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Profa. Dra. Tania Marcia Hoff

Coordenadora do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação e Práticas de Consumo da
Escola Superior de Propaganda e Marketing - ESPM, Brasil

Prof. Dr. João Luis Anzanello Carrascoza

Vice-Coordenador do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação e Práticas de Consumo da
Escola Superior de Propaganda e Marketing - ESPM, Brasil

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Rua Dr. Álvaro Alvim, 123 Vila Mariana São Paulo SP Brasil

telefone: 55 11 5085-6663

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Foreword

In the first issue of 2018 of CMC Journal, we have the renovation of our design as the main news, enhancing an aesthetic we've adopted since the beginning of 2016. This visual presentation of the magazine will be used in the following two years.

Without losing sight of shape, we also took care of the content: we opened this issue with an interesting article about photography in the digital networks as the image linked to the city of Salvador in processes of spatialization, sociability and production of self. The city and sociability are also the main pillars of the second article, that deals with the "production of space" through its sounds and the experience of time: all of this through the perspective of the environment formed around bars in Savassi square in Belo Horizonte.

Pop culture and youth culture are the theme, in different ways, of the following texts: first, we have the discussion about the world pop culture and performance through anime events in a field research with ethnographic inspiration. Then, the notion of "experience consumption" is applied in the study about relationship between Paula Pimenta, writer and celebrity, with her numerous fans in the observation of communicational practices of these actors in the social media.

Still in dialogue with the youth universe, the article "Does super heroes get old?" seeks to analyze the role of body and the configuration of masculinities in cartoons. Keeping the theme of the treatment of the media culture, the study "the conservative culturalism in Narcos" critically analyzes the series produced by Netflix. The narrative is seen in its intersection with the Latin American context; the author identifies the

presence of the “speech of conservative culturalism” in the form how recent history in Latin America is described and represented.

Advertisement is discussed in two studies: in the article about the construction of “authorship of advertisement pieces”, approached with base in the theory of fields of Bourdieu and in the text about the presence of elements identified with the scientific discourse in advertisement produced for network TV, in strategies of appropriation and reassignment.

Finally, we have an article that established the connection between journalistic discourse, consumption and happiness, having as methodology the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) applied to the reading of journalistic texts produced in Brazil; and the review of the book “The happiness industry”, which talks about the way in which happiness is transformed into merchandise under the influence of capitalism.

Starting in the city and ending with happiness: this is the thematic path of this issue of CMC magazine. We wish you all a great reading.

Denise Cogo and Vander Casaqui
Editors of CMC Magazine

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Photography as conversational data practice. Spatialization and digital sociability in the use of Instagram in squares and parks in the city of Salvador¹

A fotografia como prática conversacional de dados. Espacialização e sociabilidade digital no uso do Instagram em praças e parques na cidade de Salvador

André Lemos²

Leonardo Pastor³

Abstract: *This paper aims to empirically investigate the new photographic practice through Instagram application. We studied 305 images associated to four urban spaces (squares and parks) in Salvador, Bahia through the sociability process, the production of space and the self-portraits (including selfies). The analysis points out that the use of meta-texts (hashtags, subtitles and emojis), as well as the geolocation data indicate that the photographic practice is based in a data-driven conversational communication. This practice deploys an extensive network of objects and agencies (artefact, image editing and manipulation, meta-texts, geotags, algorithmic procedure, sharing practices...). We are dealing with an “actor-network” based in an algorithmic performativity very different from the photographic practice with analogical cameras or even with digital cameras prior*

1 This article is a part of the research project “A comunicação das coisas. Internet das coisas, big data e smart cities” (The communication of things. Internet of things, big data and smart cities) (CNPQ/303461/2013-6), developed at the Research Lab in Digital Media, Networks and Space (Lab404) from the Post-Graduate program in Contemporary Communication and Culture (Communication course at UFBA). We thank Michelle Oliveira, Journalism undergrad and Lab404 intern (Póscom/UFBA), for the help collecting and treating the data.

