, los asuntos del consumo aparecen diametralmente en torno a estudios de corte etnográfico sobre las condiciones de vida de estos grupos. Estas investigaciones previas nos ayudan a esbozar facetas indicativas de las tendencias sobre prácticas culturales, consumo mediático, consumo de nuevas tecnologías y servicios afines por parte de los inmigrantes en España.[3] En uno de los primeros análisis sobre la temática,

3   En total nos apoyamos en estudios cuantitativos como los datos que revela la Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes de 2007, con los datos básicos, que se encuentran en la web del Instituto Nacional de Estadística (http://www.ine.es) y las observaciones de expertos, tanto en el Informe elaborado para el Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración (VVAA, 2008), como el estudio del Colectivo Ioé y Fernández (2008), las encuestas de la Asociación para la Investigación de la Comunicación

el Colectivo Ioé advertía las complejidades del objeto de estudio. En su propia revisión de investigaciones previas sobre el tópico, critican "la acumulación descriptiva de datos etnográficos sobre colectivos muy heterogéneos agrupados en categorías generalistas y demasiado confusas, atravesadas, en este sentido, por un marcado etnocentrismo" (IOÉ, 2001, p. 18).[4] Las observaciones sobre los grupos de inmigrantes, en su criterio, tienden a yuxtaponer contenidos o rasgos de cada colectivo sin profundizar en el problema de la coherencia simbólica y material que mantienen unos con los otros. Con todo, ya a comienzos de la década, reconocen hallazgos en las pautas de comportamiento: a) la importancia del consumo televisivo dentro de los consumos culturales de las mujeres marroquíes; b) la importancia de los espacios públicos relacionales como las grandes superficies comerciales, los bares y las mezquitas, en el caso de los hombre marroquíes; c) los intercambios de productos ligados a los viajes a los países de origen, en el caso de las familias marroquíes; d) los centros de acogida y pisos compartidos como espacios relacionales de las mujeres dominicanas; e) las peluquerías (mujeres), pubs y discotecas (mixtos) y parques y otros espacios abiertos ligados al consumo y ocio, en el caso de los inmigrantes latinoamericanos.

Coincidimos con Ioé en que resulta imprescindible evitar la tentación de la descripción etnocéntrica de rasgos y prácticas para comprender y analizar principios simbólicos y materiales estructurantes de éstas. Para tal fin, afirman, es necesario propiciar tres rupturas:

1. Dejar de lado la categoría de «colectivos» según sus orígenes nacionales o regionales, para pasar a «unidades familiares» como unidades

(AIMC, varios años), los sondeos de AC Nielsen y de la Asociación para el Conocimiento de la Población Inmigrante (2005; 2004). Entre las aproximaciones cualitativas encontramos estudios sobre consumo cultural de inmigrantes latinoamericanos en España (SANTAMARINA, 2007), Madrid (CALLEJO, 2005; DIAZ NOSTY, 2007a) Cataluña (HUERTAS, 2009; HUERTAS et al, 2010; CHAVERO; GARCÍA, 2005) y Andalucía (GONZÁLEZ, 2005).

4   Tres rasgos fundamentales podríamos subrayar en relación a estos tratamientos: a) la constatación de la "diversidad" y la "diferencia" que separa los hábitos y concisiones de vida de los diferentes colectivos en función de sus lugares (países y continentes) de procedencia; b) el papel de la estructura de las "unidades familiares transnacionales" en la regulación de dichos hábitos y condiciones de vida; y, c) el papel de las "redes sociales" trabadas en torno a dichas unidades en los países de acogida en relación a los mismos".

transnacionales, considerando su doble determinación según las relaciones de emigración y emigración.

2. Diferenciar las unidades familiares transnacionales, de carácter más inmediato, de las redes sociales migratorias en toda su amplitud.

3. Comprender las relaciones entre las redes migratorias y las estrategias identitarias que, generalmente, están marcadas de ambivalencias: "muy a menudo se clasifican las prácticas de los grupos en relación a dos polos: la separación o exterioridad, característica de los inicios de los itinerarios de acoplamiento e inserción en la sociedad de destino; la asimilación o integración, ligada a los procesos de normalización que caracterizarían los procesos de consolidación y asentamiento (…) este planteamiento supone una progresión unidireccional de los colectivos inmigrantes que se moverían siempre desde un "afuera" hacia un "adentro".[5]

Un elemento de vital importancia en el análisis del consumo cultural es el del espacio local y sus relaciones con los medios de comunicación. En su análisis sobre consumo televisivo en el sur de Madrid, Callejo (2005) retoma la preocupación por la infravaloración del espacio. En su perspectiva, algunos aspectos de la globalización parecían indicar la evaporación del concepto espacio, pues dejaba de tener relevancia en las prácticas cotidianas. Justamente en donde se tenía tal sensación era en los análisis de consumo, pues tendían a recalcar las semejanzas en las prácticas de consumo aunque no se extendían del mismo modo en las sociedades (BAUMANN, 1999)[6]: "Es más, si había espacios prácticamente idénticos en todos los lugares del mundo, con lo que se tenía

5   Las estrategias identitarias podrían, por el contrario, contener la posibilidad para los sujetos de recuperar simbólicamente el control individual de un destino indisociablemente individual y colectivo [Oriol, 1985]. Considerar esta posibilidad supone la distinción entre "cultura" e "identidad": mientras que el primer concepto se refiere a las huellas de aprendizajes sociales inconscientes (de tal forma que puede existir una cultura aún sin consciencia identitaria); el segundo, la "identidad", se refiere a normas de pertenencia, a oposición simbólica consciente (de tal forma que la consciencia identiraria se apoyará siempre en una cultura re-construida por los sujetos, una cultura de segundo orden) [Oriol, 1985]. La reafirmación identitaria supone pues, participar en un principio colectivo consciente de organización de conductas. Se trata de una manera de situarse y no el producto cuasi-natural de una tradición preservada (IOÉ, 2001).
6   Baumann, 1999: *Trabajo, consumismo y nuevos pobres*. Gedisa, Barcelona. Citado por Callejo, 2005.

pérdida de particularidad de los propios espacios, eran los espacios de consumo (CANCLINI, 1997) dentro del proceso de racionalización de éste (RITZER, 1999; RITZER; MILES, 1998)".[7] Para Callejo existen dos tendencias opuestas. Del lado de la globalización tira especialmente el mercado. Del lado de la proximidad tira especialmente la sociedad. La modernidad, entiende, puede interpretarse como la configuración y articulación de tres sistemas sociales: el sistema-sociedad, el sistema--mercado y el sistema-medios de comunicación. La extensión de la modernidad por tanto, conlleva la de sus tres sistemas base. Esto supone la conquista de los tres sistemas del propio mundo de vida. Pero además, la mundialización de los tres sistemas, que a su vez se articulan en un sistema social-mundo. En este proceso, la relación entre lo local y los medios de comunicación suele ser única. Callejo propone entender los medios en relación a tres funciones con respecto a los espacios locales o de proximidad:

1. Función dominante, como generadores de un mercado mayor, a escala planetaria. Y en este terreno, la ciudadanía deriva del consumo.
2. Función reguladora de mercados locales relativamente autónomos. Deriva de la existencia de un mercado local, con oferta y demandas locales, a los que sirve el medio.
3. Función de productores de ciudadanos, preocupados por las formas de integración de la localidad en el sistema-mundo

En su estudio sobre los municipios madrileños, Callejo apunta la incorporación de los inmigrantes extranjeros a poblaciones integradas por inmigrantes nacionales de los años setenta. Esto hace que Madrid Sur sea un experimento social donde pueden observarse incipientemente algunas características de las sociedades del futuro, como el encuentro entre varias culturas. En su estudio, identifica en los inmigrantes extranjeros una concepción menos restrictiva y más integradora que los grupos nacionales, abriendo el concepto de cultura a lo universal. En el análisis del trabajo de campo, que combinó encuestas telefónicas con grupos de discusión y entrevistas en profundidad, encontró que en los grupos con

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7   Citados por Callejo, 2005.

una concepción más restrictiva de la cultura (como el personal profesional, por ejemplo), la televisión es atacada como un enemigo de ésta. En los grupos con una concepción menos restrictiva de la cultura (como trabajadores, inmigrantes y jóvenes no universitarios), la televisión no aparece como un elemento excluido en el discurso sobre la cultura.[8]

Más recientemente, Santamarina (2007) realizó un estudio cualitativo sobre el consumo y el ocio de los inmigrantes latinoamericanos en España. El trabajo de campo se centró en la realización de grupos de discusión de jóvenes y mujeres latinoamericanas residentes en Madrid y Murcia. Para esta investigadora, la importancia del consumo reside en su carácter institucional, que alcanza un lugar hegemónico cuando se trata de sociedades pertenecientes a economías abiertas a la lógica del mercado. Por su parte, los trabajos sobre consumo cultural y consumo mediático de los inmigrantes latinoamericanos en Cataluña nos ofrecen, también, apuntes sobre las tendencias en el comportamiento de estos grupos en otras áreas geográficas. Huertas (2009) utilizó el aporte estadístico del Barómetro de la Comunicación y la Cultura que trabajó con una muestra de españoles y extranjeros complementando los datos cuantitativos con 20 entrevistas en profundidad. El estudio apunta que la mayoría de los latinoamericanos vive en hogares formados por parejas con hijos (51%), aunque es significativo el número de núcleos familiares sin descendencia (22,4%). La mayoría vive en régimen de alquiler (61,9%), aunque con un notable porcentaje de propietarios (34,3%). Los datos, referentes al 2006, muestran que la mitad de los latinoamericanos cobraba menos de 900 euros mensuales. Huertas retoma la transición que hace unos años propició empezar a trabajar con el concepto de "migración transnacional", que supuso un paso respecto a la idea de

8   Entre algunos de estos grupos –sobre todo, entre los entrevistados– hay que señalar que la posición contra la inclusión de la televisión en la cultura se vincula con lo comercial. La televisión sería el principal productor de mercancía cultural industrial, lo que prácticamente no deja espacio para la producción y gestión artesanal de la cultura, que es la posición material ideológica en la que preferentemente están los que la reivindican. Así nos encontramos con la aparente paradoja de que la televisión queda excluida de su concepción de la cultura y, sin embargo, se la tiene como la principal fuente de productos que podrían denominarse culturales (cantantes, artistas, actores, películas, etc.), por lo tanto, la principal productora de demanda cultural. (ibid: 118).

"sociedad posnacional", y que nos permite mantener la idea de trabajar con la perspectiva de migrantes internacionales desplazados desde sus lugares de origen, pero sin romper los lazos y las comunicaciones transfronterizas. En este sentido, el rol central de los medios de información y comunicación permite recomponer las relaciones cotidianas en lazos transnacionales, tanto con los afectos y relaciones familiares como con las relaciones grupales, barriales y hasta nacionales. Huertas propone tres posicionamientos respecto a los tipos de actividad cultural: a) la posición segregacionista, desde la que el inmigrante asume el consumo de productos ofrecidos de manera sesgada para su colectivo; b) la posición integradora, que permitiría identificar aquel inmigrantes que no evalúa preconcepciones sobre el origen geográfico de los contenidos a la hora de realizar su consumo; c) la posición asimilacionista, que la ubica en los casos en los que el inmigrante intenta responder al arquetipo de la población autóctona que lo llevaría al extremo de despreciar sus raíces culturales.

El riesgo de establecer categorías de clasificación de las prácticas culturales reside en presuponer que las actitudes individuales y colectivas son inamovibles y certeras. Proponemos, más bien, repensar las prácticas en su carácter dinámico y muchas veces contradictorio. Las aproximaciones cualitativas en el tiempo nos pueden brindar pistas de reacomodos, de sinergias y de incongruencias en los comportamientos. La naturaleza dinámica de las migraciones es tal que los hallazgos encontrados en un estudio puntual resulten obsoletos en un lapso de dos o tres años. La coyuntura de la crisis, por ejemplo, viene propiciando nuevos desplazamientos de trabajadores migrantes. La movilidad interna e internacional escapa de las previsiones estadísticas y, por ahora, sólo es perceptible en el terreno del trabajo de campo.

En otra investigación que venimos realizando sobre medios étnicos en «ciudades globales»,[9] nos encontramos en la inauguración de la Casa Ecuador en Londres. En el evento la Secretaría Ecuatoriana

9   Un trabajo que venimos realizando desde la Universidad Estatal de California Northdrige titulado "Medios étincos en «ciudades globales»: Los Angeles, Madrid, Londres".

del Inmigrante (SEMI) hacía evidente el reconocimiento de un nuevo flujo de migrantes ecuatorianos hacia la capital inglesa, algunos de ellos provenientes de España. Ese mismo fin de semana entrevistamos a un adulto joven de Pereira, residente en España, pero que acaba de abrir en Londres un restaurante de comida colombiana con su madre, residente en el Reino Unido. En una zona de la periferia inmediata al centro del Londres, donde se reúnen las actividades de comercio, ocio y cultura de los inmigrantes extracomunitarios, el muchacho nos comentaba su intensión de iniciar un segundo proceso migratorio desde el Levante español, donde siguen residiendo su mujer y sus dos hijos pequeños, hacia la capital británica. El paro sostenido ha incentivado a este joven a rediseñar un nuevo proyecto de vida, situación que se replica con una mujer boliviana que vende pan con queso al otro extremo de la ciudad, en otro polo de concentración de migración extracomunitaria en Londres. Mientras metía sus masas de pan, esta mujer de mediana edad, nos explicaba su proyecto de retorno y cómo cada vez ve menos paisanos en el metro de la ciudad; en su percepción: una muestra de los procesos de retorno. En Nueva York, un taxista ecuatoriano nos comenta que sus familiares y amigos le han pedido ayuda para incorporarse al mercado laboral de la ciudad y que, probablemente, estén dejando los crecientes desplazamientos de portorriqueños hacia otras áreas como Boston y Orlando. Estas experiencias individuales, muestran tendencias sobre nuevos procesos migratorios transfronterizos. Los proyectos, por tanto, no resultan inamovibles, sino que se transforman como consecuencia de las condiciones coyunturales. Este es un elemento que tenemos que tomar en cuenta en nuestras interpretaciones sobre los procesos diaspóricos.

La centralidad de los medios en el contexto migratorio

Los trabajos de Huertas y otros (2009, 2010), así como el de Chavero y García-Muñoz (2005) son pioneras aproximaciones cualitativas al conocimiento del consumo mediático por parte de los inmigrantes latinoamericanos en Cataluña. Así apuntan a la televisión como el

medio hegemónico en la dieta de los latinoamericanos, con una alta penetración de las cadenas estatales y con el porcentaje de penetración más bajo de la televisiones autonómicas en el grueso de los inmigrantes extracomunitarios. Y anotan también el moderado incremento de las nuevas tecnologías en los hogares de latinoamericanos en Cataluña. Estas investigaciones apuntan la elevada actividad cultural tanto de los medios de comunicación como en los relacionados con bienes y servicios culturales disponibles. Sería la tipología del consumo integrador la que prevalece y remarcan el uso de los medios para aprender el catalán (HUERTAS, 2009), así como para conocer mejor a la comunidad en la que se reside (CHÁVERO; GARCÍA-MUÑOZ, 2005).

En los años recientes se han realizado algunos estudios cuantitativos de audiencias inmigrantes, tanto a nivel de Madrid como en el territorio nacional. En una reciente investigación dábamos cuenta de los primeros sondeos públicos en este aspecto (RETIS, 2006). En su boletín informativo de octubre de 2004, la Asociación para la Investigación de Medios de Comunicación (AIMC, 2004) presentó un primer sondeo sobre el comportamiento de los inmigrantes en el consumo de medios de comunicación. Con las advertencias sobre ciertos sesgos que condicionarían la infraestimación del grupo analizado, se desveló la comparativa respecto a las audiencias españolas: menor consumo de periódicos, similar uso de revistas y un mayor consumo de Internet. En esos años, la encuesta encontró que los inmigrantes escuchaban menos radio en su conjunto, pero la temática en contenidos musicales conseguía una mayor penetración. Se anotó también un menor número de horas de televisión al día. Tres años más tarde se hicieron públicos los estudios de la agencia de investigación de mercados AC Nielsen y el Estudio de Medios Inmigrantes, de la Asociación para el conocimiento de la población inmigrante (ACPI). Este estudio identificó cinco tendencias: a) que los inmigrantes consumen menos horas de televisión que los españoles, y que tienen un creciente consumo de canales internacionales; b) que los inmigrantes tienen un mayor consumo de radio, con una notable preferencia por las estaciones musicales; c) que los inmigrantes tienden

a consumir más medios gratuitos que de pago; d) su consumo de medios dirigidos a inmigrantes es mayor que la prensa generalista; e) un destacado uso de nuevas tecnologías. En octubre del 2005, AIMC publicó estimaciones sobre el comportamiento de las audiencias inmigradas en España. En este documento advierte de la problemática para que estos grupos sean representados en el Estudio General de Medios (EGM). En su estudio se arrojaron nuevos datos que nos da pistas para entender las tendencias comparativas entre los latinoamericanos y los españoles: a) aquellos leen menos diarios pero más revistas que éstos, b) su consumo de Internet es semejante, c) los latinoamericanos escuchan más radio temática y menos generalista.

Entre mayo y junio EMI de 2008 encuestó a 3,215 residentes en la Comunidad de Madrid, la provincia de Barcelona y el Gran Levante (provincias de Castellón, Valencia, Alicante, Murcia y Almería). Sus resultados confirmaron una penetración moderada de los semanales para inmigrantes de carácter gratuito (27%), seguido de los gratuitos generalistas (24,3%), los mensuales dirigidos a inmigrantes (24,3%) y los diarios generalistas y deportivos (14,9%). Entre los periódicos generalistas que más lee la población inmigrante en el 2008, se encuentra el diario El País (98,8%), el Marca (72,5%) y El Mundo (52%).[10] Más de la mitad de los inmigrantes encuestados afirmaron que no van nunca al cine (57,6%), mientras que el 42,4% reconoció que asiste alguna vez. De estos, la mayoría comenta que va una vez al mes en promedio, o que en un año puede verse entre 5 y 6 películas. Respecto al consumo de radio, la encuesta reveló que tres cuartas partes se considera un radioescucha habitual (71%), mientras que un 28,9% afirma que no la escucha nunca o casi nunca. De quienes siguen la programación radiofónica, la mayoría lo hace diariamente o entre 3 y 4 días a la semana. Casi la totalidad de los encuestados reconoció ver la televisión (97%) y que lo hace todos los días.

10   Le siguen, en orden decreciente: La Vanguardia (41,7%), As (40,7%), El Periódico de Cataluña (31,9%), ABC (25,5%), El Mundo Deportivo (23,2), El Levante (21,8%), Sport (21,4%), La Razón (19,1%), La Verdad de Murcia (16,8%), Información de Alicante (11,7%), Las Provincias (7,3%), Público (4,0%), La Voz de Almería (3,3%).

La penetración del teléfono móvil aparece en este estudio con un fuerte peso específico (94.9%), un porcentaje mucho más alto que el teléfono fijo (72,3%). Sin embargo, los encuestados reconocieron que en los hogares no resulta habitual tener conexión a Internet. Sólo el 27,8% de los encuestados confirma tener este servicio en sus casas. Un dato indicativo es que a pesar de no contar con conexión en casa, la mitad de los entrevistados reconoció haberse conectado el día anterior a la fecha de la entrevista (52,5%) o haberlo hecho en algún momento de la semana reciente (33,7%), por lo que se deduce que continúan utilizando los servicios de Internet ofrecidos en locutorios, cibercafés, bibliotecas, etc. Y cuando acceden a la red, lo hacen mayoritariamente para utilizar el correo electrónico, ver páginas web o chatear. También reconocen leer noticias sobre el país de origen o noticias en general. Muy por debajo en la comparativa aparecen los usos de descargas de archivos, videoconferencias telefonía IP, escuchar radio, realizar operaciones bancarias, comprar, Messenger, estudiar, ver televisión, escuchar música o jugar.[11]

Los datos del Estudio General de Medios publicados en 2008, nos dan una primera aproximación al comportamiento de los usuarios y las audiencias por colectivos nacionales. La tabla 1 nos permite esbozar una aproximación más detallada sobre las prácticas y, en concreto, nos ayuda a acercarnos a los grupos de ecuatorianos y colombianos. Según se deduce de este sondeo, el 34% de los ecuatorianos lee diarios, mayormente por su información general y en menor medida por la información deportiva. Casi la mitad reconoce leer revistas, especialmente las mensuales. La penetración de los diarios en los colombianos es ligeramente superior (38%) y reflejan proporcionalmente semejantes intereses por tópicos. Es decir, que se compra la prensa para informarse

11   Respecto a otros productos y servicios disponibles, más de la mitad de los entrevistados afirma disponer de vehículo propio (62,5%); sin embargo, sólo el 29,2% respondieron tener carnet de conducir. El 21,2% tiene video consola. Respecto a la vivienda, el 64,8% alquila su vivienda, el 11,1% alquila una habitación, el 0,9% trabaja como interna. El 21,9% posee vivienda propia. El 62,5% envía remesas a su país de origen regularmente.

de las noticias en general y para revisar los resultados de los últimos partidos o campeonatos.

Tabla 1. Inmigrantes latinoamericanos en España: Consumo de publicaciones

Penetra-ción % 2007	Total Diarios	Info General	Info Depor.	Info Econ.	Suplem	Total Revistas	Sem	Quin	Mens
Españoles	40,7	37,1	10,0	0,6	26,4	49,6	23,1	3,1	38,4
Extranjeros	31,2	28,6	7,2	0,3	13,0	47,4	18,0	4,1	39,7
Ecuador	34,1	31,4	8,0	0,5	12,0	51,3	23,9	6,0	42,3
Colombia	34,8	32,9	6,3	0,3	13,0	59,5	21,2	4,5	48,7
Bolivia	34,4	32,9	6,7	0,6	9,4	42,4	16,1	2,7	34,2
Argentina	34,7	32,3	7,4	0,0	21,1	61,4	18,6	1,0	54,4
Perú	50,8	46,0	16,2	0,0	14,5	56,0	22,8	6,6	43,7
Brasil	33,9	30,7	8,6	0,0	14,0	49,2	15,9	3,9	44,1
Rep. Dom.	30,0	27,1	4,6	0,0	21,3	52,5	25,9	5,8	43,0

Fuente: Estudio General de Medios. Datos citados en: Gabardo y Santiago, 2008.

En términos de medios masivos, como muestra la tabla 2, la penetración de la televisión es superior en los ecuatorianos que en los colombianos (56,5% respecto al 51,6%), ligeramente por debajo de la media española. En la comparativa de las escuchas radiofónicas las proporciones se muestran semejantes: son más ecuatorianos que colombianos los que escuchan radio (56,5% frente a 51,6%) y también gustan más de radio temática (41,5% frente a 39,5%). Sin embargo, las proporciones se invierten cuando hablamos de radios generalistas. Son más colombianos los que sintonizan cadenas de contenido variado (10,5% ante 6,3%).

La Encuesta de 2007 nos ofrece datos valiosos sobre comportamientos sociales. A partir de las interpretaciones de los expertos y corroborando las cifras del informe estadístico podemos conocer por ejemplo el estado civil de los adultos provenientes de Latinoamérica en España: el 45% está soltero y el 8% ha enviudado. En las respuestas de los entrevistados

se identificó que la mayoría de los hombres ecuatorianos o bolivianos tiende a tener parejas provenientes de sus países de origen (90% de los casados), así como las mujeres bolivianas (más del 85%). Un tercio o más de las mujeres colombianas, argentinas o peruanas ha establecido relaciones con algún español. Más de la cuarta parte de los hombres argentinos y peruanos tiene pareja española. Los datos de la encuesta ayudan a identificar a quienes aún viven separados de sus cónyuges, es decir, manteniendo la estructura de familia trasnacional. En este sentido destacan los provenientes de Bolivia (34% de hombres y 21% de mujeres), Perú (26% y 24%), Ecuador y Colombia (más del 20% de los hombres). De las 240.000 parejas transnacionales, 84 mil proceden de América Latina: 20.000 de Ecuador, y más de 10.000 en el caso de los colombianos, peruanos y bolivianos (ENI, 2007).

Tabla 2. Inmigrantes latinoamericanos España: Consumo de Medios

Penetración % 2007	Total Radio	Radio Gen.	Radio Temática	Total TV	Cine	Internet Ayer	Exterior Ayer
Españoles	56,8	30,8	29,6	89,3	5,3	26,2	50,9
Extranjeros	47,1	8,8	37,1	83,7	5,3	26,6	60,8
Ecuador	56,5	6,3	47,5	88,3	6,8	19,1	65,8
Colombia	51,6	10,5	39,5	85,8	5,0	32,9	67,6
Bolivia	50,5	7,3	41,5	87,4	4,4	16,8	64,2
Argentina	52,0	11,7	42,0	83,6	7,4	45,3	61,3
Perú	55,1	7,9	50,5	86,2	7,9	41,4	73,8
Brasil	42,6	4,2	39,5	78,3	11,3	44,8	61,7
Rep. Dom.	46,4	8,7	37,6	84,2	5,4	14,1	53,3

Fuente: Estudio General de Medios. Datos citados en: Gabardo y Santiago, 2008.

Entender las complejidades de los hogares de los latinoamericanos en España nos permite también comprender las diversas variables que pueden influir en las prácticas de consumo cultural, especialmente en lo referente a los medios de comunicación. Según los datos de la encuesta, nos encontramos ante un grupo indicativo de hogares multinacionales. Este dato nos da pistas sobre formas de negociación de los consumos

colectivos y las prácticas culturales directas y mediadas. La encuesta in-
dica que en la mitad de los hogares de los latinoamericanos (53%) todos
los miembros nacieron fuera de España: 60% en los hogares bolivianos
y peruanos, 58% de los hogares ecuatorianos, 55% de los argentinos. Los
latinoamericanos presentan menos hogares unipersonales que la media
general de los inmigrantes en España. En el caso de los bolivianos, por
ejemplo, es casi inexistente. En menos de la mitad de los hogares lati-
noamericanos viven exclusivamente familiares directos (48%): sólo en
el 19% de los hogares bolivianos, seguidos de colombianos, peruanos
y ecuatorianos; siendo casi inexistentes en los argentinos. Estos hoga-
res multinacionales nos permiten inferir procesos de convivencia en la
que también se producen prácticas trasnacionales (ENI, 2007). La po-
blación que más habitualmente forma hogares donde conviven varias
nacionalidades son los provenientes de Ecuador (13% de los hogares),
especialmente con otros latinoamericanos, particularmente de Bolivia,
pero también de Colombia y Perú. Un caso significativo es el de los ho-
gares colombianos (9%), que conviven principalmente con personas de
Bolivia y Ecuador. El 8% de los hogares argentinos convive con perua-
nos y bolivianos; mientras que el 7% de los hogares bolivianos convive
con argentinos y peruanos (ENI, 2007).

Las familias transnacionales latinoamericanas

De los 425.000 padres y madres menores de 45 años que tienen a sus hijos
en el país de origen, la mayoría procede de América Latina (245.000).[12]
Por colectivos nacionales los más notables son los padres nacidos en
Ecuador (73.000), seguidos de Bolivia (50.000), Colombia (42.000) y
Perú (18.000). Si se concentra la atención en los padres y madres meno-
res de 45 años, se advierte que el 30% de los latinoamericanos tienen a
sus hijos en sus países de origen: 54% de los bolivianos, 32% de perua-
nos y ecuatorianos, 30% de colombianos y 7% de argentinos. Entre esta
población de hijos separados de los padres existen potenciales flujos de

12   De las personas de 16 y más años con hijos destacan los ecuatorianos (72%), seguidos por
colombianos y bolivianos (68%) (*ibid*).

nueva inmigración (*ibid*; 57-58). Una gran mayoría de los extranjeros residentes en España tiene al menos uno de sus progenitores vivos: el 77% de los inmigrantes latinoamericanos cuenta con sus padres. Del total de los inmigrantes, algo más de la mitad (48% de los padres y 43% de las madres) está instalado en España, mientras que la otra mitad viven en los países de origen (48% de los padres y 54% de las madres). Esto nos permite comprobar la existencia de los lazos familiares establecidos en espacios transnacionales transfronterizos (*ibid*: 60).

Aunque los proyectos migratorios pueden estar variando en estos momentos debido a la coyuntura económica y social, la encuesta de 2007 nos permite esbozar una fotografía más o menos fiel respecto a los planes de los extranjeros residiendo en España para los próximos cinco años. Así sabemos que el 81% de los adultos tiene decidido permanecer en este país, mientras que el 8% reconoció que podría marcharse (7% a su país, 1% a otro distinto). Un 11% de los entrevistados afirmó no tener una decisión clara al respecto. Entre las personas más dispuestas a marcharse se encuentran las que al llegar a España tenían entre 20 y 34 años, las que llegaron a partir del 2002 y las que tienen entre 20 y 24 años. En otras palabras, las personas más jóvenes y las que llevan menos tiempo de residencia en España. También es más notorio en las personas con estudios superiores (9%) y las mujeres (8%). Respecto a los colectivos nacionales, es más evidente el deseo de volver en el caso de los bolivianos (24%) y ecuatorianos (15%), mientras que el 84% de los colombianos y los argentinos manifiesta una preferencia por permanecer viviendo en España. La cuarta parte del total de los entrevistados manifestó su deseo de traer a algún familiar.[13]

13   Entre los latinoamericanos el 78% de los bolivianos no ha regresado nunca a su país de nacimiento, hecho que ocurre entre el 40% de los ecuatorianos, peruanos y argentinos, y el 38% de los colombianos. El 80% de los que afirmaron haber viajado lo hicieron para visitar a familiares y amigos, el 63% lo hizo para disfrutar de sus vacaciones, el 7%, para obtener la documentación migratoria y el 5% para resolver algún asunto económico. De entre los que invierten más días en la estancia destacan los bolivianos (52 días) y los ecuatorianos (más de 45 días).

Prácticas transnacionales: envíos de remesas y comunicación

Más del 60% de los ecuatorianos, colombianos y bolivianos, y casi la mitad de los peruanos, envían mensualmente dinero a sus países. La suma promedio anual de los envíos del 2006, refleja que los hombres colombianos y peruanos enviaron más de 2.500 euros; mientras que las mujeres ecuatorianas, colombianas, bolivianas y peruanas enviaron más de 2000 euros. Los envíos son realizados especialmente a los padres (62%, especialmente ecuatorianos). Una cuarta parte envía el dinero a sus hijos (especialmente bolivianos y peruanos). El 23% dirige las remesas a un hermano o hermana (particularmente colombianos). La mitad de los envíos se realizan por agencia especializada (52%), el 28% utiliza transferencias bancarias y el 14% realiza giros postales. Un 6% aprovecha el viaje de algún conocido para el encargo. Más del 55% de los bolivianos y los colombianos utiliza el locutorio o la agencia de envíos para realizar sus remesas, más del 35% de los peruanos y los argentinos prefieren la transferencia bancaria. El 15% de los colombianos y el 26% de los argentinos utiliza el giro postal.