2 Federal University of Bahia, Salvador, BA, Brasil. E-mail: leopbr@gmail.com

3 Federal University of Bahia, Salvador, BA, Brasil. E-mail: almlemos@gmail.com

the boom of digital social network. Users are now able to create a new discourse / narrative and a practice of data related to the photograph.

Keywords: *photography; urban space; Instagram; mediation; Salvador.*

Resumo: *Este artigo investiga empiricamente a prática fotográfica através do aplicativo Instagram. Foram analisadas 305 imagens associadas à geolocalização de quatro praças e parques da cidade de Salvador. A análise foi desenvolvida através de três aspectos: processo de espacialização, processo de sociabilidade e processo de produção de si (retratos e selfies). O uso de metatexto (hashtags, legendas e emojis) e de dados de geolocalização indicam que a prática fotográfica se dá, hoje, como uma prática conversacional de dados. Ela convoca uma ampla rede que passa pelo local escolhido, pelo artefato utilizado, pelas formas de edição e manipulação da imagem, pelos metatextos, pelas geotags, pelo procedimento algorítmico da rede social, pelas formas de compartilhamento... O uso da fotografia em redes sociais é um ator-rede, performativo, algorítmico, muito diferente da prática de produção de fotos analógicas ou mesmo digitais antes dosurgimento dessas redes. Isso possibilita aos usuários a criação de um discurso/narrativa e de uma prática de dados relacionados à fotografia inédita até então.*

Palavras-chave: *fotografia; espaço urbano; Instagram; mediação; Salvador*

Introduction

While we observe the daily movement in urban public environments, it is possible to realize the constant presence of mobile devices working as mediators of interaction between people and places, most of the time with the aid of a social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, just to name a few). More than with cameras or even tablets, it is through smartphones that the activity of photography takes place (SMARTPHONES, 2016; 700 MILLION, 2017; LENSVID EXCLUSIVE, [2017?]). These devices make the act of taking and sharing photos increasingly ordinary, transforming it in an activity associated with data practice (LUPTON, 2016), with the production of georeferencing and metatext, such as subtitles and hashtags. From analogic photography of archiving in family photos (BOURDIEU, 1965), we went through a photographic practice performed predominantly as the vector of communication and sociability, proved by the prevalence of contact with the other – in detriment of the preoccupation with the technical quality of the image – and the creation of new layers of information through geotagging, texts, hashtags and emojis.

Digital photography produces a meaning of co-presence and emplacement through the movement and relationships among people, images and artifacts (HJORTH e PINK, 2014). In this intertwining between experience, locational shapes and representation (HJORTH e HENDRY, 2015), social media geared towards photography, especially those linked to smartphone apps, such as Instagram – become mediators in the formation of new visualities and interactions. This research will prove that this intertwining is given through the photographic practice linked not only to image, but to different textual interactions with data registered through subtitles or comments, hashtags added to the post or likes given by those who viewed and reacted to the photo.

The photography in social media becomes an actor-network (LATOUR, 2005), supported by the algorithmic performativity and by the practice of data production. It differs, thus, from forms of specialization and sociability promoted by the photographic activity performed

through analogic cameras or digital images without interaction of social media in the internet. As we will analyze in this article, the processes of production of self, spatialization and sociability are transformed in a way to add a conversational practice of narrative-producing data – guided by the photographic practice of users and by the reading and performatization of the system – through networks of multiple agencies of humans and non-humans.

This research points towards the materiality of the use of Instagram and the communicational character of photos in social media. With that, we confirm that the practice of digital photography in social networks means less about the fixation of a memory of important moments, about care with the image, and more a contact with the other, sharing immediate feelings, explicit forms of sociability with metadata that go beyond the image. In one of the most popular types of photography today, the selfie, the photo itself matters less, the moment, the sharing and the relationship with the space and the other matters more. That works not only for self-portrait but for all photographs circulating in social media. Photographing with a cellphone and linking pictures in social media evokes another network (different from the analogic photo or even the digital photo before social media) in which data becomes a fundamental element, not only as digitalization and controlling algorithm of apps and the internet, but also as metatext put voluntarily by users (hashtags, subtitles and emojis).

Methodology and first results

The Instagram posts were collected between January 21st and 31st 2017. We used places in Salvador that presented an average of, at least, three photos posted daily and that had free, public access, in order to capture a more ordinary use of a space. We identified four places: City Square, Pituaçu Square, Ana Lúcia Magalhães Square and Dique do Tororó. For our analysis, we selected every publication within this period available in a public manner and registered with the respective geotag. The

timeframe, therefore, allowed us to work with a wide range of different practices of sociability, interaction and representation of space.

An extraction⁴ of all the posts was made, including, in addition to the image itself, subtitles, comments, likes, emojis, tags, geotags and hashtags. The only starting point in common, for each place, was the information registered in geotagging format. We identified a total of 305 posts: 39 at the Dique do Tororó, 162 at the City Square, 64 at the Pitu-açu Park, and 40 at Ana Lúcia Magalhães Square. After the extraction, all the images were imported to the software of qualitative analysis Atlas.ti, through which we developed codes⁵ in different levels.

In a first general analysis, we grouped three main types of photography: object (any form of still life or object), landscape (natural and/or urban) and portrait (individual, collective or self-portrait). The photos of objects were the less numerous (13), followed by landscapes (42) and portrait (253). A post can present more than one image through collage. In this case, it was related to more than one type of photography. Then, posts were identified regarding themes⁶ or items present in images, such as physical activities (54), children (50), nature (45), animals (21), family (16), etc. Portraits were identified with more specific characteristics, such as individual (107), selfie (88), group⁷ of people (82) or couples (56). These codes help us in the perception of relationships and descriptions performed through the analysis of the collected material.

In a second step of analysis, we dealt with metatexts linked to images. Initially, therefore, a list was made with all the hashtags used in the posts of the sample. The 10 most common ones, followed by the number of appearances, are: #parquedacidade (16), #salvador (13), #bahia (10),

4 The posts were extracted in PDF form, allowing us to see both the image and the identifiable texts. To ensure a backup of textual information, we also used the Data Miner extension for Google Chrome, applying it to each place we selected (<https://data-miner.io/>).

5 Atlas.ti allow a research work based in the creation of codes that can be developed through Reading or observation of the material collected, either images or texts, widening the possibilities of analysis..

6 We identified possible themes, items or specific relations that each photo can presente. We found 24: friendship, animals, birthday, art, physical activity, drink, baby shower, food, children, dance, special effects, Family, photography, Reading, fashion, music, nature, part of the body, fishing, picnic, sunset, love relationship, religion, work.

7 We considered a "group" when more than two people are in the picture.

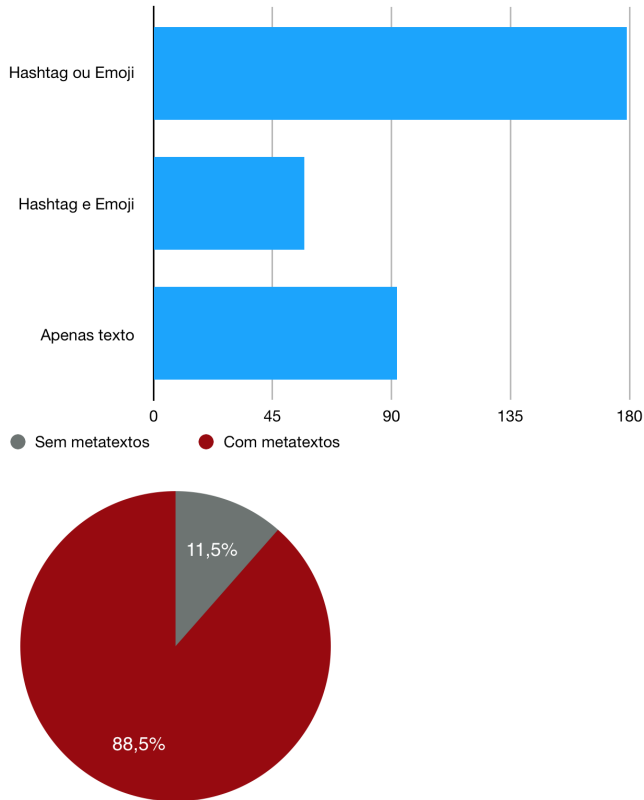
#livreslivros (5), #mundodalua (5), #photooftheday (5), #ssalovers (5), #leitura (4), #tbt (4), #adoteumcaoadulto (3).