El 90% de los inmigrantes encuestados mantiene contacto con el país de origen. En el caso de los latinoamericanos esta cifra sube a 95%, especialmente en los procedentes de Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia y Perú. Ligeramente más bajo se encuentra Argentina, con un 93%. El medio más utilizado es el teléfono (97%). El 66% llama por lo menos una vez por semana (especialmente los colombianos y bolivianos), el 30% lo hace quincenal o semanalmente. El segundo lugar en el método de comunicación lo ocupan los servicios de Internet. Un 37% de los inmigrados utiliza sus correos electrónicos o el chat. De éstos, el 76% lo hace semanalmente (especialmente argentinos) y el 21% quincenal o mensualmente (particularmente ecuatorianos y bolivianos), el 3% sólo lo utiliza de manera esporádica. La comunicación por Internet es mayor en las personas menores de 20 años o, de entre 60 y 64 años con estudios superiores. El teléfono es usado con mayor frecuencia por inmigrantes

recientes que llegaron con 30 o más años cumplidos y tienen estudios primarios.

Tabla 3. Participación de inmigrantes latinoamericanos en organizaciones

		Países americanos sin EEUU CANADA	Ecuador	Colombia	Bolivia	Argentina	Resto de países americanos sin EEUU CANADA
Pregunta	Total	1787691	371743	299479	157732	231630	727107
Organizaciones de ayuda al inmigrante	sí	43248	5221	9073	6259	3508	19188
	no	1724982	362477	288328	150279	224736	699163
	n/c	19461	4045	2079	1193	3386	8757
Asociaciones y clubes deportivos	si	41089	10810	2552	10164	2768	14796
	no	1727141	356888	294848	146374	225476	703555
	n/c	19461	4045	2079	1193	3386	8757
Grupos educativos y culturales	si	25880	3332	2475	4329	4513	11231
	no	1742351	364365	294925	152210	223730	707120
	n/c	19461	4045	2079	1193	3386	8757
Entidades y grupos religiosos	si	26301	3797	888	7849	1890	11876
	no	1741930	363900	296512	148690	226353	706474
	n/c	19461	4045	2079	1193	3386	8757
Otros grupos de carácter social	si	30081	3345	2530	6632	3557	14016
	no	1738150	364353	294870	149907	224687	704334
	n/c	19461	4045	2079	1193	3386	8757
	Total	1768231	367698	297400	156539	228244	718351
	Total n/c	19461	4045	2079	1193	3386	8757

Fuente: Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes 2007

Participación en actividades asociativas en España

Los índices de asociacionismo entre los inmigrantes son más bien bajos. Las respuestas resumidas en la tabla 3 demuestran que cuando los inmigrantes se acercan a las asociaciones lo hacen en mayor proporción a

las entidades destinadas a toda la población, más que a las que orientan sus servicios a la población de origen extranjero. De todas las existentes, son las de carácter deportivo las que más participación consiguen (el 7% del total de los inmigrantes, 5% en genéricas y 2% en específicas para extranjeros. El 6% se inscribe en las de origen educativo o cultural (4% en las generales y 2% en las de extranjeros). El 5% participa de las de índole social (3% generales y 2% para extranjeros), mientras que el 2% reconoce participar de asociaciones de carácter religioso (2% generales y 2% para extranjeros). En el disgregado por nacionalidades observamos cómo en el terreno de las organizaciones inmigrantes se aprecia una concentración mayor de colombianos y bolivianos, mientras que en asociaciones y clubes deportivos, son los ecuatorianos los más participan. Los grupos educativos y culturales son más asiduos en los argentinos y bolivianos. En cuanto a las actividades relacionadas con entidades y grupos religiosos fueron bolivianos y ecuatorianos los que en mayor proporción aseguraron participar de alguna.

Una aproximación empírica desde los discursos

La perspectiva transnacional nos permite entender que los migrantes no rompen con los lazos personales, familiares, sociales e institucionales, ni con sus formas de pertenencia, sus emociones y sus sensaciones. En realidad, todos estos procesos se transforman, se enriquecen y se complejizan en el vivir transnacional. Los consumos culturales, por tanto, reflejan también procesos de transición entre herencias, arraigos personales y colectivos, y mutaciones hacia conformaciones nuevas que reelaboran hibridaciones culturales (CANCLINI, 1989, 2002); resulta imprescindible deconstruir las prácticas de las mediaciones en la recepción de los medios y el consumo cultural (MARTÍN BARBERO, 2006). En 2011 realizamos una investigación de carácter cualitativo que buscaba poner en consonancia las tendencias generales planteadas en sondeos y encuestas, con los discursos recogidos en entrevistas en profundidad y grupos de discusión. Se buscó también contraponer la coyuntura actual con la evidencia de las transformaciones en los procesos de producción

y circulación de bienes culturales y comunicativos ofrecidos y consumidos preferentemente por inmigrantes latinoamericanos en España. Se trataba de analizar y comprender cómo verbalizan y/o representan discursivamente diversos aspectos de sus prácticas cotidianas individuales y colectivas.

Una de las primeras constataciones de las entrevistas es la evidencia de un proceso de evolución en la concepción del inmigrante como *target* de la publicidad comercial. En los años previos a la explosión de la crisis, a los estereotipos del «inmigrante extracomunitario» en el *discurso de la exclusión* en la producción mediática informativa y de ficción, se contraponía la irrupción de la figura del «cliente potencial» por parte del discurso publicitario (RETIS; GALÁN, 2010). Las campañas de bancos, remesadoras y telefonía representaban al inmigrante como un target de audiencia apetecible y en crecimiento. En este periodo es cuando surgen las agencias de medios de inmigrantes. Con la fundación de Minority, Mundo Etnia, Ethnical Consultants y Grupo Eñe, se consolidaba esta etapa en el plano comercial. Estas agencias se sumaron a las previsiones sobre el mercado inmigrante que ya habían lanzado en su momento las agencias como el AC Nielsen, TNS, o People Matters que incorporaron el sector inmigrante en sus estudios generales de mercado. En la primera Feria de productos y servicios para inmigrantes organizada en Madrid en 2007 acudieron 180 empresas involucradas en el sector y asiduos anunciantes en los medios étnicos.[14]

Por entonces, a finales del 2007, revisábamos la historia reciente de producción de medios para inmigrantes y proponíamos cuatro etapas

14   El sector financiero, que crearon firmas especializadas para captar el negocio de las remesas, un servicio en el que los canales oficiales movieron 6.250 millones de euros en 2006. Aquí participaron: Banco Popular, el Banco Santander, Banesto, Caja Madrid, Caja Navarra, el Deutsche Bank Credit, La Caixa, Credi Agil Dinero Express, Grupo Bem, Moneygram, RD Money Transfer, Safe Money Transfers, y Western Union. En el sector de la telefonía, la participación estuvo representada por: Telefónica, Orange, Vodafone, C3- Calling Card Company Spain, Digital Bells, Happy Móvil, Lebara Mobile, Lleida.net, Orbitel y Tellink Sistemas. El sector inmobiliario: como Look & Find, Veigas Inmobiliaria, Union Andina, Grupo FDP-Obra Nueva, Grupo Inmobiliario Geconsa, Rivera Vergara, Casa Sueño, Concrisol, Marina Dor Ciudad de Vacaciones y Portal Inmobiliario De Ecuador. En el sector de la alimentación, la representacion de las empresas fue variada: Carrefour, Campofrío, Coca Cola, Gourmet Latino, Naturandina-America Import, Induveca, Opencor, Superandes, y Nativo-Goya. En el sector empleo figuraron ADECO y Opencor.

del desarrollo: 1) el surgimiento de las iniciativas de la producción mediática a comienzos de los noventa; 2) la primera oleada de incremento de medios (2002-2003); 3) una segunda oleada de acrecencia de medios (2003-2006); y 4) la consolidación de las sinergias asociativas y de competencia directa. En esa investigación apuntábamos que, en nuestra perspectiva, el futuro inmediato de los medios étnicos en Madrid dependerían de las coyunturas económicas. Pues bien, podemos ahora hablar de una quinta etapa de recesión –que no de extinción– iniciada en el 2009 y en proceso de consolidación el día de hoy. Los medios dirigidos a inmigrantes que tuvieron un *boom* de crecimiento en la cima de la época de bonanza de la economía española, vienen resintiendo la drástica reducción de las inversiones publicitarias. Como consecuencia, la prensa gratuita inmigrante se ha contraído tanto en número de páginas como en monto de tiraje y canales de distribución. Estos procesos no resultan sorprendentes ni aislados. En otros países como Estados Unidos, por ejemplo, comprobamos una seria reestructuración orgánica de la producción de medios dirigidos a minorías étnicas o migrantes. Lo que sí resulta sugerente en la constatación de que, a pesar de la confluencia de la crisis económica y la reconversión tecnológica, estos medios, considerados como minoritarios, han resistido en algunos casos en mejores condiciones que los medios de referencia o *mainstream*. El análisis comparado de la producción de medios étnicos en ciudades como Madrid, Londres y Los Ángeles nos permite esbozar algunas pistas sobre la consolidación y acrecencia moderada de los "medios latinos" (RETIS, 2010).

En España, la incidencia de los reajustes económicos, tecnológicos y publicitarios en el terreno de los medios dirigidos a inmigrantes ha propiciado una serie de reacomodos. De las entrevistas se deduce que se ha producido una retracción en la producción. Según las percepciones de los expertos, ha habido una disminución de casi la mitad en las tiradas de los medios impresos, lo que ha llevado, lógicamente, a que el posicionamiento de estos medios sea mucho menor en todos los puntos de distribución. Además, ante la desaparición de algunos medios menores,

se ha producido una considerable disminución de la oferta especializada para los inmigrantes. Para los expertos entrevistados, no sólo ha sido evidente la desaparición de medios, sino que el tiraje de las publicaciones ha reducido considerablemente. Esta coyuntura se ha producido, en su perspectiva, como consecuencia de la retracción de la inversión publicitaria, tanto la proveniente de las empresas grandes como de las medianas y las pequeñas. Ante el retraimiento de la publicidad, las tarifas se han abaratado, ya no solamente en el caso de los medios de comunicación pequeños, sino en los medios españoles que han puesto su incidencia en los nichos publicitarios migrantes. Estas sinergias han provocado un mayor nivel de competitividad de medios "españoles" con medios "inmigrantes".

En el sondeo que aplicamos en el 2007 a los directivos de los medios dirigidos a inmigrantes, se daba cuenta de una alta incidencia de las entidades financieras, bancos y aseguradoras como clientes publicitarios de los medios producidos en Madrid, seguidos por empresas de servicios de telefonía, remesadoras e inmobiliarias, agencias de viajes y aerolíneas (RETIS, 2006). Tres años más tarde, los expertos en "marketing étnico" reconocen la retirada de estos clientes de la cartera manejada en estos días. El inicial entusiasmo del sector publicitario ante un nicho en evidente alza en la primera mitad de la década, ha sobrevenido en un frenazo de los flujos de inversión en los medios dirigidos a inmigrantes. Esta disminución se ha producido no sólo con la publicidad comercial sino con la publicidad institucional, que también se apreciaba considerablemente en los ingresos de los medios producidos principalmente en Madrid y Barcelona pero distribuidos a nivel nacional.

Como apuntábamos antes, la coyuntura de la crisis económica ha sido una variable significativa en la elaboración de este análisis, no sólo en el marco de la elaboración del trabajo de campo, sino en las propias declaraciones de los informantes. Las percepciones sobre el contexto de la crisis económica en general, los efectos en la sociedad española y la incidencia en el nivel de vida en el contexto transnacional de los migrantes latinoamericanos y sus familias, han sido los principales prismas

desde donde los informantes han venido evaluando sus procesos de consumo cultural, sus relaciones sociales y afectivas dentro y fuera de sus comunidades de pertenencia.

Tanto en los grupos de discusión como en las entrevistas individuales, identificamos algunos elementos de consenso:

a. *La reducción de los consumos debido a la crisis.* La percepción generalizada de que nos encontramos en un momento crítico de la economía en la que los inmigrantes tienden a reducir los consumos que no consideran vitales para su subsistencia. Por tanto, a lo largo de las declaraciones, encontramos referencias permanentes a estrategias de supervivencia como reducción de consumos en materia de restaurantes, cine y ocio en general. Estos nuevos comportamientos no han sido valorados aún en los sondeos y encuestas de audiencias. Probablemente, aparezcan las variaciones porcentuales en estudios futuros.

b. *El factor precio.* El valor monetario de los productos culturales y mediáticos. Esta valoración se produce como consecuencia de la primera. En las entrevistas observamos cómo los informantes recalcan el valor de los productos y realizan comparativas con otras ciudades, otros países, o, simplemente con el beneficio de no gastar dinero en determinados productos y servicios.

c. *La estimación de la gratuidad.* Al amparo de lo anterior, los discursos de los informantes, sobre todo en los que llevan mucho más tiempo de residencia y/o los de mayor edad, tienden a apuntar la gratuidad de los productos y servicios como un valor al alza en la elección de los usos y las prácticas mediáticas y culturales.

d. *El factor tiempo como un valor preciado en el intercambio de productos mediáticos y simbólicos.* Los inmigrantes latinoamericanos tienden a definir su consumo cultural en términos del tiempo. Estos períodos no invertidos en situaciones de trabajo o de relaciones familiares suelen estar supeditados a una serie de jerarquías en las valoraciones que hacen de los usos de sus cotidianeidades. Como

consecuencia, nos encontraremos con diversas justificaciones a la escasez de consumos culturales debido a la falta de tiempo.

e. *La visión crítica del endogrupo y de otros grupos inmigrantes.* Encontramos una constante en el trabajo de campo y es la capacidad de autocrítica sobre el conjunto de «nosotros, los latinoamericanos» o «nosotros, los ecuatorianos», o «nosotros, los colombianos», frente al «ellos, los españoles» e incluso «ellos, los murcianos» o «ellos, los madrileños». En estas relaciones pares de semejanza/antagonía, las prácticas culturales son evaluadas en su carácter colectivo. En este caso, han sido significativas las discrepancias en los grupos de discusión, más evidentes en las fronteras generacionales y de género: los jóvenes y las mujeres de las entrevistas y los grupos de discusión han sido más críticos en estos aspectos.

f. *La elevada segmentación de la alta cultura.* En los párrafos siguientes analizamos a detalle la valoración crítica de los consumos culturales y mediáticos. Sin embargo, uno de los consensos encontrados es la constatación de que el consumo de alta cultura resulta segmentado y concentrado en los grupos de mayor nivel educativo y/o adquisitivo. En muy escasas ocasiones los informantes han reconocido acudir a conciertos de música clásica, museos o exposiciones.

g. *Preeminencia de los consumos mediáticos.* Tal como ocurre en el panorama latinoamericano, los inmigrantes entrevistados para este estudio reconocen central el consumo de medios en sus prácticas culturales.

h. *Acrecencia del consumo de nuevas tecnologías.* Como hemos apuntado en la revisión de los estudios de mercado precedentes, los inmigrantes de esta investigación exploratoria han reconocido el incremento del uso de los teléfonos móviles y el acceso a Internet, especialmente para consultar el correo electrónico, chatear y consultar páginas web.

i. *Escasa participación en las actividades culturales.* En el análisis detallado de los grupos y las entrevistas describiremos las diferentes

posiciones sobre este aspecto. Sin embargo, hemos encontrado consenso en los informantes sobre la escasa participación en las actividades culturales y sociales, salvo determinadas excepciones, que detallaremos más adelante.

La complejidad de los procesos de llegada y asentamiento de los inmigrantes internacionales se vislumbra también en las concepciones ante diversos temas que les atañen. En las discusiones de grupo especialmente, pero también en las entrevistas en profundidad, hemos encontrado posicionamientos divergentes u opuestos frente a situaciones comunes. En general, podemos apuntar los siguientes:

a. La incidencia de la variable generacional en las percepciones sobre los procesos de incorporación a la sociedad de destino. Las personas adultas tienden a tener una posición más crítica con su entorno de origen. Mientras que los jóvenes plantean posiciones más críticas con la sociedad de destino. Respecto a los consumos culturales, por ejemplo, los informantes de mayor edad reconocen las ventajas comparativas debido al mejor nivel adquisitivo adquirido en España. Los más jóvenes, recurren a estrategias de defensa ante entornos que interpretan como menos favorables para el consumo. Estas posiciones se evidencian en los grupos de discusión, particularmente, en el caso de Madrid.

b. La variable generacional influye también en las decisiones de consumo y compra. Los informantes mayores tienden a tener una perspectiva más austera frente a los consumos, argumentando la coyuntura de la crisis económica. En sus explicaciones sobre nuevas estrategias de ahorro en los consumos cotidianos, muestran un especial interés en descartar todos aquellos consumos considerados como secundarios. En el caso de los jóvenes, sin embargo, no hemos comprobado posiciones tan austeras respecto a sus prácticas cotidianas.

c. La valoración de la oferta mediática de producción española tampoco ha supuesto un consenso generalizado. Nos hemos encontrado con posiciones divergentes en la evaluación crítica de

la oferta televisiva. Aunque se tiende a valorar más positivamente la producción de los países de origen, por su cercanía temática y cultural, las críticas a la producción española varían desde la percepción negativa a las copias de programas importados y la calidad informativa, a la percepción positiva de los programas de comedia y documentales. En este sentido hemos identificado algunas diferencias, particularmente en la variable género. Los hombres tienden a ser más críticos con los contenidos informativos. Las mujeres aprecian más las producciones cómicas e infantiles.

d. La asistencia a espectáculos y conciertos se ha descubierto más común en los entrevistados jóvenes que en las personas mayores. Aquéllos reconocen poder salir la mayor parte de los fines de semana, mientras que éstos reconocen promover en mayor medida encuentros en el hogar o en entornos públicos que permitan realizar consumos menos dispendiosos.

e. Las personas mayores tienden a participar más de los eventos culturales. Los jóvenes tienden a confirmar el desconocimiento de este tipo de eventos y, en algunas ocasiones, confirman asistir de manera casual. En donde sí hemos encontrado consenso es en la participación, aunque de manera indirecta en las celebraciones conmemorativas y/o religiosas. Quienes han respondido favorablemente sobre su participación activa en este tipo de actividades han coincidido con ser miembros de agrupaciones folclóricas de música y danza de los países de origen.

Apuntes para la reflexión

En trabajos recientes hemos venido anotando la importancia de desarrollar estudios de carácter comparado, de perspectiva transnacional y que apunten a comprender los procesos de llegada, asentamiento y acomodo de los grupos migrantes internacionales (RETIS, 2011). Las sinergias económicas acontecidas en la región latinoamericana, Estados Unidos y Europa vienen promoviendo reconfiguraciones de los circuitos migratorios transfronterizos. En nuestro trabajo de campo hemos

constatado segundos y terceros proyectos migratorios de latinoamericanos provenientes del sur al norte de Europa y hacia Norteamérica. Estos desplazamientos aún en sus estadios recientes hacen preveer reconfiguraciones de las familias transnacionales latinoamericanas. La investigación comparada sobre medios dirigidos a latinoamericanos en ciudades como Los Ángeles, Nueva York, Londres o Madrid nos permite comprender procesos globales, locales e incluso hiperlocales, en el contexto de las dinámicas de producción, distribución y consumo de bienes y servicios. La aproximación cualitativa a las prácticas de consumo cultural de inmigrantes ecuatorianos y colombianos en entornos urbanos y rurales de Madrid y Murcia nos ofrece algunas pistas sobre las que seguir trabajando. Sin duda, es un terreno fértil sobre el que aún nos queda mucho por explorar.

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Macroproposiciones y legitimación: el debate sobre la ley SB 1070 en la prensa anglosajona e hispana de los Estados Unidos

Macropropositions and legitimacy: the debate about the Law SB 1070 in the anglo-saxonic and hispanic press in the United States

Doris Martinez Vizcarrondo[1]

Resumen: *El tema de la inmigración y el discurso de la prensa es un tema recurrente en la investigación del ACD. En este trabajo estudiamos el discurso de cuatro periódicos estadounidenses sobre el debate que suscita la ley SB 1070 de Arizona. Ley que criminaliza a los indocumentados. Estudiamos los textos periodísiticos (noticias y editoriales. Aplicamos la teoría de los actantes junto con el análisis macroproposicional semántico. Examinamos 100 textos. El corte sincrónico fue dese el 23 de abril 2010 fecha de la aprobación hasta julio 29 fecha en que se puso en vigencia. Encontramos que el debate entre los participantes se centra en la constitucionalidad o no de la medida y que deja fuera de la discusión a los implicados, los inmigrantes indocumentados.*

Palabras clave: *Inmigración; prensa; discurso; Estados Unidos*

Abstract: *The issue of immigration and the discourse of the press is a recurring theme in the ACD's investigation. In this paper we study the discourse of four American newspapers about the debate that Arizona Law SB 1070 raises. Law that criminalizes the undocumented. we examined 100 texts: first of all, we study the journalistic texts (news and editorials)and after we apply the theory of the actants associate to the semantic macropropositional analysis. The synchronous cut was from April 23, 2010, date of the approval until July 29 date in which it was put into effect.We find that the debate among the participants focuses on*

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the constitutionality or not of the measure and that it leaves out of the discussion those involved, the undocumented immigrants.

Keywords: *Immigration; press; discourse; United States*

Introducción

El debate que suscitó la aprobación el 23 de abril de 2010 de la ley (SB 1070)[2] de Arizona que convierte en crimen la residencia en el estado sin autorización legal demuestra cómo los grupos sociales a través del discurso público de la prensa escrita definen las crisis políticas desde su contexto particular. También nos muestra el poder que tiene la prensa para imponer una determinada interpretación (y la de sus grupos afines) de los acontecimientos a través de las noticias.

La producción y circulación los textos periodísticos en inglés y español en los periódicos estudiados (*Los Ángeles Times, La Opinión de Los Ángeles, The New York Times y El Diario La Prensa de Nueva York*) permite identificar un orden socio discursivo creado por dicha prensa escrita en el que determinados discursos son incluidos y destacados mientras otros son descalificados y excluidos. Estos textos periodísticos (al igual que todo discurso) son interpretaciones que se realizan desde una perspectiva fragmentada, de manera que no reflejan la "realidad", sino que son más bien juicios de las prácticas y de los actores sociales, enunciados que responden a los intereses de la empresa periodística que los produce. Las noticias y los textos editoriales más que ofrecer informaciones sobre la SB 1070 proporcionan un espacio familiar global que da al público lector interpretaciones creíbles sobre problemas sociales tan complejos como la inmigración ilegal en Estados Unidos. Dichas interpretaciones se convierten en conocimiento compartido o en una comunidad de experiencias para una sociedad determinada. Esta capacidad de la prensa de conformar el conocimiento sobre acontecimientos y actores sociales convierte a la misma en un objeto de deseo. En este sentido, los grupos sociales que quieren imponer y constituir su conocimiento como hegemónico intentarán ocupar los espacios discursivos mediáticos con el fin de persuadir a los consumidores de noticias. Todos

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2   La ley entró en vigor el 29 de julio de 2010. No obstante, el 28 de julio la juez Susan Bolton de Phoenix anuló las cláusulas más controversiales. El 11 de de abril de 2011 el tribunal de apelaciones a petición del presidente Barack Obama reafirmó la decisión de la juez Bolton. No obstante en julio de 2011 la legislatura de Arizona aprobó un paquete de medidas que imposibilita la vida de los indocumentados en Arizona. Otros estados como Alabama han seguido su ejemplo.

desean que sus enunciados se popularicen, se institucionalicen, se citen como signos de prestigio con el fin de asegurar la autoridad y legitimidad de sus acciones y de su posición social (FOUCAULT, 2002; MARTÍN ROJO, 1996-1997). Como señala Foucault (2002), ejercer un control a través del discurso es una forma de ejercer el poder y un instrumento de protección de los privilegios del grupo. El discurso, por más apariencia que apariencia sea poca cosa, las prohibiciones que recaen sobre él, revelan muy pronto, rápidamente, su vinculación con el deseo y el poder. Y esto no tiene nada de extraño ya que el discurso y el psicoanálisis nos lo han mostrado, no es simplemente lo que manifiesta (o encubre el deseo), es también lo que es el objeto del deseo y ya que, esto la historia no cesa de enseñárnoslo, el discurso no es simplemente aquello que traduce las luchas o los sistemas de dominación, sino aquello por lo que, y por medio de lo cual se lucha, aquel poder del que quiere uno adueñarse (FOUCAULT, 2002, p. 12).

Texto tras texto se puede observar que la aprobación de la ley SB 1070 desata una lucha, como sugiere Foucault (2002), por ejercer poder sobre el orden o la economía discursiva. Un contexto discursivo conflictivo y crítico en el que los grupos sociales (Las elites políticas, los servidores públicos, los activistas, manifestantes) producen y circulan sus discursos. Foucault (2002), al acuñar está frase quiso, describir la desigualdad discursiva y las tensiones (reflejo de lo social) que se desarrollan entre los grupos en su lucha por establecer su discurso e intentar neutralizar el de sus oponentes. Como sugiere Foucault el debate noticioso provocado por la ley SB1070 posibilita estudiar cómo determinados grupos de poder diligencian y controlan socialmente la producción y la circulación de los discursos: de forma que esta repercuta en la exclusión discursiva de otros grupos (a partir de desigual distribución y valoración de los discursos) y, por último, de establecer qué estrategias discursivas utilizan las élites para que sus discursos sean más relevantes que otros, más persuasivos, más legítimos y tengan mayores efectos normalizadores. Por último se trataría además de determinar qué recursos discursivos se valen para regular, silenciar o neutralizar el poder desestabilizador y

liberador de los discursos que desafían su autoridad y legitimidad (MAR-
TÍN ROJO, 1996, 1997).

Examinamos 100 textos dentro de los que se incluyen noticias, co-
lumnas y editoriales. Hacemos un corte sincrónico del 23 de abril de
2010 fecha en que se aprueba la ley hasta el 29 de julio de 2010 fe-
cha en que es puesta en vigor. Empleamos dos modelos teóricos: i. el
modelo actancial de Algirdas Greimas (1993) adaptado y articulado al
estudio de la metanarración periodística por Tanius Karam (2011). Di-
cha propuesta teórica visualiza la producción noticiosa generada por
un acontecimiento como una metanarración producto de pluralidad
de acciones y redes socio-discursivas. En este sentido, permite exami-
nar la pluralidad de acciones sociodiscursivas producto de la aprobación
de la ley. Una metanarración articulada mediante intertextualidades y
redes discursivas en la que circulan, versiones de hechos, declaracio-
nes, acciones de "los agresores" y "los agredidos". Observamos como los
periódicos despliegan y constituyen de manera estratégica y particular
dichos elementos condicionan. ii. aplicamos el análisis macroestructu-
ral o de los tópicos (VAN DIJK, 1990) para analizar como los tópicos
marcan y guían el sentido de esa metanarración y sus actores sociales.

Sobre la migración

Si examinamos los trabajos sobre inmigración y prensa encontraremos
que junto con el racismo establecen un paradigma de análisis en Euro-
pa y América. Para el Análisis Crítico del Discurso es uno de los temas
fundamentales en esa búsqueda del estudio y denuncia del abuso de
poder. Los trabajos responden a cómo los inmigrantes se representan o
se construyen su existencia mediante el discurso legislativo (MARTÍN
ROJO; VAN DIJK, 1998). Es este discurso mediante pronunciamiento
legal el que legitima o no su existencia. La prensa es la extensión de
ese debate de legitimaciones y deslegetimaciones existenciales de los
inmigrantes. En Europa se destacan los trabajos sobre la representa-
ción de los inmigrantes en las noticias y textos editoriales (VAN DIJK,
1991; BAÑON, 1992) una perspectiva discursiva socio-histórica sobre la

construcción del inmigrante (WODAK, 1989). Los trabajos en las Américas no se distancian mucho de la tendencia de estudiar la construcción discursiva desde el poder. En el caso específico de Estados Unidos pueden identificarse el trabajo de Otto Santa Ana (1999) quien examina la animalización de los inmigrantes en el discurso político y periodístico. No encontramos trabajos sobre la representación de los inmigrantes en la prensa hispana ni tampoco trabajos comparativos, por ello el trabajo que realizamos tiene relevancia. Intentamos comparar la representación discursiva de la cobertura de la ley SB1070 tanto en periódicos hispanos como estadounidenses.

La legitimación y deslegitimación: ideología y poder

Las normas y los valores (categorías ideológicas) no solo regulan los procesos que seguirán los miembros del grupo para lograr la legitimación de sus acciones, sino que también justifican la posición del grupo respecto a otros grupos. Los valores y las normas de un grupo pueden contrastar con las de otro y como consecuencia dificultar su legitimidad en este caso social. El grupo que desea la legitimación intentará legitimar su discurso ante el resto de los grupos sociales, demostrando que sus acciones y propuestas responden al orden moral general y se apegan al "sentido común ", y , al mismo tiempo, tratará de deslegitimar las propuestas de su grupo opositor calificándolas de erróneas o deshonestas. Por ejemplo las autoridades de Arizona emplean los valores de seguridad, protección, orden y ley (gobernabilidad) para legitimar la aprobación de la ley. Mientras que los grupos hispanos opuestos la deslegitiman indicando que la misma no resuelve el problema de la migración y utilizan el momento discursivo para impulsar su lucha por la reforma migratoria.

Los principios ideológicos de cada grupo social establecen las bases discursivas para deslegitimar las propuestas discursivas y las acciones de otros grupos. Es así que el conflicto ideológico y social no solo toma forma en la batalla de ideas, o por los escasos recursos sociales (empleo, educación, vivienda, salud) sino también en la legitimación. La

deslegitimación es un instrumento discurso que las elites emplean para justificar sus acciones y enunciados y deslegitimar la acciones y discursos de los grupos que afectan sus intereses. Van Dijk (1991) señala seis categorías de deslegitimación que los grupos de poder emplean en su discurso para deslegitimar la figura de su oponente.

1. La deslegitimación de asociación: ellos no pertenecen a nuestro grupo, son de otro país.
2. La deslegitimación de sus acciones y de sus discursos: ellos no tienen derecho a hablar o actuar.
3. La deslegitimación de sus metas: ellos solo quieren tomar ventajas de nuestro sistema de bienestar.
4. La deslegitimación de sus normas y valores: sus valores no son los nuestros; Ellos tienen que adaptarse a nuestra cultura.
5. La deslegitimación de su posición social: ellos no son refugiados políticos sino económicos.
6. La deslegitimación al acceso de los recursos sociales: ellos no tiene prioridad para obtener trabajo, casa o educación.

El modelo propuesto por Van Dijk (1991, 1990) se puede identificar en el discurso de poder que se esgrime tanto en la prensa anglosajona como hispana examinada. Los grupos de poder estatales de Arizona lo marcan. No obstante, en el drama discursivo los opositores a dicho discurso: presidente Obama, los movimientos sindicales no plantean un discurso que refute las representaciones señaladas arriba, más bien lo que se plantea es la inconstitucionalidad y lo poco práctico de la medida. Y claro de esas redes discursivas queda excluido el inmigrante.