Image 1 – Cloud with all the hashtags used.



Looking at the hashtags, we perceive a big diversity and that they are produced more due to its expressivity than due to a labeling logic. We can infer this behavior when we perceive the low rate of repetitions, in addition to different hashtags representing specific activities instead of using general terms aiming some kind of index (#saudeequaldade-devida, #cachorroetudodebom, #MomentoEntreAmigos etc). From the user’s point of view, the intention of index is less frequent. However, many hashtags are created for the identification of location (City Square or city of Salvador or state of Bahia, for example). The intention of escaping a labeling logic, on the other hand, does not exclude the possibilities of labeling performed by the social network itself, because it is a tag. Therefore, the photography, transforming itself into a set of data in a publication, constantly maintains possibilities of correlations, indexes and groups performed by the system: texts in subtitles and comments, profiles interacting, the image indexed through algorithmic readings.

Image 2 – Metatexts in subtitle per publication.



We performed a general list of the written marks (metatexts such as hashtags, symbols and emojis or simple texts) registered by users in the field destined to the subtitle in each post. Such marks compose the current photographic practice and indicate one of the ways of understanding photography as a practice of data as it is possible to see in the graph of Image 2, the use of metatexts is a common practice: 270 posts (88.5% of the sample) present textual information, hashtags or emojis. An expressive number (58.6% of the sample, 179 occurrences) of posts counts with hashtags or emojis, however, the simultaneous appearance is noticed in only 57 posts (18.6%).

Research points towards the photographic practice in social media is configured as a practice of writing, describing and interacting through

symbols, texts and narratives built conjointly with the image in a wide network with human agencies (voluntary insertion of text, choice of object and place photographed, etc.). and specific algorithms. The production of metatexts is a characteristic form of new sociotechnical conformations in digital social media, altering aspects in relation with the space, social interactions and the development of narratives of self. We presented an analysis of Instagram posts following three aspects: 1. Process of spatialization; 2. Process of sociability; 3. Process of production of self (portraits and *selfies*).

Spatialization process: relationships with the space

Spatialization processes are social technical relations in the constitution of territories, places and spaces. The human action, through symbols and artifacts, creates forms of control (territory), that, in an extensive and temporal dynamic, constitute the spaces. These, by association, produce the space. The human action is intrinsically spatializing. The media, as artifacts of action of the human presence in time and space, allow forms of reading and writing in space, inscribing social relations. As Michel de Certeau (1990) considered walking a type of language, we can think of media developing their own grammar in the production of space. In case of photography in social media, the components for geotagging and metatexts are fundamental elements for the creation of action and discourses that build the imaginary of place.

The capture of images for analysis was given within a universe restricted to publication in a public character and associated to geotagging. As we've seen, this is not the only way of identification. In the sample, there are 402 references to the urban space (either in image, or in textual terms). There is an average of 1.3 indication of place in each post beyond geotagging, that is common to all of the posts. There are also 14 posts that present, at the same time, three or more forms of reference to the space. The indication of the relation with the place is made through different strategies, sometimes redundantly. It is the case of the publication made in the profile of a child, in which the subtitle says, "let's go", with hashtags

saying #rollerblades and #citysquare. Or, in another case, using the geotag of Ana Lúcia Magalhães Square, in which we see an adult holding a baby in his lap with the subtitle “Enjoying the park with Zezo”. Or a post in which a young woman is standing in the grass of Dique do Tororó, with hashtags #corridinha #lifestyle (physical activity) and #diquedotororo #corridanodique (place) In a similar way, in another post, we see two photos showing the lake, the orishas and the football stadium at Dique do Tororó and a selfie with the face of the person in part of the frame, with the sculptures and the lake in the background. Beyond the indications in the image, there is a subtitle: “Meeting #dique and the orishas today and #arenafontenova from far away haha. #salvador #bahia”.

It is possible to see a similar behavior in other posts, such as the one performed in the Parque de Pituvaçu (Image 3). We see, in the left corner, part of a hand holding a piece of watermelon cut in the shape of a heart; in the background, a wide view of the pond and the surroundings filled by greenery. In the subtitles, there is reference about the type of specific place (a park) as well as the city, and even some type of demonstration of joy in relation to the season: “Summer heat + cool watermelon + Sunday at the park = Salvamor”, followed by an emoji representing a heart. In addition to the imagery and the text – involving summer, city and feelings related to Sunday at the park – there is a reinforcement in the hashtags: “#salvamor #sunday #beleza #cidadelinda #amor #ssalovers”.

In the sample, we perceive that, beyond the geotag, representations of place from the reference in the landscape, in the hashtag, in the subtitle or in the background of the image are common practices. We can perceive that the process of spatialization (SHIELDS, 1991), is not only given by the sharing of image or the moment of its production, but through the insertion of metatexts that work as a reference to place and the publication itself, in a narrative practice about a space that is materialized in a hybrid network. Thus, the sharing of photographs in social media constitutes today a photographic practice that is intrinsic to a practice of data. It is a modification in the spatializing processes of traditional photography. It is interesting to notice, in this analysis, how the materiality of the process of spatialization is constituted by a wide

network that goes through the place chosen, the artifact used, by the forms of editing and image treatment, by metatexts (hashtags, subtitles and symbols), by geotagging, by the algorithmic process of the social network, by the forms of sharing...

Image 3 – Different references to place in one post.



The photographic practice operates, consequently, as a performative actor-network, algorithmic, different from the practice of production of space in analogic photos or even digital photography before the arrival of social media. This new photographic environment allows users to create a narrative and a practice about the space through a wide network of human and non-human agencies (LATOUR, 2005). In different levels, the photographic spatialization is present, either by imagery, or by text, as a practice related to the logic of data production and the performativity of algorithms. As we've observed, the photographic practice does not end in the moment the image is made in the square or park, and is not only characterized by the sharing, but it is built through the logic of data production and algorithmic performances created through the interactions and insertions of metatexts. The processes of spatialization that also characterize this photographic practice performed in urban spaces are developed through a network of processes that necessarily include the production of digital data – geotagging, subtitles, comments, emojis, hashtags – and algorithmic procedures in social media. The photographic practice, therefore, belongs in a network of data practice.

Sociability process

With social media focused in photography, what we have today is widened spaces of socialization through the production, stocking and sharing images. Unlike analogic photography – that had other time of production and specific forms of circulation, that were slower and more centralized – or digital photography – made more quickly and with more ephemerality, but even so, with limited sharing – photography social media create conditions of sociability that were previously inexistent. Forms of sociability through photography became popular with the appearance of social networks dedicated to this area and contributed for the deconstruction of centrality of image. On Instagram, the reinforcement of sociability come from subtitles (simple texts, hashtags and emojis), widening the character of communication of contemporary photographic practices in social media.

In the posts analyzed, the forms of sociability in public space are developed in different ways.⁸ We find couples hugging, parents walking with their children, groups having a picnic, cyclists after a ride, families exercising, friends walking their dogs, etc. There are many examples, such as the selfie published by two friends celebrating the birthday of one of them (Image 4), in a post with the geotag Parque da Cidade and the subtitle “Clara’s Birthday– soon, videos with photos of this super cool b-day! Xoxoxox instafriends”. With different heart emojis, the subtitle reaffirms and produces a narrative continuity with the image representation of proximity. In a photo of two friends after an exercise at Ana Lúcia Magalhães Square (Image 4), the interactions through text complete the socialization. There is a montage with a new textual layer of information added to the photo, with the hashtag #AmigasDaCorreria written in pink, in addition to other information also included in the subtitle.