La lucha por la legitimación del discurso

Los grupos dominantes no explican de forma explícita sus estrategias de legitimación o deslegitimación, más bien las disuelven en un discurso, cuyos argumentos claman que sus acciones y políticas benefician a la sociedad en general, incluso a los grupos a los que se ataca. Por ejemplo, la gobernadora de Arizona no presenta la ley como una acción de represión política racista, al contrario la presenta como una estrategia de

defensa y protección no sólo para los residentes de Arizona sino también para los inmigrantes ilegales víctimas de los traficantes. El proceso de legitimación discursiva de los grupos de poder es tenso y a menudo se ve amenazado. Esto se debe a que los enunciados no contienen en sí mismos el poder de legitimar y perpetuarse en el tiempo y el espacio. Sólo un proceso estratégico de constante creación discursiva permite que los grupos puedan excluir a sus contrincantes discursivos y establecer las normas, la aprobación social de sus discursos. En ese proceso, las elites combaten incesantemente con otras e incluso con los grupos marginados con el objetivo de apropiarse y manipular los valores morales y las leyes reconocidas y acordadas por la mayoría. Es así que aquél que desee conservar la legitimidad de sus discursos debe procurar acaparar el mercado, o el conjunto de condiciones políticas y sociales, que constituyen el contexto social de las relaciones entre productores y consumidores. Podemos considerar también que la lucha por la legitimación discursiva de las elites (el estado y la prensa) es un acto sociopolítico y discursivo en el que el productor del discurso (en nuestro caso el periódico) se sirve de su posición de autoridad para legitimar las acciones (y las de sus grupos afines), que provoquen controversia. La importancia de ese control discursivo radica en el hecho de que en las sociedades democráticas la coerción no es un instrumento aceptado para sostener la autoridad y la legitimidad de una posición social. Por esta razón los grupos recurren al poder simbólico del lenguaje y al control que éste ejerce sobre las concepciones del mundo que tienen los sujetos. Es el lenguaje, en última instancia, la vía principal para imponer de forma persuasiva un conjunto de ideas que favorecen a un determinado grupo .

El modelo de Algirdas Greimas adaptado por Tanius Karam al análisis de las noticias

Las noticias sobre acontecimientos y los actores sociales implicados son constituidos por polifonías y redes discursivas de argumentaciones y contra argumentaciones que conforman parte de nuestras interpretaciones y

discurso mediante el contrato que como lectores firmamos y reafirmamos a través del consumo mediático. El acontecimiento y los acontecimientos relacionados con éste (la SB 1070) se construye mediante un andamiaje narrativo complejo que implica secuencia de días, meses y años. La noticia no son informaciones aisladas, las mismas conforman junto a los textos editoriales un complejo narrativo definido. Así que la información periodística sobre SB1070 vista como un relato, implica la conjunción de textos noticiosos y editoriales entrelazados. El conjunto de textos periodísticos conforma un conjunto de relatos que constituyen un metarelato en el que se identifican voces y discursos que se entrelazan y se incluyen mutuamente. Su suma permite identificar cómo se articulan los espacios discursivos , los espacios de acción social y los actores sociales participantes (KARAM, 2011). Examinamos el metarelato que las noticias sobre el SB1070 mediante la aplicación del modelo actancial-narrativo de Greimas (1993) adaptado por Karam al discurso periodístico (2011). Los actantes presentes en la narración son: i. Sujeto: Sociedad estadounidense. ii.Objeto: Estado de Derecho/ Democracia/Gobernabilidad.iii. Destinador: La constitución federal/ constituciones estatales iv. Destinatario:Sociedad civily estructuras de Poder v. Adyudante. Sociedad civil. Grupos de solidaridad /Presidente Barack Obama/Policía de Los Ángeles/V. Oponente. Gobierno de Arizona /Jane Brewer.

En el despliegue noticioso y editorial el Oponente representado por Jane Brewer establece la legitimación de una ley que "criminaliza" según los adyudantes tomando como herramienta de justificación la protección y seguridad de la sociedad estadounidense (Sujeto) y el (Objeto) la falta de una herramienta que permita la gobernabilidad, el manejo de la inmigración ilegal. Los adyudantes, por otro lado, los adyudantes se oponen a la medida por ser anticonstitucional y muy compleja para aplicarse. Karam (2011) indica que en este metarelato como en el estudio de Greimas se identifican tres ejes: a) Eje de la búsqueda de la agresión (sujeto/objeto) el grupo que pide justicia, una sociedad que se siente agraviada y realiza una serie de acciones para presionar

(El presidente Barack Obama demanda, grupos como la RAZA que demandan) b) Eje del poder o movilización social (adyudante/oponente) una lucha entre grupos (contra y a favor de la ley/contra a favor de una reforma migratoria-las marchas) c) la mediación cognitiva que se genera de la acción dicursiva y social (destinador/destinatario). El debatir la necesidad de una reforma migratoria y la intervención de los tribunales en la imposición de la ley. La confrontación provoca un nuevo saber sobre los hechos en el que ese conocimiento se registre en las leyes. Los espacios discursivos o de narración en los que enuncian los actantes son: 1. el inmediato (debate que se produce en Arizona), 2. El estructura--social que refiere a lo supranacional (debates en diversos estados como California y Nueva York). 3. Discurso internacionales (las opiniones de México sobre el asunto). Estos campos discursivos se ubican como instancias enunciativas y corresponden a usos pragmáticos del discurso. Cada grupo de los actantes producirá en su campo discursivo estrategias recurrentes y modos de predicación que corresponden a sus objetivos pragmáticos (KARAM, 2011).

Las estructuras y las funciones del discurso de legitimación

Martín Rojo y Van Dijk (1998) indican que la legitimación no es como tal, un acto discursivo en su sentido tradicional. "La autolegitimación puede conseguirse mediante diversos actos orales come preguntas, reproches o recriminaciones" (ROJO; DIJK, 1998, p. 172). La legitimación se puede lograr también a través actos sociales y políticos. Por ejemplo, los comicios electorales. No obstante, la legitimación casi siempre entraña un acto sociopolítico, moral y legal de nivel superior que se construye a través del discurso. Esto implica que el proceso de legitimación de una acción política (como la de iniciar una guerra), requiere que el locutor vincule de forma ágil las estructuras textuales del discurso con las funciones sociocognitivas.

Martin Rojo y Van Dijk (1998) identifican seis funciones-sociogniti-vas en las estructuras de los discursos de legitimación:

Pragmáticamente: los macro actos discursivos de legitimación tiene las siguientes condiciones generales de propiedad: (1) el Hablante (H) ha hecho (A); (2) (H cree que) el Oyente (0) piensa o puede pensar que A ha sido un error; (3) H piensa que A no ha sido un error. Estas condiciones pragmáticas son similares aquéllas del acto discursivo de defenderse tras el acto verbal de una acusación. Un acto verbal relacio-nado es el de la negación, en el que, o bien el orador afirma no haber hecho A, o al menos no haber hecho o pretendido que A fuera como se ha descrito en la acusación. La gobernadora Jan Brewer indica que las SB1070 no es una ley racista o que criminaliza por el color de piel como se le ha acusado mas bien es una ley que protege a los ciudadanos de Arizona y a los propios indocumentados de los carteles de la mafia y los tratantes de inmigrantes.

Semánticamente, el discurso de legitimación presupone o se refie-re de forma explícita a acciones pasadas del hablante/participante o de otros por los cuales asume responsabilidades o actúa como represen-tante. Esto significa que podemos esperar descripciones más o menos detalladas de estas acciones. Además, podemos esperar argumentos que expresen opiniones del hablante/agente acerca del porqué de la acción, tal como la describe, no ha sido un error. Por lo tanto, es fundamental para el hablante que se acepte su versión de las acciones o lo hechos, lo cual a su vez requiere una formulación estilística (por ejemplo, léxica) adecuada de la descripción. La gobernadora Jan Brewer en la legitima-ción de su discurso emplea palabras de defensa y seguridad tomadas incluso de la propia ley: protección de las vecindades, lucha contra el crimen y el tráfico de drogas.

Esquemáticamente (superestructuralmente), las proposiciones del discurso de legitimación se suelen organizar mediante un esquema argumentativo complejo, con premisas relacionadas con la naturaleza de la acción, y conclusiones relacionadas con su aceptabilidad social,

moral o política. Brewer explica en detalle la inacción del gobierno federal respecto al control de la migración ilegal y cómo ha afectado a su estado.

Estilística y retóricamente, la descripción de las actuaciones cuestionadas y sus razones refuerzan la opinión del hablante de que ha sido aceptable. Mientras que las acusaciones previas pueden describir las acciones en términos negativos, discurso de legitimación tenderá a describir las acciones en términos neutrales o positivos mediante recursos retóricos que conceden importancia a la aceptabilidad o se la restan a la naturaleza problemática de la acción, mediante eufemismos y metáforas positivas. Las acusaciones inconstitucionalidad de la ley SB1070 son refutadas en términos del derecho de protección que cada estado puede ejecer a través de sus leyes.

Interactivamente, la legitimación suele emplearse como respuesta o en previsión de criticas explicitas o acusaciones de otros. Una de sus funciones socio-cognitivas en la interrelación es persuadir a los coparticipantes o los observadores de que la acción fue aceptable. De este modo, interactivamente la legitimación suele dirigirse dos direcciones: prevenir, responder, desacreditar opiniones negativas sobre alguna acción, y hacer que estas pasen de ser negativas a ser positivas. La acción es aceptable en el caso de la SB1070 ya que es producto de un referéndum.

Socialmente, el discurso de legitimación es resultado de acusaciones, o dudas sobre si las normas sociales o culturales, los valores o, en términos más generales, el orden moral ha sido transgredido por la actuación. Las acusaciones, expresan opiniones en un pulso de legitimidad también se expresara en forma de opiniones, por ejemplo sobre las razones o bases sobre las cuales la acción fue aceptable. En otras palabras, la legitimación implica que los hablantes/participantes se consideran miembros competentes y moralmente rectos del orden social (o del grupo o institución de la que se trata) (p. 172-173). Jan Brewer junto con la Legislatura tienen que proteger la seguridad de los ciudadanos del estado de Arizona.

El poder del discurso

Van Dijk (1998) indica el poder es una de las principales maneras en las que se organizan las relaciones entre los discurso y la sociedad. El autor identifica ocho formas de poder que se manifiestan en las prácticas sociales y los discursos. Estos son: i. el control de la acción y la mente; ii. el poder persuasivo; iii. la hegemonía y el consenso, iv. el acceso, v. el control del contexto; vi. el control de las estructuras del discurso; vii. la división del poder y viii. el abuso de poder.

i.   Control de la acción y de la mente: El control es el concepto más adecuado para definir el poder social. Cuando un grupo ejerce su poder sobre otro ejerce una forma de control. El poder puede ser así coercitivo pero, la mayoría de nuestras sociedades el poder se ejerce a través de la mente; es decir, en vez de ejercer control sobre las actividades de otros mediante el uso de la fuerza física se ejerce control sobre la base mental de la acción, mediante el lenguaje. El éxito de un mandato depende de que el receptor del mismo lo acepte.

ii. El poder persuasivo: El poder no sólo se expresa mediante mandatos sino también mediante la persuasión. En este caso los enunciados no son aceptados sobre la base de un acuerdo implícito sino por argumentos u otras formas de persuasión.

iii. Hegemonía y consenso. En vez de utilizar los mandatos o estrategias de persuasión para ejercer control sobre la mente y las acciones de otros, se puede moldear sus mentes de tal manera que actúen como nosotros deseamos de forma libre o espontánea. En este sentido, los discursos de los grupos de poder forman o influyen las intenciones de otros, con el fin de que actúen espontáneamente como ellos desea; es decir, que los otros perciban que sus acciones están libres de cualquier presión y que son consistentes con sus deseos e intereses.

iv. El acceso: El control del acceso los recursos económicos y los simbólicos como la educación, el conocimiento, la fama, el respeto y el discurso público es un mecanismo que activan los

grupos de poder para garantizar su poder hegemónico, establecer el consenso y como resultado controlar las mentes y las acciones de otros.

v.   Control del contexto: El poder también se ejerce controlando el contexto del acto de comunicación, es decir, controlando a los participantes del acto comunicativo y sus roles: quién puede ser presentado, quién habla y quién escucha.

vi. Control sobre las estructuras del discurso: Otro mecanismo que se emplea para ejercer el poder mediante el discurso es controlar su estructura, es decir, mediante la selección de géneros o tipos de discursos, y la forma que estos deben tener, por ejemplo, su estructura sintáctica, las figuras retóricas y los tópicos entre otros.

vii. La división del poder: Como indica Van Dijk (1998) y como nosotros indicamos en capítulos anteriores el poder no se impone o está controlado por un sólo grupos de poder más bien es compartido y distribuido entre las elites. Siendo, la alianza entre la prensa y las elites políticas la más conocida. Las relaciones de poderes verticales u horizontales son complejas, en vez de encontrar coerción o persuasión, se encuentran varios patrones de negociación, mediante los cuales los grupos se confabulan para distribuirse el poder.

viii. El abuso de poder: El poder es parte de las relaciones sociales, no obstante Van Dijk considera que el problema ético reside en el ejercicio ilegítimo del poder: es decir en el abuso del poder o la dominación.

Los ocho elementos descritos por Van Dijk (1998) junto con las estrategias de legitimación mencionadas por Martín Rojo y Van Dijk (1998) son empleadas por los actantes sociales representados en los textos periodísticos. De manera que por ejemplo, observamos el poder de mandato que ejerce el gobierno de Arizona mediante la ley SB1070, cuya efectividad depende, apoyo político, legal, policial y ciudadano. La persuasión la podemos observar en el proceso político-legislativo que Arizona emprendió para conformar el apoyo a la medida mediante

referéndum. Pero la manifestación más importante de poder es la que observamos en nuestro análisis, es decir, cómo los actantes sociales implicados) logran mediante el discurso influir en el discurso y las acciones de otros grupos, en nuestro caso, el discurso de la prensa examinada. En este sentido, la prensa hispana y sajona destaca en su discurso solo las voces de las elites, de los grupo política y civilmente organizados excluyendo así a los inmigrantes. La prensa reproduce y se apropia de las estrategias lingüísticas que los grupos de poder estadounidenses (políticos y periodistas) utilizan para controlar la estructura de los discursos cuyo fin es influir sobre la percepción y, como consecuencia, sobre las acciones de las personas. Vemos como los periódicos en su papel de locutor ayuda a los enunciadores a difundir discursivamente una determinada representación sobre el aparente conflicto de la SB1070 entre los actantes implicados. De manera que, mediante el control discursivo, que se ejerce sobre la representación la SB1070 en el periódico, se ejerce controlan las percepciones de los lectores y, como consecuencia sus acciones. Mediante un control efectivo del discurso, las elites logran que los lectores acepten libremente, y como consecuencia legitimen, acciones que en su contenido constituyen abusos de poder o violaciones de los derechos humanos (por ejemplo, no hay ningún cuestionamiento sobre el racismo implicado en la medida).

La gramática (o modelo) semántica formal: la relación de las proposiciones y el sentido del texto

Una gramática (o modelo) semántica formal describe las proposiciones (significado de las oraciones) y sus relaciones en la construcción del sentido del discurso o el texto. Según esta perspectiva teórica, el significado (o los significados) de un texto se puede establecer en dos niveles estructurales; el nivel local o microestructural y el nivel global o macroestructural. La microestructura o micronivel describe la organización de los conjuntos de proposiciones (los significados de las oraciones) y las relaciones de correspondencia y coherencia entre ellas.

La macroestructura cumple la misma función descriptiva pero a un nivel global o macro (Van Dijk, 1990). Por lo tanto, los principios en los que se basan la construcción del sentido de un texto son la relación y la coherencia entre sus proposiciones (significados) tanto a nivel local como global. Por su parte, el principio de la coherencia tanto a nivel local o global es lo que permite que un texto tenga sentido. Sin una coherencia entre las proposiciones y los hechos que denotan (referente) es imposible comprender o producir los significados de los textos o los discursos. El sentido de un texto no sólo depende de que las proposiciones del mismo nivel sean coherentes entre sí, sino que también establezcan una coherencia entre los dos niveles semánticos o de significado. La relación entre los niveles se establece mediante el uso de reglas o macrorreglas abstractas. El uso de estas reglas nos permite vincular y establecer coherencia de las proposiciones de la macroestuctura con las proposiciones de la microestructura. Nos explicita la manera en a que podemos derivar el tema o el asunto del texto. Su función de transformar la información semántica nos permite reducir o resumir informaciones complejas en fragmentos sencillos y fáciles de comprender almacenar y reproducir.

Análisis

Los textos periodísticos estudiados articulan a través de la maneja de las proposiciones y macroposiciones bases de los discursos, un metarelato en el que los periódicos sajones destacan que Arizona y su representante la gobernadora no son opositores mas bien son las víctimas y el gobierno estatal es adyudante o protector de los ciudadanos. Aquí el oponente según las macroproposiciones revisadas es el gobierno federal en la figura del presidente Barack Obama que no ha hecho nada por controlar la violencia que genera el tráfico ilegal de indocumentados.

Los espacios discursivos de los periódicos examinados fueron ocupados por las elites políticas estadounidenses. De manera que los contenidos proposicionales y macroproposicionales del dabate fueron controlados por estos grupos excluyendo del espacio discursivo a los agradedidos. *Los*

Angeles Times y *The New York Times* dieron mayor destaque a los plan-teamientos proposicionales de la gobernadora Jan Brewer. De 50 textos examinados identificamos las siguientes macroproposiciones:

1. La SB1070 es una medida de seguridad ante la inacción del presi-dente Barack Obama: (22 textos)
2. Es una acción contra el narcotráfico (18 textos)
3. Obama al igual que otros que no están de acuerdo se oponen a la ley (10 textos).

En las proposiciones macro que registramos la voz que articula las noticias es la de la gobernadora Jan Brewer. Incluso la voz del Presi-dente Barack Obama es casi inexistente en el debate. Las voces de los grupos organizados pro inmigrantes se reducen a gritar consignas en pro de la reforma migratoria. En este sentido, las macroposiciones sugeridas por los periódicos sajones excluyen a los agredidos y ni siquiera recono-cen que hay algún tipo de agresión.

Respecto a los periódicos hispanos revisamos 50 noticias. Las propo-siciones macro más destacadas son:

1. Miles se movilizan contra la SB1070 (30)
2. La SB 1070 es anticonstitucional e inoperante (20)

Sobre los periódicos *La Opinión* y *El Diario La Prensa si* bien se destaca la movilización como principal macroproposición ésta es de contenido descriptivo y no hay nada argumental destacado. La se-gunda proposición macro registrada es la del debate político sobre la inconstitucionalidad de la ley ya que choca con los poderes federales y la dificultad en su aplicación. Los adyudantes (Obama, policías de diversos estados) no critican la marca racista o la violación de derechos humanos, las proposiciones que generan se centran en una preocupa-ción legal y operacional. Respecto a los actantes quedan nuevamente excluidos los perjudicados, los inmigrantes. Sobre los oponentes y los adyudantes el debate sigue la misma línea que la prensa sajona. Es decir entre elites en este caso Obama que insiste en la inconstitucionalidad y el oponente Jane Brewer en que es una medida de seguridad. Los grupos que pudieran ser adyudantes entiéndase las organizaciones no entran

en debate con Arizona. Las mismas centran su discurso en destacar la necesidad de una reforma migratoria.

Conclusiones

De la muestra de las proposiciones pudimos observar que las noticias de los periódicos estadounidenses se articulan los actantes en el que contendor es el gobierno federal ante su inacción y Arizona es la positiva. Seguridad. Mientras que en la prensa hispana no hay un ataque a la acción racista de Arizona, mas bien se debate su legalidad en cuanto a las leyes federales y su operacionalidad. Si bien se destaca las marchas en la prensa hispana son simplemente eso no hay producción proposicional relevante que discuta las implicaciones racista de la acción de Arizona ni una voz de poder definida.

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Funk and McDonald's: symbolic disputes and value negotiation in the advertising campaign "Novinhos Cheddar"[1]

Funk e McDonald's: disputas simbólicas e negociações de valor na campanha publicitária "Novinhos Cheddar"

Simone Evangelista Cunha[2]
Beatriz Polivanov[3]

Abstract: *The paper discusses negotiations of value related to the appropriation of a Brazilian funk song by the fast food brand MacDonald's in its campaign entitled #Novinhos Cheddar. Through the analysis of comments posted on the video page "The #NovinhosCheddar are at McDonald's. Again!" on YouTube, we problematize the relation among consumption, identity (personal and brand related) and value disputes in digital culture, understanding that these three spheres operate together. We conclude that a major part of the audience has demonstrated their approval of the campaign, emphasizing that the strategy of approaching popular / peripheral cultural expressions can be profitable. However, we highlight that this approach does not take place without tensions, since several elements that reinforce the connection between funk and the periphery were summarily erased in the multinational's campaign.*

Keywords: *funk; peripheral musical genres; communication and consumption; identity; YouTube.*

Resumo: *O artigo investiga negociações de valor relacionadas à apropriação de uma música do gênero musical funk pela marca de fast food McDonald's em sua campanha intitulada #Novinhos Cheddar. Através de análise de comentários postados na página do vídeo "Os #NovinhosCheddar estão no McDonald's. De novo!" no YouTube, problematizamos relações entre consumo, identidade (pes--soal e de marca) e disputas de valor na cultura digital, entendendo que essas três esferas operam de forma conjunta. Concluímos que grande parte do público demonstrou ter aprovado a campanha, ressaltando que a estratégia de aproxima--ção com expressões culturais populares/periféricas pode ser profícua. Entretanto, destacamos que essa aproximação não se dá de forma isenta, uma vez que diversos elementos que reforçam a conexão entre funk e periferia foram sumariamente apagados na campanha da multinacional.*

Palavras-chave: *funk; gêneros musicais periféricos; comunicação e consumo; identidade; YouTube.*

Introduction

In October, 2015, one of the most known brands in the world, Mac-Donald's, posted a video on YouTube advertising their new products – sandwiches and French fries with layers of cheddar cheese. This video was a part of an advertisement campaign that had as target the young Brazilian audience and had a peculiarity: presented a remixed funk song as soundtrack for the campaign. More specifically, they used as the main motive a parody of the song "As novinhas tão sensacional", composed by MC Romântico and DJ Bambam, first released in 2013 and relaunched in early 2014 in a "lighter" version, without all the curse words and other words that could be censored from the original lyrics.

With the parody, McDonald's used the song's popularity, which official videoclip (MC ROMÂNTICO, 2014) had, in April 2017, more than 29 million views on a video platform, and transformed the erotic lyrics of the song, classified as "funk putaria[4] – uncensored funk", in an ode to the pleasure given by the consumption of fast food. A double appropriation, considering the "prohibited" version (responsible for the initial success at funk parties) and the "official" version (without curse words) of the song. Due to its popularity, the brand decided to make a new version of the song for the campaign, between the months of August and September, 2016. With some alterations in the lyrics and the melody, the campaign #NovinhosCheddar from 2016 (OS #NOVIN-HOS-CHEDDAR..., 2016) had an audience 10 times bigger than the first version and the most expressive amount of views among all the videos available at McDonald's Brazil on their channel.

Even though it is a brand with a wide audience, including people with lower income, the appropriation of funk in the advertisement campaign seemed to be a potentially risky bet. In 2013, the brand Mercedes-Benz used the song "Passinho do Volante", whose videoclip was one of the most seen by the Brazilian audience that year, to promote the release of the car Mercedes-Benz Classe A. Shared exclusively on YouTube,

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4   The so-called "funk putaria" is a subgenre of funk that is characterized by lyrics that approach sensual themes, often in an explicit manner.

the video presented only the chorus of the funk – without alteration - as soundtrack of the video. The initiative sparked controversy and was published by media sources specialized in marketing (TUR-LAO, 2013) and in the car sector due to the "unusual" association between a brand related to the luxury goods market and the music genre. Although the lyrics did not have curse words or double meaning expressions (unlike "As novinha tão sensacional"), the use of the song had a high rate of rejection, which led to the deletion of the video of the brand's channel.

While it is considered a "peripheral"5 music genre, funk still carries social stigmas associated to ideas of low culture, violence, vulgarity (HERSCHMANN, 2000; FACINA, 2010; LOPES, 2010), among others. However, according to Evangelista Cunha (2014), artists and cultural producers related to funk are intensely appropriating the social media to share their songs through increasingly sophisticated videoclips, which has contributed for the popularity of the genre and, at the same time, for the increase of criticism and the increase of haters.

Having this context, our objective is to understand in what way the link between Mc Donald's campaign Novinhos Cheddar and funk on social media come to be, in which the relation between consumption and identity becomes even more visible through different elements and environments that enable the expression of identities. In a moment in which identities of brands and subjects spark intense debate in contemporaneity, the object of study of this article seem to be particularly interesting to understand the diversity of social and cultural processes overlapped in the appropriation of peripheral music genres.

Therefore, the proposal of this study, with exploratory purposes, is to identify symbolic disputes involved in the relation between funk and advertisement. We argue that this equation is marked by the dialectic tension that involve, among other aspects, negotiations of meaning through a "sanitation" of the genre, making it more "palatable" to

5   When attributing the term "peripheral" to the Brazilian funk, we argue that the genre is configured as an important mediator for issues related to discussions about periphery, such as social inequality and territorial exclusions, argument developed in previous works (PEREIRA DE SÁ e EVANGELISTA CUNHA, 2014; EVANGELISTA CUNHA, 2014).

certain audiences. As the example of Mercedes-Benz shows us, the reference to popular levels of the population, still associated with an eternal "struggle for survival" in environments surrounded by "material deficiency" (BARROS e ROCHA, 2007, p. 2) that would impede the consumption beyond subsistence, is far from unanimous. Beyond the differences between the car brand and McDonald's, we argue that the fast food chain used a series of strategies to neutralize possible criticism and reinforce the bonds with the fans of the brand.

In order to do that, we will make a brief historical background on funk so as to contextualize the object of research to, then, discuss about the relationships between consumption and identity, with special highlight to this process in the digital culture. Finally, we will present an analysis of the comments from the audience related specifically to the song of the 2016's #NovinhosCheddar campaign. The sample was selected from the video shared at McDonald's channel on YouTube.

A brief timeline of Brazilian funk

Successful in parties and radios at Rio de Janeiro in the 70's with American songs and lyrics, funk began to flirt with a Brazilian version in the next decade (ESSINGER, 2005). According to Vianna (1987), despite the crescent popularization in Rio de Janeiro, with parties filled with thousands of youngsters every weekend, the genre was still portrayed by the media as something "new" at the time.

By the 90's, funk already was a synonym of Brazilian funk throughout the country. Artists linked to the genre dragged crowds with lyrics in Portuguese that portrayed issues related to the daily lives in the favelas and peripheral neighborhoods of the city. Throughout the decade, funk representation in the media intensified, being strongly associated with violence (HERSCHMANN, 2000).

However, the speech of the same media grounded the basis for moments of glamourizing the genre, which also opened space in the cultural sections of big mainstream media of the country (HERSCHMANN, 2000).

Nowadays, funk simultaneously coexists with stigmas associated to violence - funk parties are still prohibited on many carioca communities, for example – and with a moment of rise in the media and the contemporary[6] cultural scenario, circulating in spaces different from their original places, such as middle-class nightclubs, fitness centers, Globo's telenovelas (PEREIRA DE SÁ, 2007) and advertisements of global companies, the focus of this article.

In this sense, we highlight that, despite the success of some artists and the international projection of funk, the structure of production and advertisement, especially for new artists, is still far from standard if we compare to new artists of other musical genres. Given the lack of space on the "mainstream" media, YouTube became an even more central element on the strategy of release of artists and producers. Throughout the years, the popularization of the platform followed a movement of diversification of genre in subgenres such as funk pop[7] and funk ostentação[8], with artists from different genres releasing hits on the video portal. That was the case of MC Romântico and "As novinhas tão sensacional", song that was eventually appropriated by McDonald's.

Such appropriation, as we previously discussed, generated a series of comments amongst consumers, many of which brought clear conflicts and symbolic-discursive aggressions related to funk, the identity of the brand and, consciously or unconsciously, to their own identities, linked to the sphere of consumption.

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6   Even though many of these narratives are still characterized by judgements of value that create a prejudiced view, we believe they can produce "gaps" through which difference can emerge (HERSCHMANN, 2000).
7   Resulting from the approximation between funk and pop music, the term funk pop refers to a subgenre known for the lyrics that distance themselves from the politically incorrect and for the sound that mix elements of pop with the beat of the drums, which began to dominate funk songs produced in the 21st century.
8   Subgenre categorized by the exaltation of consumption of luxury items, the funk ostentação was popularized at Baixada Santista (SP) in the 2010's and influenced other music genres, such as sertanejo – some artists began to present themselves as representatives of "sertanejo ostentação".

Consumption and identity on digital media

We understand, along with other authors, that, in the context of the arrival of the Modernity, related to the demise of "fixed" social references such as the church and the school (HALL, 2000), consumption started to constitute a central category in the definition of identity of the contemporary subjects (BARBOSA and CAMPBELL, 2007; FEATHERSTONE, 1997). In this sense, it is an important tool to "enable the significance and the identity that modern human beings aspire" (CAMPBELL, 2007, p. 63), helping individuals to "discover who they are" and, in this sense, combating "their sense of ontological insecurity" (CAMPBELL, 2007, p. 64), even if, according to Giddens (1991), the "mandatory" aspect of daily choices can lead to anxiety crises.

Also according to Campbell, this process of "discovery" or constitution of identity processes enabled by the consumption are in permanent reconstruction and resignification. Even the place of consumption in the contemporary social fabric contributes for the construction of "flexible" identities – after all, it is about an engendered instance in a complex system of cultural meanings of unstable value[9].

Profoundly marked by self-reflectivity (GIDDENS, 1991), the process of continuous elaboration of identity through consumption becomes even more noticeable with the development of information and communication technologies, particularly from spaces geared towards expression and sociability, such as social networks, in which the identity construction that the social actors seek to make of themselves becomes visible or even accessible (POLIVANOV, 2012).

Platforms such as social media websites are, thus, profitable spaces for this type of manifestation, once they offer subjects the opportunity of choosing to make some content related to the image they wish to build of themselves as visible or invisible (POLIVANOV, 2012), showing their affiliation or rejection to certain consumption products - either tangible

9   It is important to highlight, however, that we agree with Barbosa and Campbell (2007, p. 24) in the argument that such phenomenon do not represent the "end of social"; factors such as citizenship, religious affiliation, tradition and individual performance remain having an important role in the "demarcation of frontiers among groups" and in the "construction of identities".

or intangible goods, such as services or even ideas. Even though You-Tube is not necessarily a social network website structured for this end (RECUERO, 2009), we consider the speeches of the social actors in the comments as discursive messages that can be directly linked to the ways these subjects present themselves to others in this space. In addition to that, the platform presents functionalities that make visible the channels followed by individual profiles, appropriation that evidences the construction of a social network and that we will not explore in this article.

Therefore, in a scenario in which consumption goods, overall mediatic goods, are, often, more active than the "traditional" identity markers, elements such as musical preference, television preferences or even food preferences become relevant affiliation instruments to the way in which individuals in these spaces wish to present themselves to others that belong in these networks. And it is important to highlight that this process works not only for individuals, but also for brands. In our opinion, when taking as inspiration a song of the so-called "funk putaria" to create the ad campaign showing the new flavors of sandwich and French fries, McDonald's is clear to give the intention of reinforcing a hedonistic view of consumption, according to which the same should be a source or pleasure and realization.[10] According to Rocha (2009), the hedonistic aspect, common in the advertisement discourse, relates to the infinite consumption of goods to a perennial sense of happiness, which, for the author, configures as a superficial framing of the phenomenon.