⁸ There is more portraits with two or more people (138) than portraits with only one person in the foreground (107). We see that, in the momento f taking a picture, there is a sociability that points towards na activity done in a group.

Image 4a – Selfie at the City Square.



Image 4b – Portrait at the Ana Lúcia Magalhães Square.



The same happens with groups of people. There are examples of meetings for celebrations of birthdays, baby showers, physical activities, work, family or religious gatherings. In the last case, we saw a post (Image 5a), in which a group of 12 people is sitting at the grass having a picnic. In the hashtags, there are references to the place (#parquedacidade) and the activity (#ldschurch #mormonchurch). Another example (Image

5b), at the City Square, is a montage with five different photos: a selfie alone, a selfie with three children in the back, a portrait of eight family members, an adult playing with a child, and, in the end, two elderly women interacting with themselves. The subtitle wraps up the image: “Because life is for the living”, followed by the hashtags #familylife #so-good #familyisthebasisofeverything”.

Images 5a and 5b – Examples of photos with groups of people.



There are also profiles created for dogs, simulating a possible autonomy of speech. Here, once again, the text is fundamental and the use of hashtags and subtitles to compose the processes of spatialization and sociability is evident. For example, in the post presented in the Image 6a, we see the picture of a couple sitting with Mike, the owner of the profile. In the subtitle, he says: “Because I love walking alongside my parents, it is a lot of play, a lot of treats, a lot of running and in the end, I am tired as a dog”, mixing a lot of emojis and hashtags. In the following post (Image 6b), we see Theo and his friends, without humans. In the subtitle we see: “When you meet your gang!”. In the comments, the interaction is performed by other profiles of dogs – maybe the ones that appear in the picture –, demonstrating sociability, implicit in texts of the owners through their dogs. The conversational practice of data, in these two examples, is essential to conduct narratively, in the interaction between image and metatexts, the presence and fictional relationship of animals in social media.

Images 6a and 6b – Profiles of Instagram created for dogs.



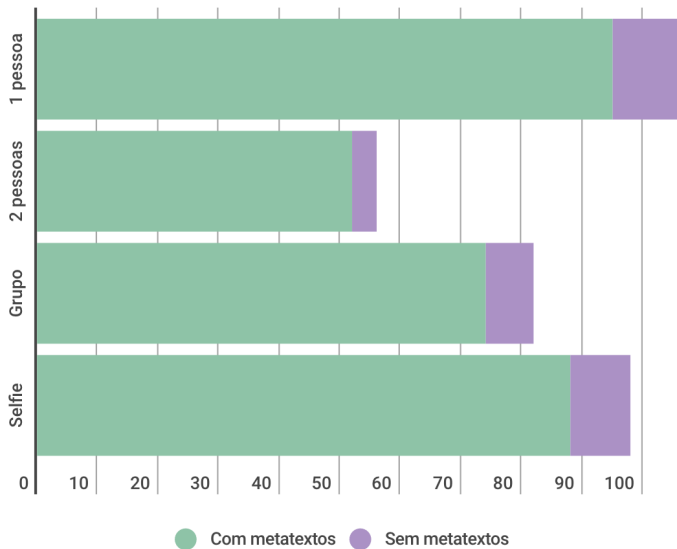


Thus, instead of incorporating a character of registration, aesthetic value or memory, the pictures of our sample translate in communicative terms, in relation with the other, of sharing and interaction of a wide network of agencies. This photographic practice is characterized not only for the production of an image, but for the sharing of a set of data – tags, comments, metatexts, symbols and geotags – created to propel experiences of sociability. Therefore, sociability, in this case, is supported by metatextual productions, by algorithmic procedures of the platform and by the interaction between different digital data. We argue that the photographic practice is placed as a conversational practice of data. It is inserted in a wide network of sociability geared towards a communication developed as a production of many metatexts that compose the photography itself. Thus, the use of hashtags and subtitles, for example, indicates an expressive direction, a confirmation of the communicative character of the contemporary photographic practice, pointing towards a bigger attention to the explicitation of feelings in a direct and unequivocal form. Here, an image is not worth a thousand words. The place matters, the photo matters, but everything must be sewn together by the text and the practice of data production – in subtitles, hashtags, comments, geotags and emojis.

Process of production of self: portraits and selfies

In 252 photos, people are the main object (82% of the total). The place and the forms of sociability appear both in pictures and in texts, even if they are associated, for example, to a certain portrait geared towards the self, as in the selfie. Even though it is a self-portrait, the selfie is developed as a practice of relationship with the other, of sharing a relational intimacy (PASTOR, 2017). Escaping the image, this relationship with the other is done through this conversational practice of data, in the constant production of metatexts. In the different types of portrait (individual, group or selfie), it is possible to perceive the dominance of the textual insertion (Image 7).

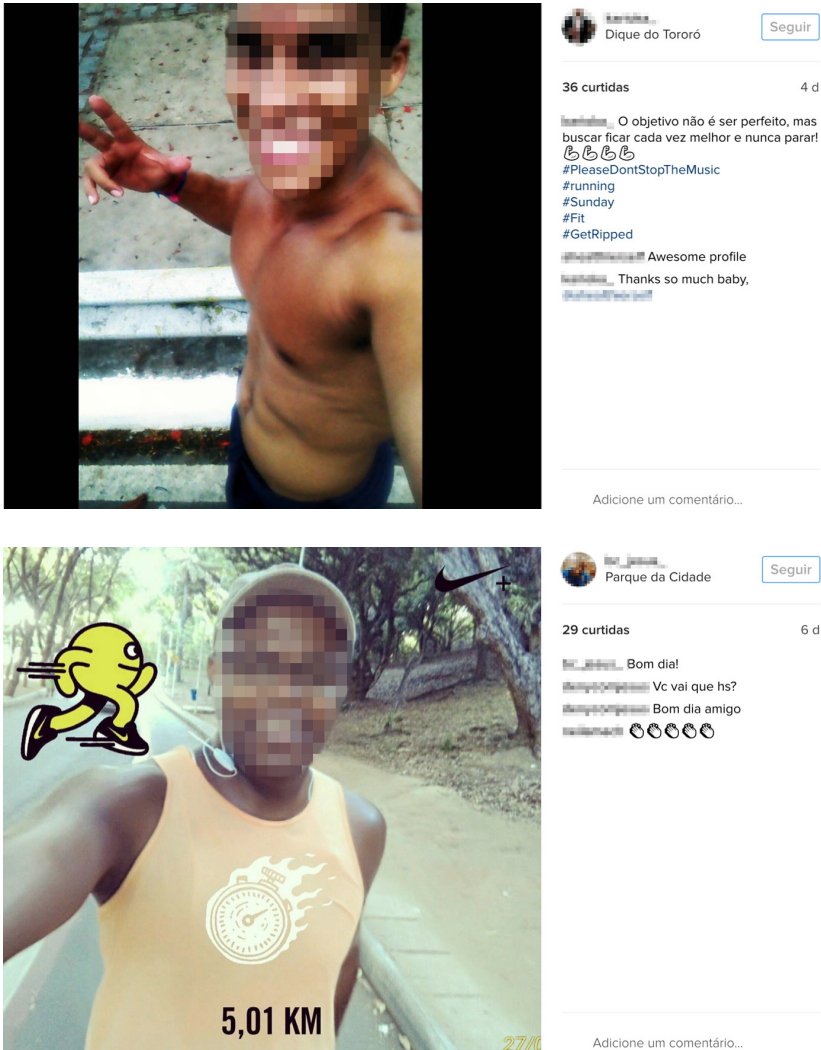
Image 7 – Relationship between types of portrait and metatexts.