In a release about the launch of the first campaign, on October, 2015, the marketing vice-president of the brand in Brazil, Roberto Gnypek, says that "cheddar is our product icon of flavor, pleasure and indulgence that connects directly with funk, which is fun, entertainment and boundless pleasure" ("OS NOVINHOS ESTÃO DE PARABÉNS", 2015). When reflecting about the choice of the brand for a funk with erotic content, whose subgenre "putaria", with many swear words, is

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10   They also do this aiming at a specific audience, the youngsters, who already are linked to the sphere of entertainment and fun, as the studies of Pereira and Polivanov (2012) show.

successful at parties and on the internet, it is possible to think about a double association in relation to the "boundless pleasure" proposed by the food franchise.

In this sense, we highlight the relevance of the publicity while a classifying system related to consumption through which sharing and the social classification of products and services as "necessities" come about, with certain values link to them (ROCHA, 2009). One can think, through this logic, that the expressive potency brought by digital media[11] brings even wider instruments for the sharing of this cultural system – even for their problematization.

If we consider the timeline of stigmatization of funk in Brazil, the choice of genre for an advertisement campaign, overall with a song with politically incorrect content, would be unlikely some years ago. Even though the purpose of this article is not to dissect the multiple social and economic processes that inspired this change, we believe that the plurality of videos of funk becoming hits on YouTube recently (such as "As novinhas tão sensacional") can have a relevant role to legitimate the creation of the campaign, as well as other appropriations in advertisement pieces.[12] Thus, the popular practices in the "cultural system" (BURGUESS and GREEN, 2009) established in the platform gain relevance in the set of current social practices that contribute so that the values around certain consumption goods are re-signified throughout time.

When using the goods to turn visible "a set of fluid processes to classify people and events" (DOUGLAS and ISHERWOOD, 2009, p. 36), consumption also acts as a cultural marker, building a shared universe of values and practices. However, as the limits that Hall (2000) points for the more "flexible" identity constructions in the contemporaneity, the

11   About the potency of digital media, it is important to emphasize the inequality of access and forms of use of these spaces, in which the social actors dispute places of visibility and authority (RECUERO, 2009), among others.
12   Even though this strategy not always is exempted from intense conflict, such as what happened in the Mercedes-Benz campaign we previously mentioned.

construction of consumption while cultural marker is also crossed by issues related to social class, ethnic background and gender.

In this direction, Barbosa and Campbell highlight the existence of a hierarchization of goods that turns the consumption of certain products and services more licit and desirable than others. According to the authors, although this classification is contextual, "there are crystalized cultural meanings about certain social goods and practices that transcend some contexts" (BARBOSA e CAMPBELL, 2007, p. 39). In the case of funk, the bond between the poor and black peripheral population remain as a stigma (EVANGELISTA CUNHA, 2014) that activate mechanisms of distinction (BOURDIEU, 1979) according to which the genre becomes inferior, such as those who consume it.

Even though McDonald's advertisement piece can be considered a successful example due to its popularity, this crossing between products of different spheres of consumption brings reflections that contribute for the reconfiguration of symbolic disputes associated to prejudice and hierarchizations that still remain in Brazil. It is about thinking to what extent the legitimacy offered by McDonald's campaign can be seen as a "discursive trick" (ENNE, 2004, p. 113) that "sanitizes" funk and, consequently, allows the expression of discourses that defend the music. As we will see next, this process of appropriation of funk by the brand is not exempted from conflict, but, contrary to what frequently occurs in pages with popular videos of funk, there are few registers of rejection to the jingle of the campaign.

Symbolic-discursive disputes on Novinhos Cheddar

Created by the agency DPZ&T, the campaign Novinhos Cheddar had as objective to present two new versions of the sandwich Cheddar McMelt (fixed item on the brand's menu): Grand Cheddar McMelt and Super Cheddar Bacon, in addition to the McFries Cheddar Bacon. After being commercialized temporarily between October and December 2015, the items returned to the menu on August and September 2016, also temporarily. With advertisement videos, jingle, printed material and digital

pieces for the brand channels in social media websites, the project used as main element a parody of the song "As novinha tão sensacional", success of MC Romântico released in 2014, to highlight the "new" flavors[13] and the "extreme amount" of cheddar on the recipes.

The song "As novinhas tão sensacional" appeared in late 2013 at DJ Bambam's studio at Vaz Lobo, Rio de Janeiro. Recorded with lyrics improvised in 10 minutes by MC Romântico, the song mixes the traditional sound of funk in the 21st century with the "beat" of reggaetón in a subgenre of funk that has been called "rasterinha". In an interview of the Thump channel of Vice magazine (ROMANI, 2015), Romântico said that the song was almost an immediate hit on DJ Bambam's channel on social media websites, and right after that, it was a hit at funk parties. The lyrics are filled with swear words and words that are considered vulgar: "As novinha tão sensacional / Descendo com a xota prendendo no pau / Subindo com a xota prendendo no pau / Rebola com a xota prendendo no pau / Isso aqui tá gostoso, tá sensacional". With the success, came the invitations to perform in radios and a softer version of the song, but, even so, it is filled with strong erotization: "As novinha tão sensacional / Descendo gostosa, prendendo legal / Subindo gostosa, prendendo legal / Rebola gostosa, prendendo legal / Isso aqui tá gostoso, tá sensacional".

On McDonald's version for the campaign, the lyrics are altered to mention the brand's products, but the structure of one only verse and the sound remained similar: "Os novinhos tão de parabéns / Os novinhos tão de parabéns / É o dobro de cheddar / Acabou de voltar / É cheddar mais bacon, pode relembrar / Batata com cheddar você vai pirar / Derretendo de novo / É só comemorar". The jingle is sung by a singer whose young voice exaggerates the carioca accent, making even more clear the connection with MC Romântico's song. Following other recent ads related to the brand, the video campaign presents a simple

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13   The popularization of the term "novinha" in funk can be compared with the use of the word in the genre brega from Recife, according to Soares: "The 'novinha' is the echo of a nymphet, a young, seductive girl, sexually voracious and able to invite the man for a night of sex" (SOARES, 2010, p. 57).

narrative, focusing on the ingredients and in the preparation of the sandwiches and the French fries.

The popularity of the ad of the campaign Novinhos Cheddar, shown during the months of October and December 2015, already proved the success of this endeavor: until May 2016, the video had over 607,000 views on YouTube. With the return of the campaign on August 2016, it was possible to find that the commercial, and probably, the products announced were popular with the audience. Until April 2017, the video called "The #NovinhosCheddar are on McDonald's. Again!" Had over 6.7 million views at McDonald's Brazil official page on YouTube, far superior number compared to the views of other videos posted on the same channel. At the time that we analyzed, between September 2016 and April 2017, the advertisement campaign received 978 comments and expressive numbers of approval: there were 15,398 "likes" and only 4,053 "dislikes" registered on the page. The approval of the use of the song in the campaign is even more evident with the post of a video with 1 minute and 40 seconds of duration with the "extended version" of the song[14] by the user jhonatan jh only after two days of the release of the campaign of the brand's channel on YouTube. Later, the 1min40s video was deleted.

In a qualitative exploratory analysis, we selected 40 comments amongst the those comments classified by YouTube system as the most relevant on the 10 first pages of comments about the campaign in the official channel of McDonald's on the platform. The speeches explicitly mention the jingle and the sample includes answers to these comments[15].

A first analysis about the comments posted on the page of the video reveals that most of the audience who chose to manifest themselves on

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14   With 1min49s, the "extended version" presents only a repetition of the jingle. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yH9TNQG-AwM. Accessed in: May 2017.
15   Answers to other comments within the universe sporadically analyzed contained mentions to the song. However, our objective was to maintain the focus on discussions around the centrality of the song in the campaign.

the comment section approved the use of the funk in the campaign: sentences as "I can't take this song out of my head" and "catchy ad",

Images 1, 2 and 3 – Positive comments on McDonalds campaign jingle.

Source: YouTube.

Mainstream songs are marked, among other aspects, by being considered commercial, clearly geared towards market sales (FRITH, 2004), and because it has the ability of being– to a certain extent – easily reproduceable in terms of melody, "fixating" in the memory (even more if we think about genres such as funk or pop). The positive comments clearly point to those characteristics, that are, more specifically, traits associated to jingles used on advertisement that has as objective to call attention of the clients and "fixating" the message on their memory (ALLAN, 2006). In this sense, such comments seem to indicate that the strategy adopted by the brand has worked.

According to the example shown on Image 4, the relationship about parody funk and the advertisement campaign was recognized – positively, negatively or ironically - by a good part of the audience: at the official page of the videoclip of "As novinhas tão sensacional" and in

one of the pages with the original version, deleted by YouTube[16] (probably due to inappropriate content), there were several comments that indicated visits from people who were interested in the song through the jingle.

Image 4 – Comment registered in the official page of the videoclip "As novinhas tão sensacional".

Isabelle 7 meses atrás (editado)

Mc Donalds me trouxe aqui

Responder · 138

Ocultar respostas ∧

Source: YouTube.

Another issue that deserves to be raised was the fact that the comments on the ad explicitly mention the "uncensored" version of the song, as Image 5 illustrates:

Image 5 – Comment mentions funk which inspired the campaign.

AyrtonFeronice Beta 7 meses atrás

a putaria começa quando a pessoa sabe as músicas originais os novinhos e as notinhas kkk

Responder · 2
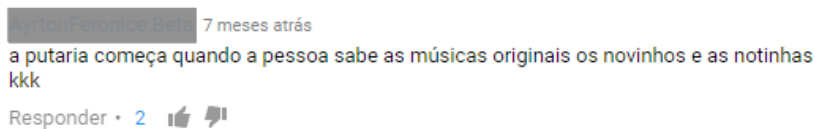
Source: YouTube.

As other parodies associated to the genre (EVANGELISTA CUNHA, 2014), the campaign can be framed in what Felinto (2007) considered as spoof culture, parody or imitation of a video. Popular amongst cultural practices consolidated on YouTube, this type of video, that usually parodies other productions available on the video platform itself, has been largely used by marketing on other medias in a way of establishing a multiplatform connection and getting the attention of the younger

16   The video was available at the link https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_AMvxIR_ Sf8. On April, 2017, date of the last access of the URL, YouTube indicated that this was deleted.

audience. Therefore, the spoof format can be understood as a type of language linked to a "remix culture" (LESSIG, 2008), which comes from a certain content in order to create another content, potentializing, in this case, appropriations of funk for marketing purposes.17

However, when the object of parody is a music genre marked by stigmas, such appropriation gains new nuances. In the case of funk, there is a conflict between the consumption of the genre and the rejection to it, once, according to what Hutcheon (2000) reminds us, it is necessary to recognize the original text in order to understand the ironic dimension of the parody. Thus, the song, which is considered by some as "degrading" on the original videoclip of "As novinhas tão sensacional" – whose first pages of "most relevant comments" present many criticism, unlike McDonald's ad - become, to a great part of the audience that approved the campaign #NovinhosCheddar, something "catchy" and valued.

Image 6 - Comments valuing ad's jingle.
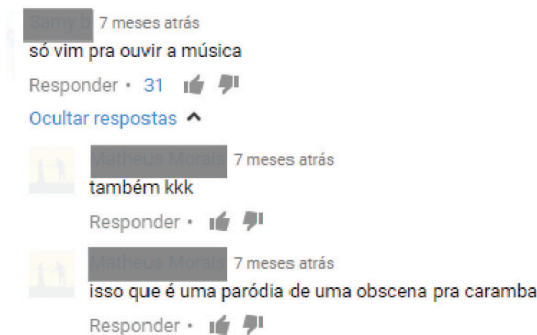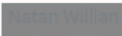
Source: YouTube.
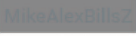
However, as the next comments composing our research corpus show, there must have limits for this meaning negotiation in relation to

17   Other studies point towards the relation between spoof and advertisement can be linked to movements such as culture jamming "a set of techniques of intervention that alter and subvert commercial symbols imposed by marketing of big companies through advertisement" (OLIVEIRA and PESSOA, 2014, p. 5)

funk. According to opinions that could be considered as anti-fans[18], the appropriation of the genre by McDonald's is seen negatively. According to this point of view, the positive repercussion of the ad would be an acknowledgement that funk would be a "threat" to Brazilian society, approach that shows a series of prejudices associated to the history of the genre. There are, however, only 2 among 40 comments that show this posture and that, in one of them, presented in Image 7, the choice of the brand was promptly defended in discourses that legitimate funk as a genre ("Funk is musical expression. Accept it and move on") or, at least, agree with the brand's choice ("I also hate funk, but this song is cool").

Images 7 and 8 – Comments criticizing the use of funk in an advertisement campaign.

Source: YouTube.

In addition to the responses defending the song in these same comments, there are "random" comments criticizing explicitly negative comments, such as Image 9. There would be, therefore, possible indication of the existence of other discourses that do not appear on the corpus of this study. Another important issue is that, due to limitations of the adopted methodology, it is not possible to know if these individuals are admirers of the genre or the brand and its products.[19] However, we can

18   According to Gray (2003), the anti-fan takes his time hating something from the moment he/she sees it as a "threat". In the case of anti-fans of funk that comment on the web, there is a perception of the genre and all the universe that surrounds it as a threat to other genres, especially to rock.
19   It is also not possible to know whether these defenders are not people hired by McDonald's themselves to defend the brand.

infer that they show some type of sympathy for the choice of funk as a soundtrack for the ad.

Image 9 – User defending the use of funk in the Novinhos Cheddar ad.

FataL_7 Game   7 meses atrás
pras pessoas pau no c# que fica falando (a não gosto de funk) pelo menos esse funk não tem putaria pense antes de fala poha karalho mano

Responder · 👍 👎
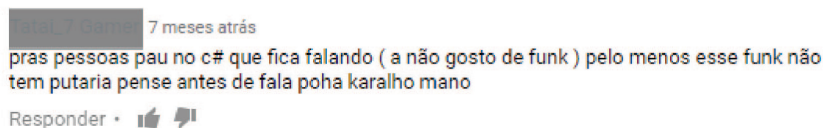
Source: YouTube.

These expressions, either supporting or rejecting the use of the song, can be understood as discursive performances of the subjects, that aim to explicit their affiliations to certain values, music genres (in this case, funk) and brands (McDonald's). They work as identity markers, according to what we previously discussed, and send us the notion of "emotional communities" (FREIRE FILHO, 2013). It is possible to take the defense of the ad Novinhos Cheddar as a possible manifestation of the relation of proximity between the brand and part of its consumers capable of neutralizing eventual criticism to the adaptation of a funk "putaria" to the soundtrack. According to Freire Filho, the grammar of emotions of a certain society is shaped "by social hierarchy and by daily relations of power" (FREIRE FILHO, 2013, p. 4). Strongly influenced by the media, such readings, that vary according to the socioeconomic conditions, status, age and gender, shape emotional communities ruled by feelings such as love, hate or anger.

In this sense, it is important to highlight the effort made by brands and organizations for the construction of an emotional capital (JEN-KINS, 2010) from different strategies in digital platforms. In a scenario in which multiple possibilities of interaction with consumers are available in the market, brands seek to promote a consolidation of a kind of agent "to which interests a more personal and direct involvement with what is intangible to the brand in question" (CASTRO, 2012, p. 136). Therefore, it is about endeavors that aim at the development of

affectionate relationships with the objective of turning clients into fans. These fans frequently gather in communities of the brand, where it is possible to affiliate to a certain lifestyle that "enriches exchange experiences with similar partners and with the company itself" (ALMEIDA, et al., 2011, p. 370). With around 73 million likes on their official Facebook page in October 2017, we can say that McDonald's gathers an extensive community of fans (although, we highlight, it wouldn't be possible to affirm that all the individuals that like the page are, effectively, fans of the company).

Beyond the admiration to the brand, however, we resume our argument around the "sanitization" of funk in the multinational company parody. When performing an attempt to erase certain characteristics that reinforce the connection of the song with the original communities of funk, the brand avoids the attraction of an extensive community of anti-fans of the genre, whose criticisms often show, explicitly, the hate also to ideas about peripheral communities represented there. That way, although it maintains the reference to the original funk, the commercial presents: a) a sound closer to pop; b) modified lyrics; c) replacement of the black bodies of the "novinhos" (singer and dancers) that appear on the videoclip of the song to focus exclusively on the preparation of the foods promoted.

About the first argument, there is, in McDonald's ad, a sound weakening of a funk trademark: the strong beat, or "batidão" (ESSINGER, 2005), with potent bass. In contrast, there is the inclusion of melodic sounds produced by synthesizers or keyboards and the use of tuned vocals, possibly auto-tuned, elements frequently linked to a sound aesthetics from pop (FRITH, 2004), even though it is difficult to delimitate it. About the lyrics, as we've mentioned, there are considerable changes. Even though it maintains the informal tone from funk ("As novinhas tão sensacional"/"Os novinhos tão de parabéns"), the agreement error is suppressed. While the lyrics of the first version of #NovinhosCheddar, broadcasted in 2015, made more direct references to the sexiness of the original song, with terms such as "pegando geral" and "derretendo

gostoso, é fenomenal"[20], the 2016 campaign promotes a bigger neutral-ization of the message. We can argue that, in the last case, the main and maybe the only explicit bond between the original song and the jingle, to what is referred to this hermeneutical field, is the mention of novinhas(os): in the first case, young and seductive girls; in the second, the new flavors of hamburger and fries. Such mention is not repeated in the imagetic field, since the ad suppresses the individuals and the urban peripheral scene from the original videoclip in favor of an aseptic environment with the products framed by neutral colors in the background.

From the analyzed material, we defend that these changes are an important part of the acceptance of the campaign. Even though it maintains association with the original funk so that the audience understands it is a parody, the video eliminates elements related to the stigmas around funk - therefore, the distinctive processes associated to its consumption or rejection.

Considering the role of advertisement in the social process of meaning articulations, the visibility granted by the campaign could represent an opportunity to discuss remaining preconceptions linked to funk. As we could see in the comments analyzed, there were some debate, but such collocations could be considered, overall, as a "collateral effect' of the reference to the genre. According to McDonald's approach, funk consumption is desirable according to some parameters, such as the use of parodic resources and the "sanitization", legitimating choices that maintain distinction mechanisms related to the process of stigmatization of the genre.

Such strategies also seem to be intimately linked to positive comments on the campaign's page, that belong to an identity expression - both from the brand and the consumers – that is more socially accepted. I. e., from the moment they "clean" stigmatized marks of funk from the ad, the social actors feel more comfortable to express their affiliation to the ad. After all, it is in the sphere of consumption that we build (and rebuild)

20   Complete lyrics: "Dobro de cheddar pegando geral / É cheddar mais bacon ficou genial / Batata com cheddar não tem nada igual / Derretendo gostoso, fenomenal".

our identities continuously and it is through the goods, ideas and products "organized" in the field of advertisement that we affiliate ourselves to certain values.

Final considerations

Throughout this study, we sought to highlight some elements that problematize the appropriation of a peripheral musical genre as funk in the advertisement campaign #NovinhosCheddar. We were particularly interested in the reflection about the crossings regarding the consumption of foods and musical genres in the social media environment, where the relationship between consumption and identity becomes even more evident in front of the possibilities of identity self-construction in these spaces. From the moment identity constructions are based by consumption and that platforms such as YouTube makes consumption even more visible through many tools (number of views, "likes" and comments, for example), the classification list around it becomes even more subject to debate and symbolic disputes involving "common" brands and subjects.

We also observed that the object of research brings reflections about the use of peripheral musical genres as elements of sound branding, resource through which the brands philosophy is translated acoustically (GUERRA, 2013). In the case of McDonald's, a brand highly consumed by the young audience, the resource of parody, linked to a Song that is already known and related to fun, seem to be used to reinforce the emotional connection of consumers with the brand itself and their values.

However, as we sought to highlight, it is an appropriation that: 1) does not eliminate conflicts related to symbolic disputes between different social actors in contact through social platforms; And 2) it is done in a way of erasing certain relevant markers from the funk universe, such as black youngsters, the use of colloquial language and favelas, for example, "sanitizing" it. The debates arising from the use of a song whose original content is considered "inappropriate" and that is related to a history of marginalization in an advertisement campaign evidence, thus, the central role of consumption as an unstable element through

which values can be re-signified. It is about a complex system that, such as identities in contemporaneity, acts among potencies of imaginary and social limitations. These limitations have frontiers that are problematized, even if unintentionally, by campaigns as #NovinhosCheddar.

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"What's Going On' is Soul Music's 'Sgt. Pepper's": Autonomy, Canon and Value in a Greatest Music Albuns List

"What's Going On é o Sgt. Pepper's da soul music": autonomia, cânone e valor numa lista de maiores álbuns da música

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Abstract: *Investigates the strangeness of the presence of a soul music álbum "What's Going On" by Marvin Gaye – in a "500 Greatest Albums of All Time" list by Rolling Stone magazine, whose massive presence is by albuns that derivates from a rock lineage. We argue that rock, reenacting evaluative traditions of high culture products (such as creative autonomy) became canon in pop music value. It can be seen within a cultural journalism that mediators (critics) are articula-tors of senses, that perpetuate values anchored by race, gender and idiosyncrasies - symptoms than Simon Frith (1996) calls "rock critic".*
Keywords: *pop music; value; critics; performance; canon.*

Resumo: *Investiga-se o estranhamento da presença de um álbum de soul mu--sic – What's Going On, de Marvin Gaye – na lista dos 500 maiores álbuns de todos os tempos da revista Rolling Stone, formada principalmente por discos deri--vados da linhagem do rock. A partir dessa constatação, argumenta-se que o rock, reencenando tradições valorativas de produtos da alta cultura (como autonomia*

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criativa), tornou-se cânone nas perspectivas de valor da música pop. Percebe-se, dentro de uma linhagem de jornalismo cultural, que os mediadores (críticos) funcionam como articuladores de sentidos que perpetuam valores ancorados em dinâmicas de raça, gênero e idiossincrasias – sintomas do que Simon Frith (1996) chama de "crítica rockista".

Palavras-chave: *música pop; valor; crítica; performance; cânone.*

This text seeks to discuss the constitution of value on pop music (SHUKER, 1999) from the recognition of a fight between two genres that work as landmarks for interests and affection: rock and pop. To circumscribe the debate, we took as object the list of "500 best albums of all time – International" published by the magazine Rolling Stone Brasil[4] in 2014.[5] The idea is to make an even bigger clipping of this list, highlighting the 10 albums from the top of the list. From that list, we recognize indications to a debate about canonic aspects on pop music, although we admit the limit of this cut, overall due to the extensive link to an anglophile perspective of journalism from Rolling Stone magazine. However, facing the transnational board of pop culture (SOARES, 2014) and the English language as a label for artists, songs and albums, it seems timely to perceive how this perspective of value present in Rolling Stone crosses other cultures, other albums and also other practices of journalistic, academic and market labeling.

It is assumed that rock is built as canon for pop music from the value brackets that operate under the protection of autonomation of the creation within the productive system. We highlight how value manifestations on pop music bring textual and discursive marks that refer to rock. This premise may seem "fixed", excessively oppositional and binary; however, we take this opposition as line of fugue. In order to understand how rock was constituted as canon on pop music, we need to identify punctual manifestations, "interpretative knots" that takes us to a third way: agents that are crystalized as holders of hegemonic places in the music culture. Lawrence Grossberg (2010, p. 161) believes that "the only way of correlating different concrete values is putting them in front of a third term (mediator or articulator), comparing them or translating them". In this case, to reflect on the rock vs pop fight and about rock as canon for pop music means to debate on the musical critique, the places

4   Henceforth called RSB
5   The list is a result of two rounds of polls: the first one, in 2003, gathered a jury of 271 people, among artists, producers, executives of the phonographic industry and journalists; the second one, in 2009, with other 100 judges, listed albums released from 2000 onwards. Therefore, a total of 371 people occupying places of prominence in the cultural mediation of music composed the list.

of discourse, the rock cultural journalism and the role of music fans-critics. It is in this sense that we get to Rolling Stone magazine and their list.

Lists are a part of a practice in pop culture and also in cultural journalism. One of the most emblematic books about affections and value highlights of cultural and musical pop products is High Fidelity, by Nick Hornby (2013). In this fictional piece, the tastes and choices from the lead character obey affective premises existing through lists. This order is a place where election and hierarchization are linked to personal and consensual tastes. Lists are also a part of the journalistic practice in magazines, cultural supplements and websites such as BuzzFeed and Youpix.

Lists seem fundamental to think about "who" is electing them – therefore, race, gender, social class, tastes, idiosyncrasies – and also horizons of expectations, values and distinctions. If, in Hornby's novel, the list was an apparatus of exposure and ordering of affection, in cultural journalism, it operates under the protection of a supposed "objectivity" – even though we know of all the tradition that refutes any objectivating layer in journalism. The practice of a list in cultural journalism is centered on a game between the extremely personal and the supposedly objective, linking characteristics and criteria of noticeability from journalism, (notoriety, hierarchy, seriousness) into a cultural form filled with the tradition of an intimate journal and narratives about personal taste. It is in this ambiguous place they are in that we will try to argue about the role of rock as canon on the critique of pop music. The idea is to map the tension and dissidence, identifying possible points of fugue.

Within the choice of the 10 albums listed by RSB as the best albums in music history, only one didn't belong to a lineage derived from rock: What's Going On,[6] by Marvin Gaye, which transits between soul music and black music. The complete list presents: 1) Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band – The Beatles; 2) Pet Sounds – The Beach Boys; 3) Revolver – The Beatles; 4) Highway 61 Revisited – Bob Dylan; 5)

6   Henceforth, WGO.

Rubber Soul – The Beatles; 6) What's Going On – Marvin Gaye; 7) Exile on Main St. – The Rolling Stones; 8) London Calling – The Clash; 9) Blonde on Blonde – Bob Dylan; 10) The Beatles – The Beatles. It seems timely to recognize the strangeness which WGO causes on this list when we perceive a predominance of rock in the sub-genre classic, folk and punk.

We will see WGO in detail, seeking to understand which elements from the album, highlighted by the critique, make a soul album occupy a place in the Olympus of rock. We raise the hypothesis that the treatment given to it obeys evaluative patterns coming from rock or what Shusterman (1992) highlights as the classic distinction between the "autonomy" of "high art" versus the "function" of "low art". In the conceptual design, Shusterman makes a critical reading of "Talkin' All That Jazz", by the band Stetasonic. To him, a strategy of rock critique was always to treat the album as "art" – reinforcing values linked to autonomation, artistic reasons and shape in opposition to an idea of a low culture, which operates under the protection of the "function" of an expression, therefore, a commercial, hedonistic purpose. The value would not be in its shape, but in its use. A similar argument is given by Simon Frith (1996), when talking about different perspectives of fruition: "audiences of a high culture product assume that the value of an object is within this object; while audiences of low culture products postulate that the value of an object is in what this object can do for them" (FRITH, 1996, p. 18).

Both Shusterman and Frith outlined a historically built problem to propose another way: the exam of aesthetic qualities that are immanent in products that problematize the notion of autonomy of creation. In Shusterman's argument, there is an indication that the contribution of philosophy on the aesthetics of mediatic products would be in proposing other keys for understanding and evaluating these products that are not originally from the high culture. This argument is close to Sianne NGai's (2012), which indicates the necessity of creating categories for judging phenomena that do not obey norms and patterns of the so-called

high culture, in an approximation of the aesthetic to a sociology of taste as a conceptual apparatus to understand phenomena in the pop music.

If we take common sense discourses, the term pop is constantly used as a synonym for a low aesthetic value. "Jay-Z's last album was too pop", "Anitta is funk pop". These speeches locate the term pop as a position: at times, evoking a species of excessive approximation from the music industry and raising issues such as the loss of autonomy in the creation or an indiscriminated access to "fashionable" sounds; at other times, suggesting a "contamination" of music genres by a certain "shadow" of pop. Pop sounds like a ghost that "haunts" other music genres. Taking RSB's list into account, and especially the soul album WGO, we perceive value manifestations about the record from four instances: the autonomy of the Motown label, the denial of pop, rock as canon and the musician's performance.

First level of value: autonomy in the label

"Gaye was determined to destroy the pop formula from Motown and approach urgent social issues" is part of the text that justifies WGO as the sixth most important album of the history of international pop music. The text takes a stand against what it seems to be a formula in Motown.

It is up to us, therefore, to think about the contradictions around the label located in Detroit, USA, pointed by Frédéric Martel (2012) as the epicenter of what was constituted as the genesis of pop music. With producers that "fit" black artists into white audiences, Motown launched seminal performers such as Jackson 5, The Supremes, Marvin Gaye, and others. Built to be "the mediator" that "filters" sounds and images of "domesticated" black people for white audiences, but with a huge financial return, Motown was considered a role model of aesthetics and business in pop, capable of working as a type of factory of music stars.

In the moment which WGO is praised for running away from Motown's "formula", we see this maxim as a possible postulation within the value standards of pop music. Taking a stand against the rules of the label, the industry or the music market is constituted as a privileged

place. We talk about autonomy of creation within the productive systems in the music business. There is a presupposition of framing a music genre (soul music) into the gears of the music industry: on paper, Marvin Gaye should make an album "within the mold" of what Motown would propose; however, he "breaks" the "mold" and creates an album without the interference of the label, which evidences his autonomy of creation. Autonomy gets textures of "rupture" in a discourse that evokes a subversive coverage.

In the constitution of the games of value about pop music, it is natural that labels are responsible for processes of fitting a mold for propagation in mediatic environments. It became usual to have a discourse of constitution of value by escaping impositions of standard. If we remember the debut album from Secos & Molhados, with all the subversive, experimental character it had, released in 1973 by a major label (at the time) Continental, or the album The Rise and Fall of Ziggy Stardust and the Spiders from Mars, from 1972, with an androgynous and glam David Bowie, under the indorsement of RCA, we perceive that the processes of creation within the systems of the music industry were always complex from the point of view of creative autonomation. Following this mindset, it becomes cliché an artist claiming autonomy in his/her creation processes. There is a constant negotiation in the field of artistic creation of institutions in the music market. To allow experimental sounds that run away from imposed norms and standards is also a postulation of constitution of value.

This same rhetoric around the autonomy of artistic creation within a productive system is common in rock critique, being present in the text of the Rolling Stone magazine. When talking about the album Pet Sounds, from The Beach Boys, second place in the list, we see the following text: "The luxurious sound of Pet Sounds waved goodbye to the innocent world of "sunny fun" from the Beach Boys. Unfortunately, Capitol Records hated the album and didn't even want to release it. Which made Brian Wilson crawl even further into his private world". The record label became "the villain" of the artistic creation. The

narrative of the text is circumscribed on a certain romantic tradition of authorship in that it positions Brian Wilson as "secluded in his private world" in opposition to Capitol Records, which would not have "understood the geniality" of the author. The text in the magazine tells the perspective of negotiation, pressure and autonomy of Brian Wilson with the Capitol Records: "In the last meeting to talk about 'Pet Sounds', I showed up with a cassette player with eight pre-taped answers, in loop, such as 'no comment', 'can you repeat that?', 'no' and 'yes'. Refusing to say a word".

As evidenced in the text of Pet Sounds, there are references to tense aspects between Marvin Gaye and the artistic direction of Motown in WGO's artistic choices. "Berry Gordy, founder of the label, didn't like it. He said 'What's Going On' was the worst song he had ever listened. Gaye answered that he would never record anything for Motown again if "What's Going On" wouldn't be released as a single. After being rejected by the quality control committee of the label, the music was unwillingly released".

Second level of value: Denial from pop

"When 'What's Going On' became a hit and the next album followed this path, there was a sequence of many songs with social conscience released by Motown". The social conscience present in the song seem to distance it from any frivolity that would be usual from Motown's "pop formula" and comes closer to a tradition of rock albums that deal with social critique. Gaye appear to be an artist that inaugurates a lineage within a productive system: "I was very affected by the letters my brother sent me from Vietnam. I realized I had to let the fantasies behind if I wanted to create songs that would touch people's souls". There are evidences, in Gaye's discourse appropriated by the critique, that translate the idea of denial of the superficiality of pop: "let the fantasies behind", focus on social issues.

The denial of pop by their supposedly frivolous and market-driven aspects appears on what Simon Frith calls "rock criticism" in relation to

pop; however, it doesn't complexify the term "pop music". We propose here to assume all ambiguity that the term is submitted to - especially in the linguistic uses of the common sense. Pop music is a big label that nominates, classifies and shares music artists and their many materialities and performances in transnational spaces of consumption; but it is also a specific type of music, with sounds, performances and spatialities that are comprised in a global sense of what pop means. In summary, we are treating pop music as:

1. A mediatic genre (JANOTTI JR., 2006). A classificatory form that takes into consideration senses and sensibilities that circulate in mediatic environments; Their forms of apparition, input and output of media; products that get labeled by being produced in the industrial systems of culture (record labels, studios, TV channels) that integrate even different music genres; or hegemonic aesthetic matrixes shared in the logics of consumption from culture industries as recognizable to what is called pop music. A mediatic genre, a classificatory form that brings more restricted dimensions of music genres and widens the notion of textualities in music. Taking daily uses, the term pop music gathers numberless musical genres (rock, electronic, hip-hop, rap, reggaetón, funk, *brega*, etc.) provided that they are generated and supported in the productive and symbolic systems of the music industry.

2. A music genre (BRACKETT, 1995; NEGUS, 1996). If we think about the productive systems, in the logic of circulation and consumption, in the sharing experiences of pop music enthusiasts, the idea that exists a pop sound (however imprecise it might sound) and image linked to this generic perspective; forms of addressing the music market around pop and also the recognition and the notion of belonging that what we can call community of a music genre, then, we can perceive pop music also as a music genre in a more strict sense.

The classificatory aspects of pop are necessary as we realize how the term is used as a big "negative" of actions that, in the constitution of

value games in critique, end up by putting in evidence practices that would be in the field of rock. The idea is to recognize that, in a broader spectrum, where pop is a mediatic genre, there is a clash that was constituted as central for the edification of cannon: the friction between rock and pop. We postulate that rock occupied the place of hegemonic music genre on pop music from the discourse of cultural mediators that engendered a place of rock always "in relation to" pop.

From this perspective, we drafted conceptual drafts that helps us think how the constitution of cannon on pop came about within the restraints linked to the high culture and that was rock that best suited such evaluative repercussions. Within the parameters of a "rock criticism" (FRITH, 1996) issues arise linked to a standard of taste that evoke gender politics (straight men occupying places of highlight in the musical critique), race (white) and class (middle-class), composing a board of election of songs and albums that obey both a evaluative pattern linked to high culture and a logic that surpasses the exclusion of cultural expressions that are not within the horizon of consumption and fruition of these critics-fans of rock.

Third level of value: rock as canon

In a certain point of the critique that elects WGO as sixth best album in music history, we are hit with the sentence: "'What's Going On' is the 'Sgt. Peppers' of soul music". The comparison with Beatles' emblematic album, elected in the same list as the first place, appear without any justification, almost as a tautology. It is up to us to question such sentences and think how the canons of music are built.

The discussion of value always brings to light the issue of critique and the premise: who elects the canon?[7] If we want to develop the logic that rock is crystalized as canon for pop music, it is important to understand canon within a tradition of judgement that is circumscribed into

7   "In greek, canon was a rule, a model, a norm represented by a work to be imitated. At church, the canon was the list of books considered inspiring and worthy of authority" (COMPAGNON, 2010, p. 222).

the field of aesthetics. As Antoine Compagnon (2010, p. 222) says, "the theme of value, beside the issue of subjectivity of judgement, comprise the issue of the canon, or classics, and the formation of this canon, the authority, the contestation and the revision".

It is important to highlight that the dimension of authority of the formation of canon is given by who elects it. In this case, it is inevitable to reflect about the role of criticism in the construction of canon and the discursive logics[8]. And also recognizing that the process of constructing a canon is given necessarily in dissent: every canon is contested, debated, reviewed. In this sense, Harold Bloom (2013) says that the canon embraces (dis)taste. Artists, books, movements from canon are not necessarily bringing pleasure, beauty, consensus. Canon needs to reflect a time, cross it, retell it. According to Bloom, there is a potency in the distrust around the canon: the more something seems loathsome, 'unreliable', the more we can create ideas about it.

We postulate the formation of the canon as a process, an agency that is socially built from consensual rules. We can think of canon from what Compagnon calls a rhetoric of institutionalization, reinforcing with the term "rhetoric" what is said about something, the forms of having a discourse about a phenomenon and the ways in which he is institutionalized. Processes of canonization, according to the author, go through institutional occasions: how something becomes hegemonic and which institutions are responsible for that place.

Compagnon deals with processes of canonization both of artists (in this case, writers) and works. The term "rhetoric of institutionalization" would be close to the notion of "instance of consecration" proposed by Pierre Bourdieu (1996), which evidences institutions, subjects and practices that circumscribe phenomena, arranging them within a

8   We are here to remind what Genette called "aesthetic illusion" or relativism of the observer: the position of the critic and the attempt of fixating values, either by highlighting a somewhat scientific objectivity (from immanent readings) or by pointing the (supposedly excessive) subjectivity of criticism as a "smaller" place of observation. We know that, even facing all the tradition of immanent approaches in human sciences (structural, formal), there were always the role of the media of extrapolating subjective dispositions, the place of the critic as supported in very personal choices and the disposition for political readings of these positionings.

determined field of production. The emphasis of Compagnon, let's say, is with texts and speeches. Bourdieu seem to be preoccupied with positions and roles of subjects and institutions.

> The canon is not fixed, but it is also not random, and, overall, does not constantly move. It is a relatively stable classification, there are inputs and outputs, but they are not as numerous, nor completely unpredictable (COMPAGNON, 2010, p. 249).

The conceptual triangulation about canonization processes finds repercussions in Simon Frith's writings about value that, when he circumscribes the debate on institutionalization of music, uses textures from Bourdieu's sociology and reviews the legacy of the School of Frankfurt to, with culturological accent, talk about cultural value as notably political, involving race, gender, social class, among other factors circumscribed to certain cultures. When rescuing the tradition of North American Cultural Studies, Frith highlights the economic gaze around the evaluative construction. It is about, for example, the value of the market of musical products, of the appeal within some logics of mainstream and criticizes the existentialism that sees autonomy as far from the logics of capital.

To Desler (2013), the canonic artist is someone who operates under: a) the transcendence of fashion and sociocultural changes (testing of time); b) Historic importance (influence in contemporary and future artists); c) immanent artistic value, rating works as masterpieces and attesting geniality and immortality (DESLER, 2013, p. 387). The author works with the concept of three canonic types: the academic, the critic and the mainstream. The academic would comprise processes of canonization that involve academic institutions, universities, aesthetic researches, among others. The critic (the term here sounds extremely ambiguous and inaccurate) refers to these canonic logics deriving from approval within the norms of journalism and specialized critics. The author brings the idea of mainstream canon, which points to an approval around the logics of market, exposure and visibility. We perceive how

the processes of canonization embedded in the cultural journalism are intimately linked to academic presuppositions, that would be a form of opinion from the verification of specialists in the field (musicologists, historians, sociologists, etc.) In front of criteria of grandeur that take into account a certain "inherent value": sociocultural impact, performative value, politic/artistic importance, taking into consideration their historic context. We highlight, then, the performance value as one of the criteria of evaluating an album.

Fourth level of value: the musician's performance

> "Working under a mist of marijuana smoke, Gaye took many intuitive decisions, such as letting tapes roll while friends were gathering or even taping rehearsal exercises of the sax player Eli Fontaine. […] That was how the melancholic line that opens "What's Going On" came to be.

The myth around the musician's performance, his virtuosity and the capability of reproduction of a certain sound live are in the realm of judgement of value in music. In the text about WGO, we highlight a studio performance: the creation, the uses of random sounds. In the debate about recognition of value, it is important to think about how the idea of the isolated "genius romantic creator", denying their productive systems, still persists and works as an important gear of highlight and edification of an authorial notion. To talk about performance means to debate a judgement of value that is given within the field of music genres, involving musicians, critics and fans of a certain genre. A "good" or "bad" performance is directly related to a horizon of expectations of this genre.

The performance is inserted within the scope of symbolic disputes between music genres, overall among fans, which leads us to bring the idea of taste performance, conceptual proposal defended by Antoine Hennion (2005). The definition is part of a proposal he calls "theory of

attachment",[9] in which he indicates four components that are in constant redefinition and reconfiguration and, at the same time, make taste be a reflective activity.

To understand the performance of taste, it is important to take into consideration these four points: 1) the fans; 2) the devices of liking, such as time, space, tools, rules, rituals, etc.; 3) the body and its experimentations; 4) the objects of our affection and the feedback they give us. To understand such aspects helps us understand the importance of the performance of taste in the symbolic disputes between music genres, overall what refers to different communities of fans/critics (we don't believe in any way that there might have a separation or a total distance of these roles). These disputes also involve mediatic devices and conditions that are susceptible to certain tastes and that build imaginaries regarding genres.

If we take as presupposition that a large part of the musical critics are also rock fans, as Frith suggests, we notice an impasse in the recognition of values that are not linked to rock music. In addition to that, there is the tradition of music criticism and journalism - overall in their coverage of genres of pop culture such as rock, pop, rap - from Anglo-Saxon countries to encourage or appropriate disputes between musical genres as market element of sale to legitimate some artists over others, as the classic cases of Beatles vs Rolling Stones or Oasis vs Blur, for example.

In the social genesis of rock and the studies about subcultures, the classic dispute between mods vs rockers took the streets of numerous cities in the United Kingdom and exploded in a weekend of fights in Brighton in May, 18th, 1964,[10] being intensely documented by the media at the time. An interesting data is the fact that this fight between different subcultures, called

9   Hennion proposes to replace the term taste for the term attachment, once this word would refer more intensely to material issues, of affection and fans, since the term taste would address the social-symbolic theories of Bourdieu.
10   One of the news reports about this clash is available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/may/18/newsid_2511000/2511245.stm. Accessed in: Dec. 2017.

gangs by the media, is portrayed in the musical Quadrophenia (1979) by the British band The Who.[11]

The disputes are addressed by the critics through the choice of a narrative construction of a confrontation between artists. In the Brazilian context of the so-called Radio Era, we had the clash of fans of the singers Emilinha Borba and Marlene, popular divas of this historic moment. We can even think about the journalism "creating" disputes, as, for example, jazz vs classic music, rock vs electronic, rock vs pop. In many confrontations among music genres, it is perceived the idea of cooptation versus resistance, in which we can see the echoes of the conceptual discussion about underground and mainstream, thoroughly worked by authors such as Frith (1996).

According to Hennion (2005), the performance of taste highlighted in these disputes shows, in a way, that Bourdieu's ideas on taste and cultural habits continue to resonate, once it reveals a series of pre-conceived dynamics related to ethnicity, sexuality, social class, moralities, etc. More recently, with hate speech and the visibility of haters and anti-fans that participate in social media websites, intellectuals have resumed the discussions on music genres and its disputes (AMARAL and MONTEIRO, 2013, among others) If we think about the fights between Brazilian funk and rock, for example, on Facebook, it is possible to recognize a group of discussions on social class, sexuality, etc. on the classification and legitimation of a musical genre over another. Pre-conceived notions that are not detached from the fans themselves, as classifiers, and the dynamics on social dispute. Therefore, it seems common to some rock fans – as commenters in environments on Facebook - to have an attitude of a supposed "superiority of cultural taste" over other genres.

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11   Issues related to morality, sexuality and conduct and even social class are arguments used by the press to legitimate or not a certain group of artists and music genres. In the case of genres coming from subcultures, Thornton (1996) says that the process of "cooptation" by the media is given when a subculture stops figuring the police news (riots and fights, drugs, etc.) and migrates to the fashion editorial and varieties part of the news. With social-historic changes and the popularization of the internet, it is also important to rethink about what cooptation are we talking about, but it would be another discussion.

It is interesting to observe that the narrative of legitimation of certain characteristics of music genres appears on speeches of fans is close to a discourse of critics in the construction of canon of genres. We perceive that the disputes among music genres are built from affection (love and hate) and a performance of taste facing objects, devices and rules that rate music from your experiences and attachments. Among these objects, the album is one of the most important elements in the process of constituting canon.

The value of a classic album

From the four levels of value highlighted throughout this text, evoked in the critics present in the RSB list, we think about the fights that make an album that does not belong on rock to occupy a place of recognition in the aforementioned list. From arguments contained in the critic of the list itself that justify WGO as the sixth best album in music history, we can think about some criteria that guide the game of values on pop music: 1) The process of autonomy of the artist within the environment of record labels; 2) the denial of preestablished formulas by the music industry, notedly those linked to pop as a music genre; 3) the indication of canonic procedures coming from processes of high culture, reenacted in music by rock; 4) the performance from the musician, from fans and critics as dispositions and places of speech that operationalize taste and affection in generic dispute. Such issues converge to the indication of a classic work, which, in the case of pop, seem to be very close to the ideals of a rock album. Lists would be, in a way, less malleable because they would work in a horizon of choices guided by the idea that classic works should occupy these "noble places".

If we think about processes of canonization and canon as instances, subjects, works, but overall, as institutionalization, it would be wise to elect the classic work as the one capable of, according to Gadamer (1995) "save the canon of the anarchy". The classic work would be the anchor of canon, a species of safe place to which attentions converge with the end goal of recognizing patterns, norms and contextual

desires that position a canonic work. In literature, classics would be "universal, timeless works that constitute a common good of humanity" (CALVINO, 2013, p. 21), brought by processes that involve reason and authority, therefore, encounters between historic and normative aspects. The historic distance, in Gadamer's opinion, is essential in order to recognize a classic.

> What is classic is subtracted to the fluctuations of time and the variations in taste. When we classify a work as "classic", it is due to the conscience of its permanence, its imperishable significance, regardless of any circumstance of time – in a species of timeless presence, contemporary to all present (GADAMER, 1996, p. 309).

If we go back to the etymology of the word "classic", we would be facing a notion that goes back to Classical Antiquity, evoking a past and an ideal of perfection, from where authors would constitute as norm within a tradition or a genre and works would be appreciated within clearly rational parameters. "The classic designates the preservation throughout the ruins of time" says Gadamer (1996, p. 316).

Bringing the debate over the field of music, Roy Shuker (1999) reflects about the classic evoking issues linked to genre (classic music in opposition to popular music) and to meanings within musical genres of popular music (rock classics, hip-hop, among others). One of the most interesting issues evoked by the author is the somewhat elitist premise that the term "classic" evokes. According to him, it is more usual and recognizable that the term would be used to nominate works of hegemonic and non-peripheral music genres. The term "classic" gains strength, according to Shuker, in the moment the music album emerges as a product to be positioned within the market competitions of the industry. It is in this perspective, also from marketing, that the author reminds us how opportune is the nomination of an album as "classic": its relaunch, the many versions of records, the celebratory dates, among other ephemeris and discursive brands.

Márcia Tosta Dias (2008) historicizes the moment in which the album becomes central to the industry and the concept of work starts

to figure, in pop, with more strength within the capitalist concept: "in the 50's, the objective bases for standardizing production in the world music industry are launched, that cannot be understood without the global movement of capitalistic development" (DIAS, 2008, p. 41). The three-minute song becomes the world standard and, along with the internationalization of the product, comes the internalization of circulation and production, which intensifies with the installation of branches of labels in different countries. In this context of massive consumption of music, the necessity of differentiating products and forms of appreciation also arises.

This debate has the premise of the discussion around the choice of "best albums" through lists under the horizon of recognition of canonic music genres that orient values of products (music albums especially), under the protection of the idea of being a "classic" of pop music. The cut about the 10 albums considered as the most important in the pop music history by the Rolling Stone Brasil magazine and the strangeness about the only album listed that does not belong to a rock lineage - What's Going On, by Marvin Gaye - seem to indicate an aesthetic predominance of rock values in pop music and also the existence of canonic categories of value in the music that are translated into a certain exhaustion and an excessive fixation around the ideal of classic work on pop. It is also interesting to think about the Lineage of soul music as an evaluative instance of pop capable of stressing rock values in a horizon of fugue of current standards. Discussing categories, sensibilities, possibilities of fruition of other aesthetic patterns, therefore, directs us to the understanding of the constitutional tensions of the contemporary culture.

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Far beyond the pixels: consumption and material culture experiences in League of Legends

Muito além dos pixels: experiências de consumo e cultura material em League of Legends

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Abstract: *This article seeks to discuss consumer practices in the digital game League of Legends (LoL), from a study based on the field of communication and material culture. The objective is to understand the relationship between objects and players-subjects-consumers. In order to do so, we seek to analyze the social and cultural trajectory of these commodities in the symbolic experiences in LoL. In this perspective, according to the ethnographic method, reports and observations of the consumption of objects in LoL are presented by players from the cities of Belém (PA), Diadema (SP) and Osasco (SP). The results point to the existence of a complex web of interconnected meanings, responsible for (de)codify the objects and transform aggregations of pixels into experiences of communica-tion, consumption and material culture.*

Keywords: *digital games; consumption; material culture; virtual goods; communication.*

Resumo: *Este artigo procura discutir as práticas de consumo no jogo digital League of Legends (LoL) a partir de um olhar baseado nos estudos do campo da comunicação e da cultura material. O objetivo é compreender a relação entre objetos e jogadores-sujeitos-consumidores. Para tanto, procuramos analisar a tra--jetória social e cultural dessas mercadorias nas experiências simbólicas em LoL. Nessa perspectiva, e fazendo uso de método etnográfico, são apresentados relatos*

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e observações do consumo de objetos em LoL por jogadores das cidades de Belém (PA), Diadema (SP) e Osasco (SP). Os resultados apontam para a existência de uma complexa teia de significados interconectados responsáveis por (de)codificar os objetos e transformar aglomerados de pixels em experiências de comunicação, consumo e cultura material.

Palavras-chave: *jogos digitais; consumo; cultura material; bens virtuais; comunicação.*

Introduction

This research seeks to analyze the consumption of what we call "virtual goods"[3] in the game of digital environment called League of Legends (popularly known as League or LoL). The idea is to understand the ways of consuming digital merchandise, present in this online game, from an approach based in the studies of consumption and based in the categories of symbolic, value dynamics, social relations and the material culture that consumable merchandise in LoL's environment can promote in interaction with subjects. What we intend to do is to capture how these objects[4] in the game are symbolically situated, how they are interpreted and "manipulated" through symbols that evoke and the individual performance they assume in different contexts of League.

We will analyze, thus, how does issues involving values and meanings of use of determined objects are fundamental elements within the consumption developed in the game and how does experiences and values are activated and coincide in consumption dynamics of virtual goods in LoL. It is about understanding the place in the world of objects in League in the relationship amongst players, seeking to understand the social life of these "things".

In this sense, among numberless activities of entertainment and different types of games that were developed throughout the years, digital games are in the vanguard of the so-called industry of entertainment. Among the most diverse types of games in present days, we cast a light on a specific game: League of Legends, a free online game exclusive for computers. The choice of this game was given both by issues that involve Brazil and the Amazonic region in representational forms in LoL (according to MACEDO and AMARAL FILHO, 2015) and by its popularity and national insertion in this environment.

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3   According to Jens Frieling (2013) and Jennifer Martin (2008), virtual goods are items that exist exclusively in digital environments but are acquired with real money. We will deepen the meaning of the term later.
4   Object is understood in this study, as Ian Woodward (2007, p. 3) argues, as "material things people find, interact and use".

The game in question was created by the North American development company Riot Games, with headquarters in Los Angeles (USA) and 13 offices scattered around the world, one in the city of São Paulo. According to the company, the global reach of League surpassed the number of 100 million active players monthly in 2016. In that same year, LoL leaded the ranking of most lucrative online games after reaching US$ 1.8 billion, the equivalent to US$ 150 million per month.[5] This amount puts the game in the category as the most profitable game in the world since 2014.

In order to create loyalty amongst the active players in a multiplayer game in the web, we highlight the creation of attractions that keep the experience of playing in constant recreation and motivation. It is necessary, therefore, "items or elements formed by pixels that link capital values[6] for their acquisition" (REBS, 2012, p. 207), i. e., virtual merchandise that incorporate different aesthetic references to attract the consumer-player. It is this relevant factor of LoL that will be the focus of this research and it refers to the consumption of what we name "virtual merchandise": a variety of items, either characters or accessories within the game itself, available for the player through a market system of sales.

In the economy of virtual merchandise, there is a formal commerce in League organized by a system protected by the programming of the game that rules the acquisition and purchase of these items, exclusively processed within the digital environment. We can classify it according to two big categories that vary in specific ways of acquisition: (i) items acquired in-game[7] through playability;[8] (ii) items obtained in the game

5   Available at: https>://goo.gl/JL3Ss3 and https://goo.gl/DDdaG4. Accessed in: Jan. 15th 2017.
6   Even though there is a considerable amount of literature that is dedicated to study the consumption and the material culture using the theory of capitals of authors such as Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam, whose contributions are undeniable, it is valuable to highlight that we will walk through a different cultural and symbolic approach (GELL, 1992; MILLER, 2007, 2013; WOODWARD, 2007).
7   Inside the game, therefore, consumable items, accessories to boost character's attributes and improve their performances, etc. all of them acquired through gold conquered as a consequence of the conclusion of certain goals. This coin can be exchanged for items in a specific store within LoL's matches.
8   According to Katie Salen and Eric Zimmerman (2003), playability is the interaction that occurs between players and rules of a formalized system through the game, therefore, the act of playing.

store through Influence Points (IP),[9] Riot Points (RPs),[10] through gifts or through a system of rewards to players that allows to create paid content for free.

However, this article is concentrated in the second category, both for involving the acquisition of items considered as the main base of profit of the company, detaining bigger attention and divulgation, and for sheltering accessories recognized by every interlocutor of this study as the primary reason for shopping at League: the so-called skins, customized designs with aesthetic transformation of characters within the digital environment of LoL (Images 1 and 2).

Image 1: Screen of information of the character Lux (the skins she has appear on the lower part of the image)[11].
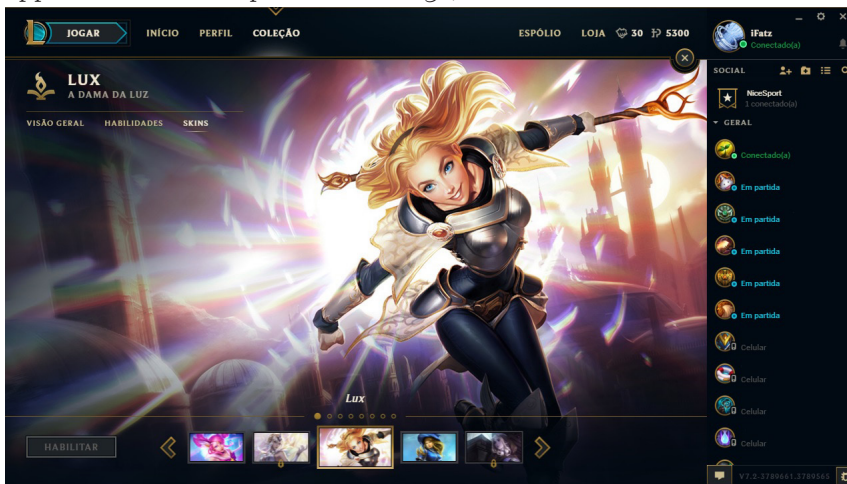
Source: Print screen of the game League of Legends BR.

These particular virtual merchandises are released overall, even though not exclusively, through RPs, a type of "money virtual" that

9   It is virtual coins existing in League, a form of awarding players for the matches played. They are used to perform exchanges, in a game store, for characters, items for mechanics, among others.
10   Virtual coins that need to be acquired for cash.
11   There were interventions in the images inserted in this article, whose objective was to preserve information of subjects that are in the game and in the social media website Facebook.

refs to "[…] The coins circulating in different games that are linked to a symbolic financial value that is enjoyed only in the virtual environment (REBS, 2012, p. 212).

Image 2: Mythical Skin[12] Elementalist Lux.
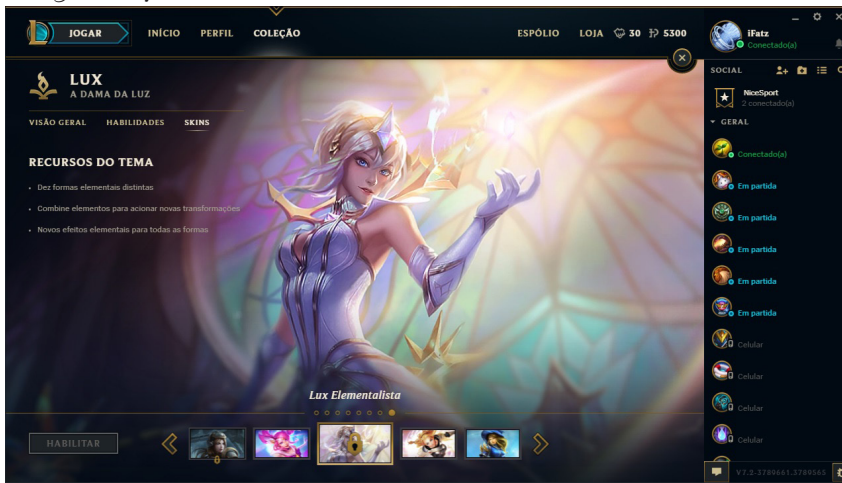
Source: Print screen f the game League of Legends BR.

This text is divided into three sections: In the first we present the methodological matrixes that support this investigation with the goal of elucidating the starting points of this research; in the second section, we raise punctual questions about the publicity strategies for the promotion of skins at LoL; and the third section that comprises, in a more specific way, the analysis we perform of the consumption of virtual merchandise at League through its material culture as main focus of our glance.

Methodologic Procedures

An analysis of consumption of players in a digital game such as LoL entails methodological specificities for the researcher that must adapt to

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12   It is the most expensive skin at LoL and has the highest level of alterations that this kind of item can reach.

the characteristic peculiarities of the study of this medium, being neces-sary to act on it. This is the element that composes the thought of Espen Aarseth (2003) when he reinforces that playing a videogame and, there-fore, consuming it, presupposes a process of learning and an application of a dynamic hermeneutics in which the "go to field" goes through the necessity of a researcher to experiment the game, assuming the posture of a "user-player" – therefore, engaging materially in the experience.

According to this perspective, the fieldwork in this study was devel-oped through an ethnographic research performed with subject-players (or former players) of League of Legends that consume or already con-sumed the different items available in the game through an approach anchored in the material culture. The choice of interlocutors of this research was performed through a long relationship based on trust and assiduity with the interviewed players, with which we shared game ses-sions and learned to explore the universe of LoL. Thus, this participative immersion in the field, during the own experience with existing con-tents in the digital world of League, which awakened the curiosity of understanding the ways in which the subjects consume the items on LoL's environment.

Therefore, four interlocutors that play or played LoL were selected, each one consuming in different ways the items of this environment, three men and one woman (Board 1). All of the participants had knowledge of the goals of the research and the data obtained in the ethnography, inserted here, are built through fictional names, chosen among the names of the characters of the game that each one said to play or like more, in the intention of preserving the subject's identities.[13]

The investigation was guided with support in a semi-structured script thought to better understand the relationship about LoL's dynamic and the processes of immersion of consumption, both based in the axes of this and by imbricated perceptions coming from an ethnographic field research of the symbolic, of value dynamics, of social relationships and

13   Some of our interlocutors indicated concern or already suffered some kind of moral and/or sexual harassment when playing LoL. Moreover, the harassment in this digital game is one of the reasons why one of players decided to stop playing it.

the imaginaries that consumable merchandise in the game carry. However, it is not only about an issue that involve subjects "pondering on what the objects may mean" (WOODWARD, 2007, p. 4), but, overall, players interpreting objects in relation to others and being immersed in the complex intergroup networks modelled by the social role and the space-time contexts.

To think about the phenomenon of consumption, according to what exposes Everardo Rocha (2000), it is necessary to go through the necessary understanding of the intrinsic connection with the culture, which wouldn't be different in an environment of an online game. Therefore, there is the necessity of following the universe of subjects in the medium through the ethnographic praxis and through the direct interaction with the game, which presupposes a passage through the dynamic of playing it (AARSETH, 2003) and perceiving how the cultural codes that give coherence to the practices act. In this sense, the field research was given between June 2016 and January 2017 with players between 18 to 26 years old.

Board 1. Interlocutors of the study.

Player	Age	Time in LoL	City
Lulu	23 yo	Plays for two years.	Belém/PA
Jinx	22 yo	Played for two years, stopped four months ago.	Belém/PA
Talon	26 yo	Plays for three years	Diadema/SP
Draven	18 yo	Plays for three and a half years.	Osasco/SP

Source: The authors

Performed in two steps, the field work happened in the following way: initially, to contact with possible interlocutors, we made use of a profile on LoL and performed researches in groups related to the game in the social media website Facebook. Later, we performed semi-structured interviews between the months of December, 2016 and January, 2017: face to face, with two players in Belém (PA), and through video call on Skype, with the subjects in the cities of Osasco (SP) and Diadema (SP).

So, this research fits the criteria of an on and offline ethnographic approach indicated by Daniel Miller and Don Slater (2004). The field, therefore, has a network dynamic, characteristic of the object of study itself. In the following section, our reflection is focused on briefly talking about the publicity strategies used by the game's company in the promotion of virtual merchandise.

Publicity strategies for the promotion of virtual merchandise on LoL

According to what Everardo Rocha, Carla Barros and Karine Karam (2014) argue, entertainment and consumption are practices related in many levels, even though fun is not always a synonym for consumption. In this perspective, following the thought of authors, both phenomena have a relation of relevant analysis, able to evidence and better understand belongings, tastes on social groups or subjects, styles, beyond sanctioned and socially legitimated distinctions.

In Brazil, according to Newzoo's estimates,[14] the game market will generate an income of US$ 1.3 billion in 2017, given that it maintains as a leader of the sector in South America and the 13th of the world. That includes all types of games, from the most simple, available in browsers and smartphones, to the more complex ones, for consoles and computers. According to the Newzoo's research in 2017, 66.3 million Brazilians play some type of videogame; a report of 2015[15] indicates that 56% of the 33.6 million players spent with some type of game, on average, US$ 45,54 per year, data considered bigger than the average for the region, evaluated in US$ 37. In the national territory, the research Game Brasil 2017,[16] performed by Sioux, Blend New Research and by the Escola Superior de Propaganda e Marketing (ESPM - Superior School of Propaganda and Marketing) with 2,947 interviewed subjects, indicated that 58.7% of these subjects are used to playing some type of

14   Available at: https://goo.gl/UPmPdD. Accessed in: Sep. 24th, 2017.
15   15 Available at: https://goo.gl/uAyy9Z. Accessed in: Jan. 15th 2017.
16   16 Available at: https://goo.gl/rjYo5q. Accessed in: Sep. 24th, 2017.

online game. The second most popular platform is the computer, with 66.4% The majority of the audience of Brazilian players has 25 to 34 years old, comprising 53.6% of the declarants as women and 46.4% as men.

In this scenario, a series of actions performed by the company Riot Games for the creation of virtual merchandise such as skins and champions (characters of the game), include the dissemination of advertisement pieces (filled with content and information) in multiple platforms thanks to the mediatic convergence (MACEDO and AMARAL FILHO, 2015), since the production of promotional videos, comic books, audiobooks, music albums (Image 3), short stories about characters, special events, periodic sales on items, quizzes, apps for smartphones, hiring famous bands for composing songs,[17] etc. Each one of these strategies have an impact in the consumer experience of the player, and, probably, in their choices in the act of buying certain virtual merchandise.

It is, then, through a symbolic system formed by means of communication used by the developer of LoL, in their official website, forums and social media on the internet (Image 4) that a great part of the acts of consumption are stimulated. About the merchandises that are object of this research, different types of skins use different levels of messages; therefore, the bigger value an item has, the bigger amount it will be of advertisement pieces that will help to share it in the narrative environment that the game composes.

Through the insertion of these strategies, Riot Games enables the consumption of virtual merchandise that do not offer any advantage in attributes or bonus in the game, unlike other digital games in which most items available on sale bring improvements to the player. Thus, the company transforms "inert matter in material culture" (ROCHA, 2000, p. 26, highlighted by the author) How some of the steps of this process are effective from the appropriation of players is what we intend to talk about in the next section.

17   The American group Imagine Dragons was hired by Riot Games in 2014 to create the theme song "Warriors" of the World Championship. Available at: https://goo.gl/ SgblY2. Accessed in: Feb. 11th, 2017.

Image 3: Song album Smite and Ignite for the launch of the set of thematic skins Pentakill.

Source: Print screen of the page Penta Kill Music. Available at: https://goo.gl/DlJTzH. Accessed in: Feb. 11th, 2017

Image 4: LoL's Facebook page sharing a piece for the launch of the skin Lux Elementalist.
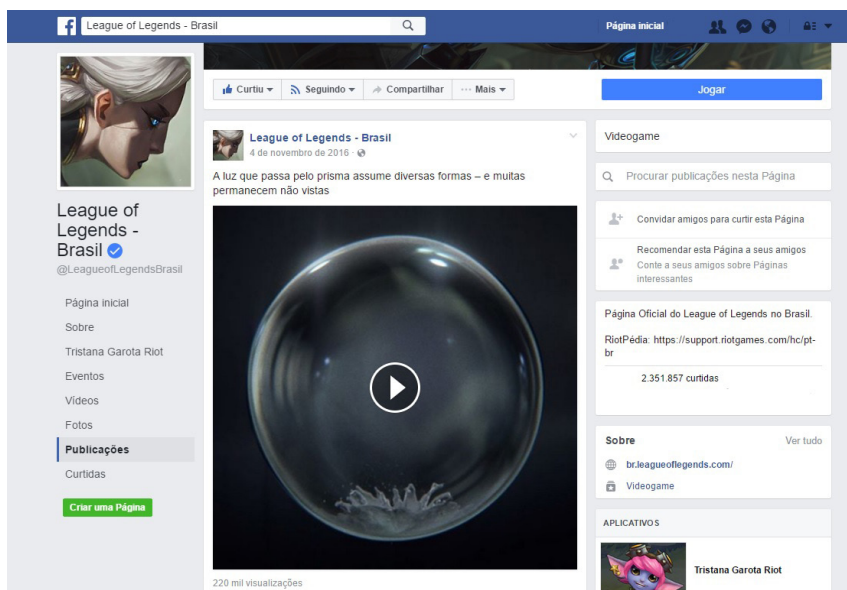
Source: Facebook League of Legends – Brazil.

Objects in the game: material and symbolic culture in consumption practices on League of Legends

Objects are a part of our daily life, and, every day, our daily existence is marked by encounters with these objects. Ian Woodward (2007) emphasizes how objects, apparently inanimate, act upon subjects and are acted by them with the end goal of playing social functions, giving symbolic meanings to human practices, rule social dynamics and carry cultural values. Objects are imbued, thus, with the capacity of meaning and symbolizing stuff or even establishing social meanings in name of people and groups.

In this perspective, each episode of consumption is also an act of simultaneous communication, because the choices of subjects the forms how they organize and give meaning to daily spaces create meanings and promote symbolic circuits that surpass the materiality of consumption, reaching the sphere of ideas and representations, representing a way of living, a lifestyle, surpassing in meaning the material consumption (CASTRO, 2014).

Daniel Miller (2007) argues that the studies of material culture seek an intense comprehension of the inseparable human relation with the materiality that surrounds him, of the preoccupation between the mutual connection between objects and people. From this contribution, we consider goods while objects filled with symbolism that, in interaction, can be capable of promoting expressions and representations, as well as unfolding experiences and meanings. Therefore, they are elements that have value that constitute realities with multiple faces, from their meanings while merchandise (market value) to their importance of meanings (sociocultural value). To Woodward (2007), goods are objects produced in the dominion of specific market relations, in which values are attributed within a system of exchange. Merchandise is considered a technical expression directly associated with the concept of "good", having the same possibility of exchange.

Following this approach, consumption starts to be seen as a process of involvement with the goods (objects in the game, in LoL's case)

which simultaneously focus on the practice and in the construction of meanings, offering shapes, ways of conduct and understandings to be employed in the relationship with objects and subjects. This issue can be perceived in the speech of the player Jinx, one of the interlocutors of this study, that, even without classifying the observation as coming from a material culture between people and objects, highlights brands in this relationship when commenting about the relevance or indifference of having a skin at League:

> I wouldn't say it (skin) is important or indifferent, because it will never be indifferent, I believe it will always have some meaning for the person buying it and a meaning for someone who sees it, who sees that the person has a skin (Jinx, in an interview with the researchers).

What is revealed and evidenced in Jinx's speech is LoL's complexity, how the act of playing implies a dependence of objectives of those who play, of meanings, of observations that are understood, of experiences they intend to achieve and live, of ways of acting towards others.

In the case of games in digital platforms, virtual goods in a very strict sense, are digital objects, coins and other premium contents (paid) that only exist in digital games and in some social media websites (FRIEL-ING, 2013). That way, the appropriations and interactive uses of these products will depend on dynamics of these particular environments and their specific genres, from functional aspects, to decorative and even symbolic. Frieling (2013) says that the increase of the trade of virtual goods widens many research opportunities and raises fundamental questions, how to understand the reasons why the consumers are willing to buy these merchandises. According to Rebeca Rebs (2012), based in Mike Featherstone (1995), the motivations for the consumption of these goods usually indicate purchase necessities typical of material goods, coinciding in purchase practices, possession, sale and exchange of products in a market of entertainment goods formed by pixels that pass through questions of immaterial meanings. We can perceive, in Talon's speech, dynamics that are close to what Rebs' (2012) study shows, as well as the issues raised:

> It is like buying designer's clothing, it is like when you have that thou-sand-dollar sneakers, people look at you like: "wow, you have an expensive ass Adidas on your feet" […] (Talon, in an interview with the researchers).

Therefore, we notice that just like clothes for Miller (2013), we can think of skins as something that makes the players what they wish to be. It means to consider that they dress the subjects, such as skins makes them who they are, that such objects also act upon the players, In League of Legends, as we've previously said, they do not alter or strengthen attributes and abilities of the characters, that remain the same. Through field research, it was possible to see that a big part of the interlocutors seeks to attain a better experience within the digital environment of the game through the acquisition of online goods (MARTIN, 2008) according to what we've perceived in Draven's speech:

> I buy a lot of skin […], I think I do it because it gives a thrill in the game, like, you go into the match and people say: "wow, awesome skin". If some-one says that to you it gives a bigger satisfaction, a bigger thrill, you play with more desire, you want to honor the skin, honor the champion you play with (Draven, in an interview to the researchers).

For Draven, the value of skins obtains meanings from different signi-fiers, among which there is: prestige and recognition from the visibility of these objects with the consequent thrill and satisfaction for its uses, increase in the desire to play, necessity to honor a skin and a character, as well as demonstrating technical expertise - skills and competences – when using them in-game (MACEDO and CORRAL VIEIRA, 2017). At the same time, the affirmation of Draven shows the affirmation of the material culture of what Alfred Gell (1992) called enchantment aes-thetics or a "technology of enchantment", responsible for addressing, in Draven, a will to play with champions that had skins. In a similar way, Jinx, when he expresses what she usually privileges in a virtual good, argued his preference for a type of skin that enables alterations in char-acter's dynamics, because the aesthetic transformations - that these goods enable for champions - were able to change the view she had of them.

> I like skins because they give you a different feeling, for example, there are some skins that only change his clothes [the character] […] I like skins that change your perception inside the game, that doesn't only change your clothes. Because the clothes are only, like, even though they [skins] are cheaper, I don't see much reason for you to have one (Jinx, in an interview with the researchers).

Approximating Gell's (1992) perspective with the studies of consumption from Featherstone (1995, p. 105), it is possible to think of skins as prone to entice a 'instantaneousness', i.e., 'the pleasure of diving into objects of contemplation'. As an effect of this process, there is a tendency for the development of a "uncontrol" of emotions, whose objective is to stimulate the opening for all kinds of sensations available that an object of consumption can evoke, from the joy of immediate and physical pleasures to even sensorial pleasures. Thus, this enchantment is capable of enabling a sensation of fear and trust, according to what Lulu and Draven, respectively, report:

> Because it [the Lux Elementalist skin, Image 2] has a bunch of effects, everyone will look and I think I cause this fear, I may not even know anything about Lux [Image 1], but then I got the skin and the other team will go: "Damn! He paid 40 reais to buy this skin!" So, either he is very rich or he rocks with Lux (Lulu, in an interview with the researchers).

> I think another thing that skins help is that they give you a little bit of confidence […]. You feel exclusive, superior, that gives you extra confidence, sometimes it can help you in the game, you feel more comfortable, play more calmly, think more when you play (Draven, in an interview with the researchers).

Thinking about the perspective of the material culture about this question, we repeatedly fall into a problem of reification, that is, people usually imagine they control the objects, that they exist simply so the individuals are involved or used according to their own terms. However, the approach of the material culture shows us that an object cannot be fully had once it transits and interacts with different subjects and contexts, giving each one of them sui generis forms independent from values

and meanings. Woodward (2007) argues that the objects have a type of power and agency on the individuals – to what Miller (2013) calls "objectification" -, a "capacity somewhat unexpected that the objects have to get out of focus, of bringing peripherals to our vision and still determining our behavior and our identity" (MILLER" 2013, p. 79), in such way they act and instill on the players, giving them meanings and roles in the game, not being passive to their pleasure and "manipulation" by these subjects. We can say, therefore, that the skin also makes the player at League, it dresses him, and makes him what he is in relation to others and with others.

Consequently, the players, when they use objects like the skins, need to understand beyond the uses and practices that motivate their purchases —for example, the aesthetic experience mentioned by most of the interlocutors. It requires the understating, however, that this "parallel life" independent that does not arise ex nihilo but is developed in the creation of skins, so they could navigate widely in the terrain of the game culture. The players participate of the world of the game through this incursion of the universe of collective symbols in LoL's community.

Thinking about the life of objects at League, in particular those which we studied, casts a light on relevant appointments: skins, for example, do not have a specific material form, except through computer codes and pixels. Therefore, we can understand them in two perspectives: (i) while formed by layers of binary codes and techniques, therefore, numbers and elements of programming, (ii) that come to the subject through pixels by the graphic interface of the computer. Codes tend to be less visible for the ordinary player, whereas "the aesthetic is the most visible and perceptible, for representing the interface that is apprehended by our senses" (MACEDO and AMARAL FILHO, 2015, p. 235). Obviously, one does not exist without the other, they complement each other to form a whole that we call skin. Moreover, the performance on LoL, including effects, composition, changes in characters, repairs throughout the years (in textures and pigmentations) corresponds to another phase of life of skins.

Another way, or deviation (WOODWARD, 2007), deals with installing, through appropriation and cultural uses that interrupt and modify these initial trajectories of meanings through the production, a biography of skins that is referred to a social life linked to these consumption objects in the game. That way, the trajectory of the object skin, a phase in the social life it has, is not only associated with its condition as a merchandise, but overall to a complex network of meanings and interpretations that are given by players, communities of fans and social groups throughout the existence of each one of these merchandises. When using one of these objects, a network of meanings is directly associated and also involves charges to the players that carry them.

It is necessary, thus, to consider a series of expectations that belong to the autonomy of these objects in the game (MACEDO and COR-RAL VIEIRA, 2017) and, so, the players perceive they can act on these meanings, re-interpreting the relation. In turn, these meanings bring a perception to the subjects of what the others will expect of them when they have these objects. They "objectify". Thus, the non-compatibility with certain expectations create sanctions that can oppress the subjects as evidenced in Jinx's speech: "when you get in with the skin, people already expect you to play well with that character, because you spent money on him and people think they can control where your money goes". However, we warn that a deeper detail on this issue would not fit inside the scope of the discussion intended for this article.

What is evidenced, at least preliminarily during the early game, is a relation of cultivating reputation, expertise, technical dominion of an object (character), intimately linked and legitimated with the use of skins (cf. MACEDO and CORRAL VIEIRA, 2017). Jinx's speech signals that the "fame" of LoL players, their hierarchies and reputations in matches (overall) in a novice level is intimately related to the objects they use, even though a technical-operational competence and skill is subsistent – necessarily inherent to the status of pro, of expert players, at times professional players (FALCÃO, 2014) – capable of outshine this temporary status brought by skins during other moments of the game

(mid game and late game, for example), in which the technical expertise of each player prevails - in the end, it really is about what matters and defines matches in an agonistic game such as LoL.

However, "people act on (and are represented or symbolized by) things" (MILLER, 2013, p. 104) and by the "auras" they have. Therefore, these objects, as consumption goods invested by a symbolic dimension, mark the frontier between subjects that have or don't have skins, demilit the preliminary positions (in an initial level of the game, and, at least, for beginners) of each one in LoL's environment and reaffirm models of subjectivity (LEAL, FREIRE FILHO and ROCHA, 2016) bringing specific symbolic values to the subjects they have due to the high esteem and meaning attributed by the collective of players.

Furthermore, objects get out and get in the sphere of commodification. That means saying they have "social lives", careers or trajectories that vary according to changes in their meanings for the consumers during a certain amount of time and space (WOODWARD, 2007). Objects, at some point of their "lives", can be defined mainly by their commodity monetary value, which rates them as "merchandise"; some time after an economic transaction, from their incorporations - or subjectivations (MILLER, 2013) - in private rituals, cultures and worlds, according to personal perceptions or relationships, become "de-commoditized", turn out to be "goods" filled with meaning.

The skins can also be reintroduced in the market – when some specific skins are put again on sale by the company or when players sell their accounts in an informal market, considered illegal by the developer. Exposed on the store, either one of the case, they are merchandise, but, when they are acquire, they become "de-commoditized" to give place to the values and subjectivations of each subject. Potentially, skins can be reinserted into the market for re-sale at any moment. "The general point is this: objects are never culturally fixed, but they are always in the process of being and becoming" (WOODWARD, 2007, p. 103). Through these transformations, we create a similar and singular type of biography, in which objects, and not only people, have a social life.

Therefore, coming from Featherstone's (1995) contributions, we can think in a double symbolic aspect of virtual goods in digital games such as LoL: (i) on one hand, there is a symbolic charge present in the design and in the imaginary introduced in the processes of marketing and production of items such as skins; (ii) on the other hand, there is a diversity of symbolic associations used and renegotiated to highlight differences in lifestyle, influencing, even in a very superficial and undefined level, the social relationships in the matches.

Similarly, Rocha, Barros and Karam (2014) argue that the consumption has two dimensions in today's society: on one side, there is the materiality, and on the other, there is meaning. When acquiring a merchandise, authors affirm, their materiality is filled with symbolism, in which every product has a cultural and a public significance supported by mediatic and advertisement narratives. In consumption societies, digital objects are distributed in large scale, found and used by subjects that need to negotiate and establish their own perceptions when they incorporate them into their practices.

Image 5: Official illustration of the character Diana.
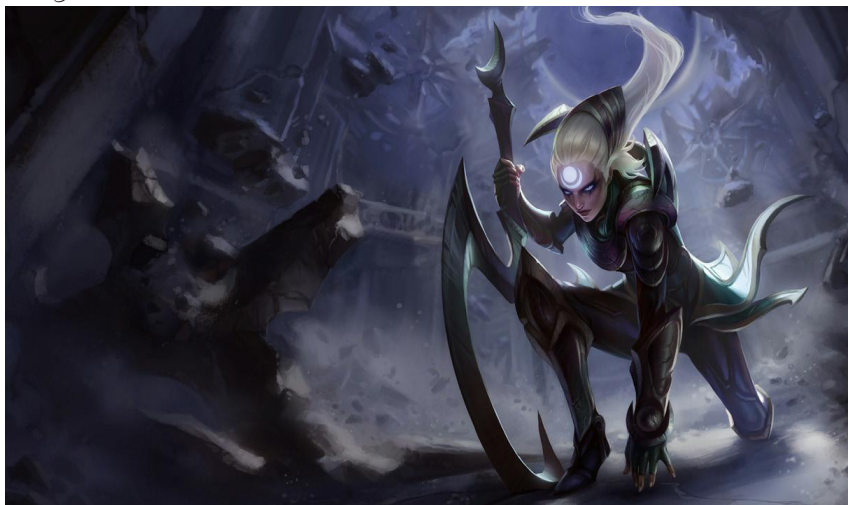
Source: Print screen of Diana's page. Available at: https://goo.gl/HNiRdQ. Accessed in: April 1st, 2017.

In this perspective, we can perceive how virtual goods start to configure a form of acquisition of experiences of entertainment. For Draven, the possession of all the goods related to the character Diana (Image 5) with which he has an intense affectionate relationship, is not enough anymore. So, he invested "a good amount of money", as he told us, to materialize the immaterial through a tattoo – a moon sign engraved in the forehead of the character – kept in secret from his parents.

Draven told us: "About the tattoo I got, I got it right in the middle of my back here […], and I made it because this tattoo has a meaning to me". When we questioned why he had done it and the meaning it had, he told us he liked the name of the character. In a conversation with his mother, he said he would like to have a daughter named Diana, finding out it was also a wish from his parents. He adds: "Her story [Diana's story] […] is different from what her village was, what her home was, then I also, sometimes, feel very different from a lot of people I see around".

The tattoo expresses the immateriality by the materiality: the act of tattooing the character on his back can be understood by the necessity of materializing Draven's wishes, supported by the potential of the tattoo create a legacy of the immateriality of the character and her skins as a material presence in our world through his body. Thus, we recognize the irreducible materiality present in the processes of consumption - "We can't escape that most forms of consumption involve a relation with material things" (WOODWARD, 2007, p. 101). That evidences, therefore, that the search for the material, through experiences enabled by the immaterial, creates even more materialization (MILLER, 2013). The more successful is his affirmation, more Diana and her skins create and add values and meanings for Draven.

The experiences of consumption and material culture of these objects (characters and skins, for example), demonstrate how the relations between them and their subjects become sui generis and contextualized on each experience and emotion and substantiated in the sense of their

experiences, in the importance that the objects may have in their lives and in their perceptions of the world of the players.

Final considerations

The consumption of objects in League of Legends evidences an interconnected network in a universe of meanings built by players that give another life, "colonize" and are influenced by these objects in so far as both are moved by the social landscape of the game – by this environment they inhabit and incite. Through an ethnographic study, we seek to demonstrate the diverse capabilities that objects of the game, with special attention to the essential role of skins, have to give meaning, build a social and symbolic system.

Therefore, what we can understand is that the nature of consumption of objects in League is based, for the players, on their involvement in the transformation of the meaning and nature of these items. It is about a hermeneutic struggle of subjects in denying the exchange value, so they can invest personal meanings to these objects in the game. As consequence, the perceptions are adaptable comprehensions of players, that evidently do not arise ex nihilo, but according to categories as positions/social hierarchies, ages, genders, dominion and expertise (skills and competences) about the technical-operational aspects, etc.

In terms of investments, we can highlight that, when deciding to enter LoL, a player ends up, in a more visible level, investing their time, giving attention to the game and converting their experience in the environment for rewards, spoils of war, that are exchanged for the consumption of items. Thus, the game economy can also be configured as digital barter. At LoL, everyone is susceptible to consumption in different levels, either by spending time to achieving conquests and trading for items or by trading money for virtual coins.

But the consumption is sustained, according to Rocha (2000) through cultural codes that give meaning to the process of production from relationships with the material culture and the media. In this sense, consumption is perceived as a social fact that involves a symbolic

dimension, with meanings linked to codes generating categories such as utility, desire or necessity, that do not limit themselves to practical reasoning. Even though there is a scenario with all the essential elements for the market logic, the economic game of production linked by Rocha (2000), the absence of symbolic order (and all their nuance) makes impossible the concrete action of the act of consuming. It seems like there is not a lack, on League, of codes and symbolic systems to complete the objects when they attribute uses and reasons for classifications able to give meanings to merchandise that are turned into goods.

The acts of consumption of subjects in game call attention and communicate choices, modes how they organize and give meaning to their spaces in this ambiance. Thus, thinking about consumption and entertainment denotes how they are passible of mixing, either in the prosaic level of a match in a game such as LoL, or the complex dynamics that constitute collective representations, imaginaries, competitive aspects that are immanent to this context and social relations per se.

Far from exhausting the theme, once we recognize the gaps that are certainly in this article, due to the way we addressed our arguments, understanding this scenario is a challenge to be unveiled in future studies – what is put as work to be done. Investigating how these social relations will keep outlining themselves raises a profound observation around issues about the dynamics and interfaces of entertainment, consumption and digital games, knowing how to recognize the relevance and the place they achieved in our culture, subsisting in them a social framework in which diverse and intense meanings are being woven, capable of activating issues that are so complex as the other evident phenomena in today's culture.

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The superhuman in the successful cinematic imaginaries[1]

O sobre-humano nos imaginários cinematográficos bem-sucedidos

Sílvio Antonio Luiz Anaz[2]

Abstract: *One element that explains the global success of some movies is the capacity that their imaginaries have in seducing the audiences in different cultures. This paper analyzes a group of cinematic narratives to reveal part of the symbolic elements and main meanings in the imaginaries that emerges from the most popular movies from 2001 to 2015. In order to do that the analysis is based uses market data, a research about the most popular themes and genres in the period and the concepts about the imaginary and myths from Gilbert Du-rand and Mircea Eliade. The results show the popularity of a combination of adventure, action, science fiction and fantasy genres that has in common the superhuman archetype in the core of the narratives.*

Keywords: *cinema; imaginary; myth criticism; superhuman; Hollywood.*

Resumo: *Um dos fatores que explica o sucesso global de algumas produções cinematográficas é a capacidade que os imaginários que emergem delas têm em seduzir audiências e penetrar em diferentes culturas. Este artigo analisa um con--junto de narrativas cinematográficas para revelar parte dos elementos simbólicos e dos sentidos dominantes no imaginário que emergem dos filmes preferidos pela audiência. Para fazer isso, parte da contextualização dos mercados, do levanta--mento dos gêneros e temas de maior audiência entre 2001 e 2015 e dos conceitos*

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sobre imaginário e mito em Gilbert Durand e Mircea Eliade. Os resultados apon--tam para a popularidade de uma combinação dos gêneros de aventura, ação, ficção científica e fantasia, que têm em comum o arquétipo do sobre-humano no núcleo das narrativas.

Palavras-chave: *cinema; imaginário; mitocrítica; sobre-humano; Hollywood.*

Introduction

The research presented in this article comes from the collection of predominant genres and themes in the group of most commercially successful films between the years of 2001 and 2015 to develop a study about the aspects of shared imaginaries by the most popular movies of the beginning of the millennium.

Once we understood the imaginary in the Durandian conception – dynamic set of symbolic elements produced in an anthropologic path (DURAND, 2002) that is articulated, generating symbolic meanings and functions materialized into narratives -, the cinematographic imaginaries are analyzed in this study through the method of mythocritique proposed by Durand. We seek to map the imaginary that emerges from the set of cinematographic works that had the audience's preference.

The importance of understanding how the imaginary works is highlighted by Morin, to whom the creators of movies project on air the structures of the imaginary, our psyche being located in the images of these movies or vice-versa:

> The cinema makes us understand not only theater, poetry and music, but also the internal theater of our minds: dreams, imagined pictures, representations: this little cinema we have in our heads (MORIN, 2005, p. 203).

As we will see next, movies with genres and themes that predominate in this little cinema we have in our heads in the beginning of the millennium were majorly created in the logic of production of Hollywood.

Successful genres: Hollywood's soft power

In 2015, the six main movie studios (Universal, Disney, Fox, Warner, Sony/Columbia and Paramount) collected about 68% of the world's box

office.[3] Out of this amount, about two thirds came from outside the North American market (USA and Canada).

Such result shows the high capacity of penetration of titles produced in the United States on other cultures. In 2015, China, despite of all the protectionist and censorship restrictions that are imposed in the exhibition of foreign films, contributed with almost one fourth of the international revenue of movies produced in the United States. In Brazil, the North American productions got 84% of the box office[4] and in France, in the same year, north American movies got 52% of the box office.[5]

The dominance of the world cinematographic market – that occurs since the 20's, when the American studios have overcome the European technology, especially the French – arises as the product of the articulation between business strategies and the capacity of perception of tastes of the audience (BAKKER, 2004 apud SEDGWICK and POKORNY, 2004)

Throughout the decades of 1910 and 1920, the North American cinematographic industry begins to produce high budgeted films - which leads us to the escalade in costs of production, something that the European industry did not risk following, and also the creation of an ecosystem (productive chain) completely and highly professionalized for film production - launches the feature film format, begins to develop fictional narratives, based in literary successes, dramas and mythical narratives and the main studios assume the distribution of the films in the national and international markets, with the creation of subsidiary distributing companies and movie theaters (SEDGWICK and POKORNY, 2004).

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3   Data available on Rentrak and in the annual balance sheets shows the following results in 2015: Universal Pictures – US$ 6.9 billion; Disney 0 US$ 5.85 billion; 21st Century Fox – US$ 4.033 billion; Warner - US$ 3.421 billion; Paramount - US$ 2.885 billion; and Sony/Columbia – US$ 2.838 billion.
4   Data from Ancine – Observatório do cinema e do Audiovisual (OCA) and from Box Office Mojo.
5   Data available in the document Results 2015: Films, television programs, production, distribution, exhibition, exports, video, new media do Centre national du cinema et de l'image animee. Available at: http://www.cnc.fr/web/en/publications/-/ressources/9459748. Accessed in: Oct. 3rd, 2016.

In addition to that, studios adopted a systemof production inspired in the idea of an assembly line[6] of the auto industry and the North American internal market is consolidated as the biggest of the planet.

In a wide census about the mainstream culture in the world, Martel builds the hypothesis that, beyond the economic power of studios, there is a combination of current factors – many of them outside the market logic - that maintain the dominion of entertainment industries placed in the United States, especially the cinematographic industry:

> They [the explanations for the north American cultural dominance] have to do with multiple causes, here evoked in general lines: in the beginning, an original crossing between the research stimulated in the universities, de-centralized public financing, a valued counter culture in numerous alternative focuses, the energy coming from the mobility and the idea of social mobility so strongly rooted in the American society, the trust given to singular artists and the exceptional vivacity of ethnical communities, thanks to the original model of integration and defense of a "cultural diversity" in the American way. Formation, innovation, risks taken, creativity, boldness: it is in the universities, in the communities and in the non-lucrative sector that these tendencies are manifested in the United States, outside the market and in a very de-centralized manner (MARTEL, 2012, p. 448).

Beyond the economic power, the main corporations (Comcast, Viacom, Time Warner, 21st Century Fox and The Walt Disney Company) who command the cinematographic industry have in the power of seduction of aesthetics and the contents of movies they produce and distribute a decisive factor for their elevated degree of penetration and acceptance in the markets of numerous countries. Thus, it is created a virtuous cycle in which the economic success feeds the aesthetic and content success and vice-versa. The high degree of seduction generates high revenue, with the dominance of 68% of the worldwide box office, that, in turn, generate sophisticated clusters, ecosystems and productive

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6   The idea of adopting the same system of the auto industry for cinematographic production comes from Paramount Pictures, founded in 1912 by the Hungarian immigrant Adolph Zukor with partnership with the brothers Daniel and Charles Frohman.

chains for the American cinematographic industry which stimulates and supports numerous factors pointed by Martel.

It is also important to reinforce, in relation to the success of products from big studios in the period investigated here (2001-2015), the relevant role that marketing strategies have[7] and the use of visual effects that, thanks to the state of the art of technologies of computer generated images (CGI), widened the aesthetic and narrative possibilities of the creators.

With these factors pointed out, this study turns to the qualitative factors that impact on aesthetics and the content of a movie, such as screenplay, direction, cast, teams and technical resources, among others, and for the complex combination between them. The investigation focuses on the imaginary built by movies, a general aspect in which the screenplay and the archetypical images have a primordial role. Because, as Morin says (2005, p. 204): "cinema allows us to see the process of penetration of the man in the world and the inseparable process of penetration of the world in mankind".

From the hypothesis that the most successful movies share some characteristics in the field of the imaginary that operate as connectors in the cultural identification that the global audiences establish with them, this investigation seeks to map and describe this imaginary from the identification of the main symbolic elements shared in movies and the interpretation of their meanings and understand a part of the anthropologic unconscious of the contemporary world.

To create a portrait of the most successful imaginary in the international cinema between 2001 and 2015 starts by researching most frequent genres[8] and themes that were successful in that period. Based on the five biggest worldwide box offices registered yearly between 2001

7   The so called "Blockbuster Era", whose initial landmark was the campaign of the movie Jaws (Steven Spielberg, 1975), have, among their main characteristics, the adoption of intensive marketing campaigns, with abundant and innovative propagation and plans of distribution that leads to the massive occupation of movie theaters.
8   Classificatory categories that allow establishing relations of similarity or identity between many works, based on narrative (what is told and how is told) and technical criteria (NOGUEIRA, 2010, p. 3-6).

and 2014,[9] it is possible to see that the main genres[10] present in the most successful productions in the beginning of this millennium are: Adventure (82%), Action (57%), Fantasy (32%). Animation (20%) and Science Fiction (18%).

Table 1. Movies with the biggest box office in the world - 2001 to 2015.

Year	Biggest Box office	Second biggest Box office	Third biggest Box office	Fourth biggest Box office	Fifth biggest Box office
2015	Star Wars: The Force Awakens	Jurassic World	Fast and Furious 7	Avengers: Age of Ultron	Minions
2014	Transformers: Age of Extinction	The Hobbit: The Battle of Five Armies	Guardians of The Galaxy	Maleficent	Hunger Games (1)
2013	Frozen	Iron Man 3	Despicable 2	The Hobbit: The Desolation of Smaug	Hunger Games: Catching Fire
2012	The Avengers	007: Skyfall	Batman: The Dark Knight Rises	The Hobbit:	Ice Age 4
2011	Harry Potter and The Deathly Hallows (2)	Transformers Dark of the Moon	Pirates of the Caribbean: On Stranger Waters	Twilight: Breaking Dawn (1)	Mission Impossible: Ghost Protocol
2010	Toy Story 3	Alice in Wonderland	Harry Potter and The Deathly Hallows	Inception	Shrek Forever After
2009	Avatar	Harry Potter and The Half-Blood Prince	Ice Age 3	Transformers: The Revenge of The Fallen	2012
2008	Batman - The Dark Knight	Indiana Jones and The Kingdom of The Crystal Skull	Kung Fu Panda	Hancock	Mamma Mia!
2007	Pirates of the Caribbean: At World's End	Harry Potter and And the Order of Phoenix	Spiderman 3	Shrek the Third	Transformers

9   According to the data of Box Office Mojo, available at: http://www.boxofficemojo.com/year-ly/?view2=worldwide&view=releasedate&p=.htm>. Accessed in: October 10th, 2016.
10   According to the classification of International Movie Data Base (IMDb) (http://www.imdb.com/>), Each movie is classified in up to three genres.

A R T I C L E

Tabela 1 (continuação)

Year	Biggest Box office	Second biggest Box office	Third biggest Box office	Fourth biggest Box office	Fifth biggest Box office
2006	Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Man's Chest	The Da Vinci Code	Ice Age 2	007 Casino Royale	Night at the Museum
2005	Harry Potter and Goblet of Fire	Star Wars: The Revenge of The Sith	Chronicles of Narnia	War of the Worlds	King Kong
2004	Shrek 2	Harry Potter and The Prisioner of Askaban	Spiderman 2	The Incredibles	The passion of The Christ
2003	Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King	Finding Nemo	Matrix: Reloaded	Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse of the Black Pearl	Bruce Almighty
2002	Lord of the Rings: Two Towers	Harry Potter and The Chamber of Secrets	Spiderman	Star Wars: Clone Wars	Men in Black 2
2001	Harry Potter and The Philosopher's Stone	Lord of the Rings: The fellowship of the Ring	Monsters INC	Shrek	Ocean's Eleven

Source: Box Office Mojo

Table 2. Movies with the biggest box office in Brazil - 2011 to 2015.

Ano	Biggest Box office	Second biggest Box office	Third biggest Box office	Fourth biggest Box office	Fifth biggest Box office
2015	Avengers: The Age of Ultron	Fast and Furious 7	Minions	Fifty Shades of Grey	Jurassic World
2014	The fault in Our Stars	Maleficent	Rio 2	X-Men Days Of Future Past	Noah
2013	Ironman 3	Despicable Me 2	Thor 2: The dark	Minha Mãe É uma Peça	Fast and Furious 6
2012	The Avengers	Twilight: Breaking Dawn (2)	Ice Age 4	Madagascar 3: Europe's Most Wanted	Alvin and The Chipmunks
2011	Twilight: Breaking Dawn (1)	Rio	Harry Potter and The Deathly Smurfs	Hallows (2)	Puss in Boots

Source: Ancine.

When we think about the results of the box office in the years 2011 to 2015, we observe that the tendency registered in the previous decade was maintained in the predominance of the combination of the genre adventure and action in the international scenery (Table 1) and in Brazil (Table 2). In the comparison between these two scenarios, the only differences are in the popularity of the genre comedy and animation in Brazil in relation to the international average.

Table 3: The most watched genres on cinema (2011-2015).

Genre	International	Brazil
Adventure	84%	76%
Action	64%	48%
Sci-Fi	32%	20%
Fantasy	28%	24%
Thriller	24%	16%
Animation	16%	36%
Comedy	12%	32%
Drama	12%	20%
Family	4%	4%
Crime	4%	8%
Mistery	4%	0%
Romance	0%	8%

Source: IMDb.

In the popular combination of the genres comedy and action, stories are narrated characterized by protagonists looking for achievements (retrieving someone or something) and explorations (facing the unknown) with the predominance of scenes of fight, fugue, chase and catastrophe. In general, in the most successful movies of these genres between 2011 and 2015, the scenes with fight, escapes, persecutions and catastrophes fill 20% to 30% of the total duration of the narrative. Such scenes are

fundamental for the cathartic effect[11] of the movie, catharsis that is also given by the "resolution of the ruptures on the status quo" (O'BR"EN, 2012, p. 3).

The format of the cinematographic narratives of action was modelled, in part, by the aesthetic and dynamic of the movies produced in Hong Kong in the 60's that were a great influence in the Hollywood productions in the 70's, especially because of its transnational success. To Morris, the productions of the cinematographic industry of the British Colony in China – notedly those in which martial arts scenes prevail - have a fundamental role in the creation of the action genre in the cinematographic industry of the United States and many other countries (MORRIS, 2006, p. 1).

What is seen in the beginning of the millennium is that successful action and adventure movies usually include elements of sci-fi and/or fantasy.

In this matrix that mixes elements of adventure, action, sci-fi and fantasy, we highlight the themes of superheroes, coming from comic books (The Avengers, Ironman, Batman, Guardians of the Galaxy) and supernatural universes based on literary works (Harry Potter, Twilight, The Hobbit). They represent about 40% of the biggest successes between 2011 and 2015 both in the international and in the Brazilian scenario. Therefore, stories and characters that are known in other platforms repeat their success on cinematographic versions.

Joshi and Mao (2012), in a study about the literary adaptations for the cinema, shows that a movie has a greater chance for success (as well as a greater chance for producing sequels) when it is adapted from a book and reproduces with fidelity their content.

Another point of highlight is the success of franchises in this period (The Avengers, The Hobbit, Harry Potter, etc.)

The cycles of aesthetic and thematic predominance are explained by a dynamic that involves business and aspects of popular taste. The

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11   The catharsis, according to Aristotle (2004), is the process of purgation or elimination of passions that is produced in the viewer when, in the theater, he watches the presentation of a tragedy.

success in the box office has often engendered tendencies whose result are movies with similar stories and aesthetic characteristic, forming lineages subject to life cycles: "Highly successful movies in the box office send signs of the audience's preference for the studios that produced them and also for rival studios" (SEDGWICK and POKORNY, 2004, p. 304). This is an important component in the formula of minimizing risks of investments.

The lineage that predominate in the popular taste in the beginning of this millennium are adventure and action movies, that develop themes of sci-fi and/or fantasy. To identify the redundant symbolic elements in the audience's favorite movies can reveal what is in the core of the imaginary that has been successfully shared in mainstream cinema. We seek to map these elements in the next section.

The super-human in the imaginary of successful movies

Supported in an anthropological perspective, inspired by the works of Gastón Bachelard and Carl Jung and from a wide study about symbolic production in different societies and historic periods, Gilbert Durand (1921-2012) develops his general theory of the imaginary, in which archetypical images and mythical narratives occupy a central role. One of the methodological products of his theory is the Mythocritics, which Durand (1985) establishes as a method that comes from the collection of themes, motives, situations and combinations of situations, redundant characters and scenarios in the narratives to identity mythemes (the smallest significant element of a myth) present in the speech in a patent or latent way. From mythemes and meanings or lessons that are brought to us, it is possible to establish correlations among the meanings found in the narratives and the myths of a determined time or culture that work as reference.

The mythocritics are inserted in the Durandian hypothesis that the myths are matrix models of all speech. Myths circulate, according to Durand (2012, p. 131), as dominant or countercultural forces in societies

throughout history. Cultural productions would be, thus, oriented and disoriented by founding myths.

The mapping of the group of blockbuster movies[12] allows us to identify the characteristics of the audience's preference, according to what we've seen in the first part of this study (genres of adventure and action combined with sci-fi and/or fantasy), leads to the identification of the most redundant symbolic elements shared by them (Image 1).

Image 1. Map of the main symbolic elements and mythemes (2011-2015).
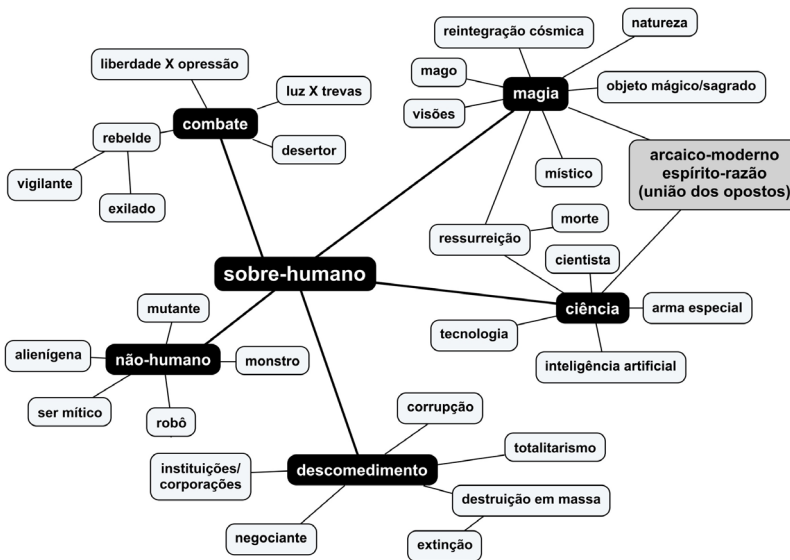
Source: My own making..

12   The mythocritics was applied to the movies: Star Wars: The Force Awakens (J. J. Abrams, 2015), The Avengers: Age of Ultron (Joss Whedon, 2015), Transformers: Age of Extinction (Michael Bay, 2014), The Hobbit: The Battle of The Five Armies (Peter Jackson, 2014), Guardians of the Galaxy (James Gunn, 2014), Ironman 3 (Shane Black, 2013), The Hobbit: The Desolation of Smaug (Peter Jackson, 2013), The Avengers (Joss Whedon, 2012), Batman: Dark Knight Rises (Christopher Nolan, 2012), The Hobbit: An Unexpected Journey (Peter Jackson, 2012), Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows - Part 2 (David Yates, 2011), Transformers: Dark of the Moon (Michael Bay, 2011), Pirates of the Caribbean: Sailing in Mysterious Waters (Rob Marshall, 2011) and Twilight: Breaking Dawn (01) (Bill Condon, 2011). These stories correspond to about 60% of the biggest global box offices between 2011 and 2015 and all of them have in common the genre of adventure and action in combination with sci fi and/or fantasy and having the theme of superhuman in the core of their imaginaries.

The map (Image 01) shows the most frequent symbolic elements present in the most successful movies between 2011 and 2015 in the genres adventure, action, sci-fi and fantasy and its convergences, by similarity of meanings and functions, in five mythemes: magic, science, non-human, combat and immoderation. These mythemes, in turn, have as symbolic element in common the archetypical image of the "super-human", that is present in all the movies analyzed and becomes central in the imaginary that emerges from the set of narratives.

Another aspect is that the combination of the identified mythemes characterizes the main superhuman characters that lead the analyzed movies (Image 2):

Image 2: Map of themes associated to the superhuman lead characters.
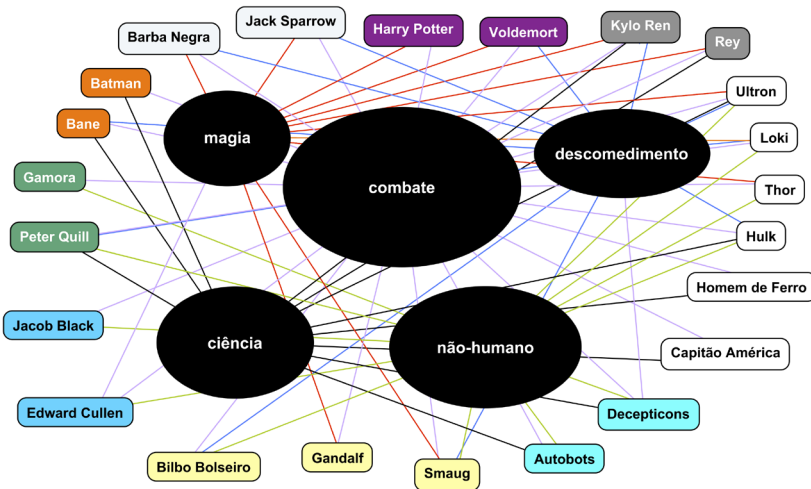
Source: My own making.

The map (Image 2) that shows the connections between the main super-human characters of the movies analyzed and the most present mythemes in these movies, reveals that the characters considered as beings with abilities that go beyond human nature are represented as product of modern science, gifted with magic powers and/or non-human

characteristics (aliens, robots, mutants, etc.), according to the synthetization on Table 4.

Table 4. Characteristics of superhuman in the characters.

Narrative Universe	Character	What characterize him/her as super-human In the narrative universe		
		Use of Science and technology	Magic Powers	Non-human nature*
Dark Knight	Batman	X		
	Bane	X		
Star Wars	Rey	X	X	
	Kylo Ren	X	X	
Harry Potter	Harry Potter		X	X
	Voldemort		X	X
The Avengers (Marvel)	Ironman	X		
	Captain America	X		
	Thor		X	X
	Hulk	X		X
	Loki		X	X
Transformers	Ultron	X	X	X
	Autobots	X		X
	Decepticons	X		X
The Hobbit	Bilbo Bolseiro		X	X
	Gandalf		X	X
	Smaug		X	X
Guardians of the Galaxy	Peter Quill	X	X	X
	Gamora	X	X	X
Twilight	Edward Cullen		X	X
	Jacob Black		X	X
Pirates of the Caribbean	Jack Sparrow		X	X
	Blackbeard		X	X

Are born as non-humans or take non-human characteristics

Source: My own making.

Thus, the combination of symbolic elements that group around the mytheme of magic (wizard, magic, mystic or sacred object, nature, cosmic reintegration and visions), science (scientist, technology, special weapon, artificial intelligence) and death and resurrection, that associate to both themes, is what define the superhuman ability of the lead characters and antagonists in narratives, beyond, in some cases, the insertion of properly non-human elements (mutant, monster, robot, alien and mythical being).

The superhuman, in a significant part of these imaginaries, is, thus, intimately linked to symbolic elements that refer to the combination of scientific-technologic and magic themes, themes that are frequently in the narrative core of the most successful audiovisual productions since the beginning of the 2000's.

> It is interesting to reinforce that the scientific-technologic themes in commercially successful audiovisual productions have extrapolated science fiction and reached numerous genres, including action and adventure, such as movies and series about superheroes ('Ironman', 'The Avengers', 'Batman'), medical and police dramas ("CSI", "House", "NCIS", "Grey's Anatomy"), comedy ("The Big Bang Theory"), and horror ("The Walking Dead"), among others. Such phenomenon is, paradoxically, followed by an opposed movement. Narratives in which symbolic elements related to magic and the supernatural (fantasy) predominate in their imaginaries have attained practically the same popularity, especially in the movies of the 2000's (ANAZ, 2016, p. 94).

> Such phenomenon is the reflection of the successful sharing between creators and audiences of an imaginary in which the "re-enchantment" of the world started to share space with the un-enchantment of the scientific "absolute truth" (ANAZ, 2016, p. 103).

In addition, the mytheme of combat – with its symbolisms of light vs dark, freedom vs oppression, desertion, rebel, vigilante and exiled is associated to practically all the superhuman characters and the immoderation – with its elements of corruption, mass destruction

Extinction, totalitarianism, negotiation, institutions/corporations - predominantly to the antagonists (villains).

Product of the combination of these mythemes, the archetype of the superhuman in the contemporary cinematography is related mainly with the archetype of the hero, in its different variations - from the vigilante hero in the Dark Knight trilogy to the passive hero in the Hobbit trilogy; the mentor, as Gandalf (The Hobbit); and the shadow, as Loki (The Avengers), among others.

This redundancy of the superhuman can be an empiric indicator of the interest of global audiences, in the last decades, for narratives that transcend the historic (particular and profane) and reach the mythical level (universal and sacred).

The contemporary demand for mythical universes

The significant success of adventure and action movies that are combined with sci-fi and fantasy is a 2000's phenomenon, but its roots are in the first decades of the Blockbuster Era, that has its first landmark with the successes Jaws (Steven Spielberg, 1975), Star Wars: A New Hope (George Lucas, 1977), Close Encounters of the Third Kind (Steven Spielberg, 1977) and Superman (Richard Donner, 1978).

Anaz (2016, p. 95) shows that the 80's consolidate the rise of themes associated with modern science and technology, with half the most successful titles dealing with these themes - such as, for example, ET (Steven Spielberg, 1981), Back to the Future (Robert Zemeckis, 1985) and Batman (Tim Burton, 1989). In the 90's, 40% of the movies with bigger annual box offices have magic as the main theme in their narratives.

Thus, there is a progressive growth in participation of symbolic elements associated to science and technology and to its contrary, magic, in the imaginaries of the successful narratives (Table 5).

In the phase preceding the Blockbuster Era, the so-called "New Hollywood" or "American New Wave", in which prevails the emphasis on realism, creative freedom and the influence of counterculture ideas, the theme which predominate in the most popular movies worldwide were more realistic protagonists and antagonists without superhuman abilities, such as in Godfather (Francis Ford Coppola, 1972), Butch Cassidy

and the Sundance Kid (George Hill, 1969) and who's afraid of Virginia Woolf (Mike Nichols, 1966), for example.

Table 5. Participation of themes related to science and technology and magic in the imaginary of movies with bigger box offices in the 60's and the 2010's.

Decade	Science and technology	Magic	Total
1960	20%	0	20%
1970	20%	10%	30%
1980	50%	5%	55%
1990	40%	20%	60%
2000	30%	40%	70%
2011-2015	65%	15%	80%

Source: Anaz (2016, p. 95).

This change points to the possibility that the superhuman as central theme in the imaginaries of one of the successful movie lineage from the 2000's is an index of wider phenomenon: the construction of contemporary mythical universes, in a process of mythologic update that would have in the cinema one of its biggest platforms.

Not that the update of myths is a recent phenomenon, nor the cinema is its protagonist.

Durand, Jung, Eliade, Campbell and Armstrong are some of the intellectuals that identified a re-mythologization in Modern Age, paradoxically the age who proposed to be the most de-mythologizing one, with the predominance of paradigms of classic science, positivism, functionalism and historical materialism. Durand (2004), for example, indicates that in the second half of the 19th century, in the boom of positivism, there was a rehabilitation of archetypical and mythical images in the scientific, philosophic and artistic scene, with the productions of Nietzsche, Richard Wagner, Émile Zola, Freud and Thomas Mann, among others.

The myth, discourse that rationalize the imaginary, belongs in the process of biopsychosocial balance of the human being in the world. To deal with the existential anguishes of the self-conscience of death and time (DURAND, 2002) and give meaning and value to life (ARMSTRONG, 2005), homo sapiens, from the cognitive revolution that occurred about 70,000 and 45,000 years ago that gave the ability to imagine what is not there (HARARI, 2015), develops narratives that give meaning to their existence and the things in the world, narratives that are articulated in imaginary orders, such as mythologies.

Intellectual who studied religion and one of the influences in Durand's studies, who participated with him of the circle of Eranos,[13] Mircea Eliade (1907-1986) understands that the archaic man, the one who imagined the founding myths, feels indissolubly connected to the Cosmos and the cosmic rhythms and lives according to extra-human models (according to reality and the law, with the platonic archetypical models), while the modern man tries to connect primarily to the scientific view of history (ELIADE, 1992a). For the first, time is predominantly cyclical, with the same repetition (eternal return) of model facts and ways of acting established by mythical entities; for the second, it is predominantly linear and irreversible. "Predominantly" because, both for one or the other, the linearity of history and the mythical eternal return are present.

Thus, even with the disenchantment/demagification of the world (Max Weber) carried out through centuries by monotheistic religious ethics and by the modern scientific thinking – with its consequences of loss of religious meaning (and reconnection) of life and human and technical submission (Martin Heidegger) -, the contemporary man, in order to tolerate or escape historic time, seeks to reconnect to the myth and mythical time. Some mass communicational phenomena, such as the successful cinematographic franchises hereby analyzed, bring

13   Cycle of conferences that began in 1933 that gathered intellectuals of different fields of knowledge to make interdisciplinary reflections about symbols, the imaginary and the myth. Amongst the participants of the meetings of Eranos were Carl Jung, Mircea Eliade, Gilbert Durand, Henry Corbin, Joseph Campbell, Erwin Schrödinger, Heinrich Zimmer and Max Knoll, among others.

indications of a remythologization or mythologic update that surrounds the contemporary desacralized culture, being, as we observed here, the superhuman as central symbolic element common to all of them.

To Soares (2010, p. 31),

> The modern man, as desacralized as he intends to be, can't see himself as free from the original mythic experience, even if it resonates, in the current days […], no longer as the direct voice of gods, but as the oblique echoes of the own ancestral human psyche.

A good part of the successful products in popular culture brings indications of the necessity of the contemporary man for the myth – the same necessity their ancestors had -, being the cinema one of the sources to satisfy it. One can think, thus, that the narratives (cinematographic and otherwise, fictional or non-fictional), operate in two levels:

- In the historic level, more immediate, in the field of society's ego and superego, in which time is profane – continuous, linear and irreversible and the representation of phenomena is particular; and
- In the mythical level, more remote, in the field of the anthropologic unconscious, in which time is sacred – cyclical/eternal return – and the representation of phenomena is universal.

Many narratives of cinematographic production seem to desire the mythical level due to this operation of the idea of archetypes (Jung) and establishing a universality for the story

Which results in processes of cultural identification with the audience that surpass geographic and ethnical frontiers and become, thus, an important factor for the commercial success of the movie. This phenomenon can be observed even in non-fictional narratives.

Generally, the mythical level can be compared with Aristotle's poetic, to whom History is limited to show what happened, while poetry shows what could happen, turning poetry into a more philosophical and virtuous activity than History (ARISTÓTELES, 2008, p. 54).

In the audience's point of view, the demand for narratives that emphasize the mythic can be a result of a combination: of seeking, of being

human, of a biopsychosocial balance – due to the anguish of self-conscience of death and time; of the urgency of giving meaning to life and establishing connections with the origins of the human being on the planet and with the macro-cosmos in which they are inserted in; and the attempt of escaping the "terrors of History" (ELIADE, 1992a).

In the last decades, cinema has been satisfying part of this demand with movies that update founding myths in new mythical universes, in which the superhuman is highlighted as central symbolic elements, even if with different qualities.

Image 3. Basic scheme of sources of content in narratives.

Source: My own making.

Conclusions

In the first part of the investigation, it was possible to identify that the movies that combine action, adventure and sci-fi and/or fantasy predominated in the popular taste globally between 2001 and 2015.

We reinforce, once again, that the success of these movies is not the only product of the imaginary created and shared, but also from factors such as marketing strategies and distribution adopted, the cast's notoriety and the use of visual effects, among other elements.

After thinking about this aspect, in this study, the mythocritical analysis was centered in a representative sampling of these commercially

successful movies and revealed that the most redundant symbolic elements in them converge to five mythemes: combat, non-human, magic, immoderation and science.

The mythemes, in turn, converge to a symbolic element that is common to all the narratives analyzed: the archetype of the superhuman, defined, in a wide manner, by a being gifted with abilities (scientific/technologic and/or magic-supernatural and/or morphological) that go beyond human nature. Thus, the representations of the superhuman in the movies analyzed appear as a product of modern science, gifted with magic powers and/or as something of non-human nature.

In the hypothesis hereby developed, the redundancy of the archetypical image of the superhuman becomes an empirical indicator of a demand (or an adhesion) of the audiences for themes that extrapolate realism and history and are inserted in mythical universes.

Such phenomenon can indicate a movement of mythological update (re-mythologization or re-enchantment) in progress in the imaginary of the contemporary society. Thus, it is possible that the imaginaries shared by the narratives of mainstream cinema seek to answer the demand for biopsychosocial balance of the being in the world (Durand) and, also, they can be attempts of the man of escaping historicist reductionism (Eliade) they are subject in the modern world.

Mythocritics also indicated that the demand, in the field of the audience, for narratives that bring up the mythical level have been answered by cinematographic production (creation) that link to the archetype of the super-human two essential mythical lessons:

- punishment for immoderation (hybris), through the action of a being that is (or puts him/herself) above a corrupted world; and
- the triumph, in the fight of opposed forces, of the action that (re)conducts everything to balance and harmony of Cosmo.

If we take as reference the classification of regimens of images proposed by Durand (2002) – in which images that compose an imaginary

are from the daytime (heroic) or from the nighttime (dramatic or anti-frasic) -, the mythical lessons (to punish and to triumph) indicate that the archetypical image of the superhuman in the narratives analyzed are linked mainly with the apolineal and prometheal myths and it is filled by daytime images, that are ruled by the logic of combat, purification, separation and elevation.

Such results, that point to the adhesion of a big part of global audiences to mythical lessons hereby identified, do not mean necessarily that these narratives operate, similarly the founding myths, as proponents of models of conduct in contemporary society. To check if such phenomenon occurs, the findings of this study must be seen only as a starting point for future studies that investigate the impact of these narratives and the imaginary they share in the perspective of reception.

Another possible conclusion in the field of this investigation is that, in order to reach the universality of their symbolic elements from the mythical narrative level, the successful cinematographic production between 2001 and 2015 analyzed here (movies that mix adventure, action, science fiction and/or fantasy) explore predominantly one of the narrative axes and the representation (daytime/nighttime) in the field of imaginary, resulting in homogenizing themes and characters, without fully exploring the archetypical potential of characters, including the superhuman.

The mythical narrative level offers possibilities of constructing more complex characters and themes from a balance in the use of the three axes of representation. Although some of the narratives analyzed explore, in some moments, images aligned with the nighttime/mystic and the nighttime/dramatic axes, ruled by the logics of rest, balance, harmony and diachronic integration between heroic (separation) and mystical (mixture), they make it in a timid way.

In order to make a qualitative leap in terms of the imaginary they share, the challenge for this successful combination of genres is in to create movies with heterogenizing representations that fully develop possibilities that the archetypes and myths offer to narratives.

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On the constitution of the televisual frame (or Analyzing conceptually the reconfigurations on the ways of watching TV)

Sobre a constituição da noção de frame televisual (ou Analisando conceitualmente as reconfigurações nos modos de assistir TV)

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Abstract: *In contemporaneity, to watch TV takes on new meanings: TV viewing modes have been reconfigured, surpassing the act of following streaming content set by broadcasters in "flow" (Williams). Arguing the existence of a "frame" (Gumbrecht), and observing the image boundaries's notion (Aumont), here is proposed the potential definition of what would be a television frame associated with a new TV experience. Encompassing both an expansion of the screen and an expansion of the broadcasting time, the television frame would comprise the viewer, the television and the gadgets associated with the new ways of watching television – constituting an atmosphere. The suggested context is exemplified by the articulation of audience's participation with the delivery modes of content in the reality show of gastronomy MasterChef Brazil.*

Keywords: *TV; reconfiguration; experience; television frame.*

Resumo: *Assistir televisão assume, na contemporaneidade, novos significados: os modos de ver TV têm sido reconfigurados, ultrapassando o ato de acompanhar conteúdos veiculados em "fluxo" (Williams) pelas emissoras. A partir da premissa da existência de um frame (Gumbrecht) e observando a noção de limites da*

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ima-gem (Aumont), é proposta a potencial definição do que seria um frame televi-sual associado a uma nova experiência de TV. Englobando tanto uma expansão da tela quanto uma ampliação do tempo de veiculação, o frame televisual com-preen-deria o espectador, o televisor e os gadgets associados aos novos modos de ver televisão, constituindo uma atmosfera. O contexto sugerido é exemplificado pela articulação da participação da audiência com a veiculação dos conteúdos no reality show de gastronomia MasterChef Brasil.

Palavras-chave: *televisão; reconfiguração; experiência; frame televisual.*

Introduction

To conceptually analyze the act of watching TV is a complex activity. However, the perception of such complexity is not easily observable. In order to approach the activity of "watching TV" as well as its ways of reconfiguration in the contemporaneity, this article proposes an analysis of the media in relation to their spatiality (while materiality, physical object) and temporality (while perception of time for audience), treating the individual that watches TV as a viewer.[3]

The notion of temporality applied to the TV is linked, in this article, to the ways in which the perception of time is articulated in relation to the apparatus, or, more specifically, to the content that is shown. Primarily, the conception of TV adopted here is only possible if considered as planned "flow" (WILLIAMS, 2005, p. 89-90); i. e., if analyzed conceptually, the media presupposes a "sequence of contents proposed and exhibited" (MARQUIONI, 2012, p. 32) according to certain channels, which not only refers to an organization of schedule, but overall, establishes/prescribes a type of management of habits in society (MARQUIONI and OLIVEIRA, 2016). Another fundamental aspect in the notion of temporality is in regard to television is its "live" aspect. Either on the transmission of recorded content or not, a "live" experience occurs during each and every television broadcast, once "everything you see on TV is seen in 'real time' (chronic) [...]. As the television broadcast itself, TV schedule is, strictly speaking, happening every time" (FECHINE, 2008, p. 27-28).

In fact, we can say that, both in the live and recorded broadcast, the content shown on TV takes on the "live" aspect when it enters the televisual flow: when it is transmitted, the recorded content (and the record will always be the register of a present time when it was recorded) is, in a certain way, re-lived, once it can be "practically impossible for the viewer, from only what you see on the screen, to say if that content that

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3   Even tough for Jonathan Crary (1992) it would be best to use the term "observer", we consider these terms synonyms due to the understanding that neither the viewer nor the observer has, in the contemporaneity context, a passive behavior in relation to the media: the subject acts "with" the media in the social sphere.

you see on TV is or isn't a live broadcast" (FECHINE, 2008, p. 34); therefore, the experience of "real" time on TV (the "now") has a direct relationship with the "exact moment of enunciation, the live moment" (SCANNELL, 2014, p. 42, our highlight) of the broadcast.

Specifically regarding spatiality, it is important to reinforce that, in its initial period, television had as intrinsic characteristic the gathering of people, more precisely of families on their living room (BARBOSA, 2010),[4] to, in front of this furniture that contained a screen, follow the broadcasted content.[5] Typically, with an orientation of attention of the individuals towards the TV (MARQUIONI, 2014) – to its content and its physical presence – this furniture constituted a materiality that not only organized, in its function, the configuration of the remainder of the furniture in the room (such as arm chairs and couches invariably turning towards the TV screen, as we see even nowadays) but instituted a way of living together through watching TV collectively in the same space, "transforming the act of watching television into something collective and shared by voice" (BARBOSA, 2013, p. 246).

In this context, if the television – including an audience preparation[6] – establishes itself in the domestic scenario, in the contemporaneity, the televisual experience surpassed the limits of homes and can be reached even on the street (through devices that are easily transported in your hand, in your pocket, in suitcases or embedded in the vehicles that travel the cities). There was an evident variation of sizes and shapes of the devices, but we can consider the experience of the TV - while a "result of

4   The character of family gatherings promoted by the television in the beginning all over the world can be observed, for instance, through the notion of mobile privatization proposed by Raymond Williams (2005, p. 19): with the television, the access of "the world outside" could be reached through the private environment of the homes of the viewers. John Ellis also says that "normalcy is constituted as part of the position of the viewer by the intensive family domestic use as point of reference for the TV (ELLIS, 2006, p. 169)
5   On their first years, the TV set was considered a furniture, even though it had developed dimensions as an object, the apparatus started to be supported in an adjacent furniture in the living room - even with the invention of the flat screen TV, that has been following what is commercially called a "TV panel" (a fixed base on the wall).
6   It is possible to speak in preparation of the audience specially because, at least six years before the beginning of televisual transmissions in Brazil, advertisings in magazines already tried to "explain the technical potentials of the new invention, enabled by the development of the 'electronics'" (BARBOSA, 2010, p. 15).

two key elements of the televisual system: (i) the planned 'flow' (WIL-LIAMS, 2005, p. 89-90) and the (ii) 'live' aspect of TV (MARQUIONI and OLIVEIRA, 2016, p. 211) – remains relatively stable regardless of the apparatus in which the content is being watched.[7]

It seems possible to say that even the potential following of televisual images using mobile devices would also be relatively "naturalized". It is not strange anymore for a passenger to find a TV on a taxi, for example, even if it is not in the same level of television on certain places (such as houses, bars, restaurants, etc.) The fact is that not only the TV is part of our daily lives but also its "use" became habitual – even if it is eventually reinvented, either with regards to the type of support or size. From the tube, the television became the flat screen TV, with a narrow silhouette, and from the black and white, to a colored screen (OLIVEIRA, 2016); in a broad sense, the device expands in dimension - if the average size of a screen was not over 14 inches in the 50's, the offer of TV nowadays indicates a fairly wide scale in relation to their first years of transmission. Following the alteration in the dimension of the screens, in architecture it is more usual to hear about a home theater than a living room or a guest room.

It is important to highlight the potential existence of a paradox related to the reconfiguration of the activity of watching TV due to the contemporary gadgets: what happens is, when considering the act of following the content making a parallel use of a device, it is possible to find an effective reconfiguration in the way of watching TV (once the viewer would be, in this case, a viewer/internet user that would be in front of, at least, one additional screen other than the TV). On the other hand, only using one of these devices as "alternative support"[8] to follow

7   Considering that the televisual experience is effectively established from the flow and the "live aspect", both inherent to the media, these two elements are present, regardless of the size of the monitor in which the content is broadcast. For more information about the notion of televisual experience used, as well as the relevance of the notion of flow in the adopted perspective, see Marquioni (2016, p. 77-91).
8   Admitting that the personal computer and the telephone devices can be understood nowadays as alternative supports for the content of TV (but always considering conceptually as a flow).

the schedule, as previously mentioned, would not impact significantly the televisual experience (once the alternative device would constitute the TV screen itself).

In addition to the variations in dimension of the television screen and the parallel use of these devices with others connected to the internet, it is also possible to see changes in the industry of hardware equipment related to IT (which ultimately contributed to impact the televisual experience) - such changes can be seen in case of personal computers and telephonic devices. The computer, which filled entire rooms in the 60's, not only significantly reduced in size, but also, throughout the years, was reduced to the size of the screen in some cases. This screen followed the design of the TV screen (in bigger relations of proportion and reason, in addition to the adoption of a flat and narrow surface replacing cathode ray tubes). If, approximately in the 90's, the basic kit of domestic PC was composed by a tower case, a video monitor, a keyboard and a mouse (when considering the inclusion of the internet, add a telephone line and a modem), in the 2010's, many models of smartphones[9] (which are constituted of a single portable apparatus which allows processing of information, visualization, selection, typing and communicating – i.e., speaking, listening, sending messages -, beyond doing functions such as caption, edition and transmission of images) offer the "TV function" (OLIVEIRA, 2016). In this context, to add characteristics inherent to the personal computer and being effective as an alternative support for the TV, this apparatus of telecommunication, that already had a significant reduction in size for a better portability, which goes back to representing an increase of their dimensions, especially to hold the touch screen more comfortably (tending to present an almost invisible framework, similarly from a TV or a computer screen).

Having such considerations in perspective, this article starts from the premise of a frame (GUMBRECHT, 2006), observing the notions of limits of the image (AUMONT, 2004), to propose the potential definition of

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9   Some of these considerations are also valid for gadgets such as tablet; however, they will not be directly approached in this article.

what would be a televisual frame, associated with a new TV experience, understanding the viewer, the television and the gadgets associated to the reconfiguration in the ways of watching TV so it would constitute an atmosphere. Therefore, the analysis are geared towards the characteristic of screen expansion, considering the extension of broadcast time. Developed from previously presented texts about the remarkability of MasterChef Brasil[10] for the understanding of the reality show format and the new forms of relation with the television, the reflections count with the observation of apparatus and the experience that involves watching TV. With the intent of giving an example to the context, there are, thus, observations about the participation of the audience and the sharing of contents in the reality show of gastronomy MasterChef Brasil.

For this reason, we present, in addition to the Introduction and Final Considerations, two sections. The first, called "The ways of watching TV: sharing attention amongst appliances", approaches the parallel use of devices in the televisual experience. The act of watching TV is thought in its resizing when there is multiple apparatus for the access of content, taking into account their spreading in the household and their movement for places outside the house. The second section, with the title "The constitution of the televisual frame: the time and the appliance", brings the materiality of the framework to analyze what the present article sees as televisual frame. The proposition comes from the notion of frame created by Gumbrecht (2006) and the approach of the limits of image created by Aumont (2004), observing that, in this article, we consider a dynamization of spatiality (or physical dimension) and temporality (or the time dimension) in relation to the appliance in contemporaneity, both associated with the televisual experience. We resort to the gastronomy reality show Masterchef Brasil in order to illustrate the analyses: the option is justified by the fact that the show materializes the TV experience previously mentioned in relation to two key elements

10   The show is analyzed by the authors since its first edition, broadcast in 2014. The content produced by the authors regarding MasterChef can be consulted in Marquioni e Silva (2015, 2016); there are also analyses and reflections that can be consulted in Marquioni and Andacht (2016, 2017).

in the televisual system - (i) the planned flow and (ii) the "live" aspect. During the transmission, MasterChef Brasil shows on the TV screen, associated with the video content (previously recorded and edited), some of the posts created by the audience on social media. Therefore, inserted in the flow, the record is updated, making the show "almost live" (MARQUIONI and OLIVEIRA, 2016).

The ways of watching TV: sharing attention amongst appliances

While it is possible to consider the appliance in which one watches contents to have only a relative influence in relation to the televisual experience, it is important to highlight at least two aspects that involve the technical device that deserve to be approached when analyzing conceptually the act of watching TV. The first aspect is associated to the preparation of the audience: if, in the past, advertisement announced the ways of watching even before the arrival of the device, at the "long duration" – after the beginning of transmissions – the audience went through new preparations that culminate with almost a naturalization associated to finding the device in many places beyond the living room. A second aspect - arising from the first and which also requires cultural preparation - involves the fact that, nowadays, the audience eventually does not use only one device to watch TV, establishing a sharing of the gaze amongst two appliances: both referring to a "tele" vision. Both aspects deserve refinement to understand.

Taking into account that, culturally, there are new audience preparation "in the duration", the first aspect mentioned can be associated with a type of nomadism related to the act of watching TV (or yet: it is possible to identify variations in the way of watching TV that refer initially to a certain displacement within the household), particularly analyzing "the physical location of the TV set in houses and the influence of this localization in the ways of watching TV" (MARQUIONI, 2014, p. 9). Since the early suggestion that the device should occupy the living room

or "a collective place in the house, in which people would gather to watch, conjointly, that program in which in this instant was possible" (BARBOSA, 2010, p. 24) even the type of audience scattering through-out different rooms in the house (due to a bigger access to technology motivated by historic, social and economic factors that enabled a diver-sification of TV sets in the home, either with the supposed intention of meeting the interests of the family – such as the TV in the kitchen - or specifically the individuals who composes the room – such as TV in the bedroom), it is possible to see variations in the ways of watching and in the relation between individuals that followed the televisual flow. How-ever, the increase of the amount of TV sets in the household (not only in rooms other than the guest room, but eventually the replacement of this room altogether) brought a less collective activity of watching TV; associated to this bigger individualization, we have to consider the activ-ity of "commenting" also restricted in relation to the content broadcast during the transmissions.

After what can be considered as an in-house scattering, observable in the 90's, a new phenomenon regarding the TV can be observed spe-cially in the 2010's, associated with the transmission of digital signal at the network channels in Brazil, which became available also on mobile devices. This time, the union of technologic factors (digitalization and portable gadgets with digital reception of TV channels) to a social/eco-nomic aspect (the access of devices also by members of economically challenged layers of society) enabled the expansion of the televisual ex-perience beyond the limits of the home. However, more than simply following the schedule in places outside the home, the ability of com-menting the content broadcasted goes through an adaptation from the parallel use of social networks in the act of watching TV, "even with viewers that are physically not only in different rooms, but in different locations" (MARQUIONI, 2014, p. 10).

What is relevant to see is that, if the act of watching TV seems more individual by the use of mobile devices to perform the action, in fact, certain individualization would already occur at least in the 90's with

the scattering of audience throughout the rooms of the house. On the other hand, if such scattering limited the audience's ability of creating comments associated with the content throughout the duration of the show (once the individuals would potentially be alone while watching TV), with the use of mobile devices connected to the internet, these comments would be virtually potentialized (and in a global scope).

Complementing the first aspect (and, curiously, involving the same mobile gadgets that enabled people to watch TV outside the household, but exactly comprising a conjoint operation of these appliances associated with the home TV), a new way of watching TV, named second screen (PROULX e SHEPATIN, 2012), has been observed in the second decade of the 21st century. It is about the second aspect previously mentioned and refers to the viewer's act of following the flow in a home television while they access, in their mobile device connected to the Internet, an "extra content available for them" (PROULX e SHEPATIN, 2012, p. 83):[11] the gadget is used, in this context, "as an extension of your TV" (PROULX and SHEPATIN, 2012, p. 84).

However, it is important to observe that, similarly to what occurred in the 19th century, "it would be a mistake to give the new industrial techniques the precedence in the formulation or determination of new types of observers" (CRARY, 1992, p. 112): in fact, it wouldn't be the availability of devices per se that would enable the conjoint use among appliances, but a preparation happening on the long run. Also because while the television had the scattering phenomenon amongst the rooms in the house, the audience also initiated the operation of other technologic devices concomitantly to the act of watching TV - for example, using the remote control or telephone resources to participate on invitations of the interactivity done by the televisual programs[12] in the

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11   It is important to address that, in cultural terms, it is the experience that deserves to be conceptually analyzed, either accessing a social network while "watching TV" (social TV), using an app supplied by the channel or simply performing a consult through search engines, the viewer would be in an "second screen experience".

12   It is important to highlight that it is not about interactive shows but shows that invite the audience to interact through the content posted on the internet. Information on how they consider here the content to interactivity can be researched on Marquioni (2016, p. 100-112).

case of using telephonic devices (either fixed or mobile), typically the viewer was already looking at the other object (the telephone) and even to another screen (at least in the case of the most recent telephones) concomitantly to the act of watching TV. In this context, accessing a website connected to the internet using a portable gadget can be understood as another stage in this sharing the gaze among screens. After all, it is possible to think about the establishment of a "visual experience as instrumental, changeable and essentially abstract" (CRARY, 1992, p. 24) and that was also culturally constituted, once each day "we become even more viewers: the show is everywhere, from big screens to small ones and even the social and mediatic mise-en-scènes" (COMOLLI, 2008, p. 27).

It is possible to consider, thus, that the concomitant use of devices does not come from only through the audience's access to portable gadgets with network access. In fact, especially because, according to what was mentioned in the introduction, the act of watching TV is a complex action, the conjoint use of (involving sharing of attention among) appliances was culturally constituted throughout decades of reconfiguration of the televisual experience.

As an example of this conjoint action (for being concomitant), convergent (for constituting a dialog between different devices) and overall connected (for being situated on screens)[13] inherent to the televisual experience nowadays, the posts created on Twitter in relation to the gastronomy reality show MasterChef Brasil seem to illustrate a new pattern of behavior associated with the televisual experience in shows that presupposes the audience's direct or indirect participation. During the first season of MasterChef Brasil, it was possible to see, in posts related to the show, that, when posting comments on Twitter, for example, the audience reproduce a social network behavior regarding TV: not

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13   Not always the viewer-internet user will perform actions of interactivity with the show watched on TV, but also eventually watching other channels, programs or contents performing convergent actions or performing different activities.

only the act of rooting for or voting[14] for participants (MARQUIONI e OLIVEIRA, 2016), but giving an opinion, making value judgement, expressing ideas. In fact, the audience started to comment the content of TV on social network; these comments "migrated", by the channels' initiative, for the TV screen, incorporating them to the content - which could be understood as an expansion of the limits of appliances. Figures 1 and 2 illustrate the phenomenon in MasterChef Brasil in relation to a solicitation of the audience's participation for the question asked by the program's production team "Which dish pairs well with wine?"

Images 1 and 2: in MasterChef Brasil, solicitation of participation and audience's manifestation on Twitter, transcribed "live" on the TV screen in superposition of the recorded content.

Source: images of MasterChef Brasil, first season, obtained from the internet.

Therefore, the reconfiguration of the televisual experience, regarding the use of the second screen, and the transformation of the viewer in viewer-internet user should not be analyzed restricting the reflections to the functional use of appliances. In fact, expansion of limits of what would be the TV "frame" also happen, characterizing what is approached in this article as televisual frame – which involve an enlargement of the time of broadcasting the content, considering the conventional planned flow, and an alteration on the perimeters of the television per se. The

14   It is considered an indirect voting on MasterChef Brasil due to the fact that the posts in the social networks do not constitute an effective action of the viewer: the audience does not directly participate in the contest of the show. The result is exclusively defined by the three judges without considering audience interference.

next section talks about the adaptations of the experiences associated to those reconfigurations.

The constitution of the televisual frame: the time and the appliance

With the objective to complexify relations established between the individual and the TV – more specifically, the screen and screens of devices connected to the Internet - we propose a perception from the notion of frame suggested by Gumbrecht (2006, p. 56) in its "literal sense, of frame or framework […] [, that] works as a threshold in the flow of our perception". The analysis of the televisual experience thought through a screen (or screens, in the case of concomitant use of devices) allows the evidence of the "tele" vision associated with the "limited character of the image, highlightable and even mobilizable, […] [as] one of the essential traits that define the device" (AUMONT, 2004, p. 144).

If, for Aumont (2004, p. 144), "every image has material support [and] every image is also an object", to analyze the televisual experience under the perspective of the frame[15] can help the perception of communicational practices that are constituted as the companion of contents through connected screens, establishing an atmosphere that comprises a set of environments. More specifically, an observation of practices related to the ways of watching TV is reset with the presence of frames adjacent to the television. therefore, it is about the extension of the television set, reaching the devices that are being concomitantly used and that prove a sharing of gaze amongst appliances, and still associated with the interaction of the subject, through the internet, with the content broadcast on TV. In this sense, it is relevant to highlight the notion of limits of the image, given the specifications of frame presented by Aumont (2004, p. 144-145): on one hand, we have the "tangible, material frontier" of the image or the content broadcast by the TV - the "frame-object" which defines the own physicality of the device. In

15 The frame, in this case, would involve the individual, the TV set, the screen of the TV set, the screen of the device, the image sent on broadcasting and the image accessed on the device.

addition, there would be the "sensitive limit", which would maintain the framework of the image broadcast on the TV – "the limit-frame" which would finish the image, distinguishing it from what is around it, instituting an "out-of-frame".

It is important to highlight that the author deals with frame both in the field of arts (as painting and photography) and in relation to TV. For this device, Aumont refers to the "television with square ends and flat screen [that] aims to neutralize this frame as much as possible, make so that it would be forgotten" (AUMONT, 2004, p. 144): once the original publication is in 1990, Aumont makes a reference to the TV sets that still used CRT, but already had a flat screen.[16]

When we consider the form or shape of the appliances that involve the televisual experience, it is appropriate to observe that a predominance of rectangular proportions of frame would indicate a character of convention on the production and the consumption of the images (AUMONT, 2004 p. 148): the direct relation with the rectangular shape with the notion of "geometrically harmonious" composition (AUMONT, 2004, p. 269) could be observed since the Antiquity, with the greek art, remaining as a characteristic of art presentation throughout the centuries, being also present in the cinema and television (AUMONT, 2004 p. 148). About this shape, this design of rectangular proportions of the TV and the devices that enable the reconfiguration of the televisual experience (the computer, the smartphone, the tablet) by the viewer-internet user, it is possible to observe that, throughout the years, the industry has been giving the frame (border) of the screen(s) a treatment of integration to the shape of the object: if, as we mentioned, before it was impossible to look at the TV as a furniture that had a screen embedded to a surface, if the personal computers were popularized with the typical "tube" monitor (usually with apparent plastic coating), if the telephone already had a display in liquid crystal which showed the numbers and contacts, it is

16   In the perspective of this article, it is important to notice, therefore, that, in case of the TV frame, the expression "out-of-frame" seems to not make sense anymore if we consider the televisual experience as we currently configure it, in a posterior moment to Aumont's original text (1990), which will be approached later.

possible to perceive that, in the most recent models of these appliances, the TV, computer and phone screens have become the object themselves. The TV, which came from a tubular shape to a thin surface, have an increasingly less perceptible "frame-object", with the border of its screen having the shape of the appliance, evidencing the "limit-frame" of the device, while it seems to evidence another frame – entitled here as "time-frame", presented next. The home computer, beyond advancing in the same direction, stills embeds its own machine structure to the screen (as previously said, its components are increasingly less visible, for instance, the tower, that is already integrated to the monitor). About the telephonic devices, these also became the screen itself, they do not have a dial or a physical keyboard anymore, but it concentrates every action on the screen that has the shape of a smartphone.[17] Therefore, not only the ways of watching TV are being reconfigured by the behavior of the viewer-internet user, but even the materialities that make the experience possible.

In this sense, we understand that the observation of the most recent configurations of the devices that create that televisual experience evidence, beyond a conjoint, convergent and connected action among devices, an apparent integration between environment and individual, abstracting the conception of a demarcation. The tendency of erasure of the "frame-object" would be a physical indication of the transformations in the threshold of the flow of perception (GUMBRECHT, 2006, p. 56) of televisual content in the contemporaneity, i. e., the occurrence of a connected perception of the available content, broadcasted and shared with the individual and their surroundings – this last one, not more related to the environment in which the TV set is placed, but effectively a set of environments, an atmosphere (explaining the previously presented term) which involves the experience of a set of individuals and their appliances: the "television is not alone anymore; […] The computers

17   The tablet will not be used as an example in this topic once the device had already arisen with an established (and similar) configuration to the smartphone, still not characterizing the tablet as an evolution in relation to its uses; in this article, the tablet and the smartphone will be considered as gadgets with similar function associated to the televisual experience.

introduced a series of new relations – interfaces – between people and screens" (KERCKHOVE, 2009, p. 226). The relation established by Aumont between frame and image allows us to conceptually equate the reconfiguration that has been approached in this article to the format of the televisual experience, once the "format defines itself by two parameters: the size of the image and the relative size of their main dimensions" (AUMONT, 2004, p. 145).

As a result of this context, changes in the articulation of time can also be perceived in the content presented on the TV screen. At the time of the transmission, when comments, opinions, polls are sent by the audience – which is explicit in MasterChef Brasil - the perception of a "now" in watching TV is reiterated. In the case of previously recorded shows – such as MasterChef Brasil -, the "live" accommodation of this content contributes for the constitution of an "almost live" on the TV (MARQUIONI and OLIVEIRA, 2016) feeding the interactive property of the televisual experience: "The establishment of 'live' TV depends on the way the speeches are organized to produce certain effects of meaning" (FECHINE, 2008, p. 26). We consider, then, that the association (and presentation on the TV screen) of postings performed on social media related to the content that is being broadcast during the transmission of a show (which was previously recorded) promotes a relativization that widens the time of content broadcast (considering the conventional planned flow), allowing people to infer the existence of a third order of frame that effectively would constitute – conjointly with the "limit-frames" – the televisual frame, outlining new communicational relations on the way to watch TV: a "time-frame". As the "limit-frame" (and even the "frame-object"), the "time-frame" would also comprise an "out-of-frame". On the ways we watch TV in its contemporary format, the "outside" of the frame constitutes something which is also outside of the atmosphere that involves the televisual experience – the time is "before everything, on a psychologic point of view, an experimented duration" (AUMONT, 2004, p. 160, our highlight); In other words, the

televisual frame, expanded not only beyond the screen, but in relation to the time of broadcast, would correspond to the atmosphere itself.

Final considerations

Effectively, there seem to have a reconfiguration in progress about the ways of watching TV. Understood as an atmosphere, the notion of televisual frame – involving the viewer-internet user with the TV set and the gadgets associated to the new ways of watching television and, therefore, comprising different frames in a grouped, convergent and connected action – which allows us to evidence the constitution of a new televisual experience in contemporaneity. The scenario which is established involves not only cognitive change, with the concomitant use of appliances, but particularly a new perception of spatiality and temporality on the activity of watching TV.

The use of devices in connected actions, related to the content broadcasted, shows the occurrence of an expansion of the limits of frame in the television:[18] in accordance to the scattering of audience mentioned in this article, the threshold of the flow of perception (GUMBRECHT, 2006, p. 56) go through, in the new televisual experience, transformations in the sense of widening, or even abstracting, the notions of ambiance related to the presence of the TV and the "now" inherent to the broadcast. What happens with the concomitant use of different devices is that the actions related to the new way of watching TV do not necessarily comprise the presence of the individual in front of a television, neither it restricts the use of social media at the moment of broadcasting. It is a new form of "watching together" (PROULX e SHEPATIN, 2012, p. 60, our highlight) related to the scenario that comprises the viewers-internet users and, overall, the multiplicity of screens that are overlapped and merged in connected actions. The televisual

18   This frame that, as it is physically evident, already was directly associated to the televisual experience, considering the popular metaphor of the television screen as a "window to the world" - even if such metaphor may be questioned regarding potential misunderstandings in the perceptions of the relation with reality.

experience in the contemporaneity can be analyzed, in this scenario, through their understanding as an atmosphere that, composed by individuals, environments and different moments, composes a new frame - a televisual frame.

The preliminary reflections proposed on this article are a part of an ongoing research which was motivated by the perception of the variation on the ways of watching TV during the first season of the reality show MasterChef Brasil. For the analysis to unfold, we understand the necessity of complexifications around the temporality in the televisual experience, once the notion of "live" TV and the feeling of "now" created in this experience seem to build a fundamental element for the understanding of new relations that are established among members of the audience and the TV.

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Rádio e mídias sociais: mediações e interações radiofônicas em plataformas digitais de comunicação.

KISCHINHEVSKY, Marcelo.
Rio de Janeiro: Mauad X, 2016. 152p.

O rádio mudou. É expandido. Transbordou para o celular e para as redes sociais

Izani Pibernat Mustafa[1]

Resumo: *A resenha destaca os novos conceitos sobre o rádio contemporâneo apresentados no livro Rádio e mídias sociais: mediações e interações radiofônicas em plataformas digitais de comunicação, de Marcelo Kischinhevsky (Uerj). A obra contém uma pesquisa abrangente sobre as principais mudanças provocadas pela chegada da internet e o surgimento das diferentes e diversas plataformas digitais que possibilitam a convergência digital e a ampliação da divulgação do áudio. O rádio está vivendo uma nova revolução. Está mais abrangente. Pode ser ouvido pelo dial ou pela internet, ao vivo (streaming) ou sob demanda (podcasting) em vários suportes: celular, computadores, notebooks e TV por assinatura. Estamos na era do rádio expandido. Podemos ouvi-lo praticamente em qualquer lugar e a qualquer hora.*

Palavras-chave: *rádio expandido; mídias sociais; convergência digital; internet*

Abstract: *Radio and Social Medias: mediations and radiophonic interactions on digital communication platforms by the Marcelo Kischinhevsky (Uerj). The book contains a wide survey on the main changes brought by the arrival of the internet and the emergence of different and diverse digital platforms enabling*

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RESENHA

digital convergence and the expansion of audio dissemination. The radio is experiencing a new revolution. It is more widespread. It can be heard by dial or by the internet, live streaming or on-demand (podcasting) on various supports: cell phones, computers, notebooks and pay-TV. We are in the era of expanded radio. We can hear it almost anywhere and anytime.

Keywords: *expanded radio; social media; digital convergence; internet*

O rádio, desde seu surgimento, no século XX, passou por diversas transformações. Mudou, teve de se reinventar. Agora, no século XXI, por causa da revolução provocada pela internet e das novas tecnologias, ganhou espaços públicos inimagináveis. Além das ondas hertzianas, é ouvido pela internet, ao vivo (*streaming*) ou sob demanda (*podcasting*). Esse é o rádio expandido, conceituado pelo professor doutor e pesquisador da Sociedade Brasileira de Estudos Interdisciplinares da Comunicação (Intercom) Marcelo Kischinhevsky no livro *Rádio e mídias sociais: mediações e interações radiofônicas em plataformas digitais de comunicação*.

O rádio contemporâneo transbordou para as mídias sociais, para o celular, para a TV por assinatura e portais de música. Estamos na era da convergência digital, que possibilita ouvir uma emissora em diferentes plataformas: celular, *smartphones*, computadores, *tablets* e tocadores multimídia. O celular de hoje é o radinho de pilha de ontem.

A obra, dividida em seis capítulos, detalha como o meio de comunicação mais popular, abrangente e tradicional está se recriando. No primeiro capítulo, "O rádio expandido", o autor destaca a expansão da convergência midiática, em função da qual o "rádio foi forçado a se reinventar mais uma vez e, surpreendentemente, mostrou maior capacidade de reação do que outros meios de comunicação" (KISCHINHEVSKY, 2016, p. 13). O rádio, que sempre foi o patinho feio e exerceu papel de coadjuvante entre os veículos de comunicação, renasceu porque se misturou à rede mundial de computadores e ao celular; se reencontrou porque seu alcance vai muito além das ondas hertzianas. Com um celular, é possível sintonizar uma emissora e, atualmente, cada brasileiro tem um aparelho.

No Capítulo 2, "Em busca do radiofônico – perspectivas teóricas", o pesquisador faz uma revisão bibliográfica que perpassa os estudos culturais e a economia política da comunicação para definir o que é rádio. Um meio que transmite sons? Um meio de comunicação que transmite informação sonora? As emissões sonoras que vão além das ondas eletromagnéticas? Sim, é tudo isso. Mas o rádio que, por suas características,

transmite som, mais do que nunca, tem de informar e prestar um serviço público ao ouvinte e ocupar todas as formas de transmissão, inclusive nas redes sociais como Facebook, Twitter e Instagram.

No Capítulo 3, "Convergência midiática e reconfiguração da indústria da radiodifusão sonora", Kischinhevsky utiliza referências teóricas da economia política da comunicação para situar a nova fase do rádio. Para ele, a convergência digital é uma "fase de multiplicidade da oferta. Os movimentos são aparentemente contraditórios, mas fazem parte de um claro processo de reordenação empresarial e de transição rumo a suportes digitais" (KISCHINHEVSKY, 2016, p. 43).

O proprietário, coordenador ou apresentador de um programa precisa estar atento aos ouvintes dispersos num ambiente digital, com informações instantâneas e conectados também pelo WhatsApp. Quem está no comando de uma emissora precisa estar conectado às redes sociais e acompanhar as audiências por todos os meios – pelo *dial* e na internet –, interagindo com o público pelos novos canais de diálogos.

No Capítulo 4, "Para além das ondas hertzianas", o jornalista define as características do rádio expandido, aquele que transbordou e pode ser ouvido em diferentes plataformas. Com a expansão da internet, multiplicaram-se rapidamente as emissoras *on-line*. Nesse novo tempo, o conteúdo em áudio pode ser gravado e compartilhado com mais rapidez. Os empresários e comunicadores atentos às novas tecnologias podem oferecer diariamente *podcastings* por meio de *sites* e redes sociais para serem ouvidos sob demanda, na hora desejada e no meio mais acessível: celular, *notebook*, computador, televisão etc.

Independente do tipo de transmissão, o que está em jogo nesse novo espaço público – para troca de mensagens, compartilhamento de arquivos, etiquetagem e colaboração na produção de conteúdos e circulação de notícias – é quem tem competência para atrair a atenção dos internautas. Um exemplo, no Brasil, é o portal colaborativo Radiotube (www.radiotube.org.br), um espaço que veicula programas e reportagens radiofônicas e que conta com uma rede de 635 emissoras e quase três mil usuários cadastrados.

No Capítulo 5, "O rádio também quer ser 2.0 – como as mídias sociais vêm remediando interações comunicacionais", o autor relembra que o "deslumbramento com as novas tecnologias de informação e comunicação encontra paralelos importantes em outros períodos da história humana" (KISCHINHEVSKY, 2016, p. 95). Isto quer dizer que a evolução do rádio sempre acompanhou as necessidades surgidas conforme a sociedade se transformava nas áreas social, cultural, econômica ou política.

Nesse redemoinho de mudanças tecnológicas, convergência digital e transmídia, as interações entre comunicadores, ouvintes, emissoras e dispositivos técnicos de reprodução sonora estão cada vez mais complexas. Mas todas essas transformações, observa o pesquisador, "remontam à própria origem da radiofonia" (KISCHINHEVSKY, 2016, p. 104). Hoje, a convergência está abrindo um leque de ofertas de centenas de conteúdos radiofônicos e a participação do ouvinte está cada vez mais intensa.

Esse é o novo rádio apresentado no livro: o rádio expandido, que se organizou, se estruturou e se reinventou por causa da internet e das possíveis interações auxiliadas por diferentes dispositivos como o celular, aplicativos como o WhatsApp e redes sociais. O rádio nunca morreu. Sempre soube se adaptar às transformações impostas pelos avanços tecnológicos.

O momento é para repensar a produção do conteúdo, já que os ouvintes agora querem interagir – opinando, sugerindo, criticando ou elogiando. Além disso, a interação com os ouvintes tornou-se estratégica para as emissoras que produzem conteúdos jornalísticos, principalmente porque a "participação do público, mencionado ou não na programação em ondas hertzianas, estabelece um novo nível de diálogo, mesmo que em bases desiguais" (KISCHINHEVSKY, 2016, p. 107). Para o autor, o radiojornalismo ganhou dois importantes valores: a interação e a participação.

No último capítulo do livro, "A utopia do *dial* infinito", o professor enumera alguns resultados da pesquisa de 2014 da Edison Research e

da Triton Digital que mapeia a audiência do rádio *on-line* nos Estados Unidos e pondera sobre a distribuição de conteúdos radiofônicos via internet. Segundo ele, o ambiente midiático está em constante reconfiguração e o *dial* não tem fim. Basta um clique para mudar de estação *on-line*. Basta um clique numa outra página para que aquelas vozes, aquelas narrativas fiquem para trás. Sejam desligadas, desconectadas.

A obra é, sem dúvida, fundamental para pesquisadores, professores, estudantes e comunicadores. Em tempos de convergência digital, precisamos conhecer o rádio expandido que transbordou para o celular, para a TV por assinatura e para as mídias sociais conectadas e reaprender a produzir conteúdo adequado para os novos ouvintes.

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