Let's take as an example a selfie taken by a young man at Dique to Tororó (Image 8a). Taken before or after a running session – as the hashtag #running indicates -, the self-portrait is complemented by three types of metatext (hashtags, subtitle and emojis) all of them referencing the exercise. In another, geotagged at the City Square, we see a middle aged man with a hat, a sleeveless shirt and headphones, also running.

He adds to the picture the information of how many kilometers he ran and a drawing. We see, once again, metatext juxtaposed to the picture itself, processed through the algorithmic performativity of another app.⁹

Pictures 8a and 8b – Two selfies taken, respectively, at Dique do Tororó and at City Square.



9 The app used is probably Nike+ Run Club. See <http://www.nike.com.br/corrida/app-nike-plus>.

Images 9a and 9b – Portraits with two or more people



 rafaelcsmira
Dique do Tororó Seguir

80 curtidas 3 d

rafaelcsmira: Cara de um 🐶, focinho do outro 🐶 #amordetio #tardeemfamilia
clínica_pombi Dupla de dois da zorra!!!!❤️
😂😂😂
rafaelcsmira: [clínica_pombi](#) kkkkkk ❤️❤️

Adicione um comentário...



 mairodultra
Parque da Cidade Seguir

68 curtidas 3 d

mairodultra E ontem foi o aniversário do nosso LUCCA 🥰❤️ #tiaMaiama #amizadeétudo #meusmelhores #obrigadatosos #amodemais
eu_daisy Foi maravilhoso ❤️
legandodei1 #amizadeétudo obrigado mai 🥰
mãemagalhua21 Foi lindo
mairodultra @legandodei1 por nada amigo! Lucca merece muito mais! ❤️
mairodultra @legandodei1 @eu_daisy Graças a vocês! 🥰
mmarianamocreira Amei a iniciativa @legandodei1 . Você é show!!!!

Adicione um comentário...

The great number of portraits – including selfies – spread on social media, such as these analyzed here, do not show a weakening of processes of spatialization or sociability, but rather a process of production of images of self that points towards a relational character.

Conclusion

The conclusions of this article find partial echoes in many studies of authors that talk about the relationship among photography, smartphones and social network. We can quote the emergency of new formats of interpersonal relationships through the image (RIVIÈRE, 2006); the hybrid character of connection and production of image linked to cell-phones (LEMOS, 2007); forms of intimacy and relationships between public and private (LASÉN, 2013; LASÉN e GÓMEZ CRUZ, 2009); the social-technical network supported by connectivity (GÓMEZ CRUZ e MEYER, 2012); the “conversational image” (GÓMEZ CRUZ e MEYER, 2012) the relationship between the photography and software, algorithms, metadata and the urban space (HOCHMAN, 2014; HOELZL e MARIE, 2016; MANOVICH, 2016), and others. There are changes in the relationship between places and the photographic practice mediated by apps (BOULLIER, 2014) and the interactions that are configured not only in the moment of the action of photographing, but also in traces of sociability and data generated and shared in a continuum of experience. The frontiers between image and data are blurred, transforming the urban experience and the city itself (HOELZL e MARIE, 2016; SCHWARTZ e HOCHMAN, 2014).

However, what seems to be left unsaid is how the new photographic practice is instituted as an actor-network that has the data practice, the algorithmic performativity of the system and forms of sharing in the social network one of their main elements. None of them attest, as we see in this research, the character of photography in the social network as a practice of algorithmic data and performativity through metatexts, with a complementary narrative to the image. The image is certainly important, but the process of mediation is given, from now on, in a wide movement of production of machine and data performances. Therefore, we call “photographic practice” this actor-network this performative sensibility (LEMOS and BITENCOURT, 2017) this communication of things (LEMOS, 2013), not only the moment in which an image is

produced in a click on a smartphone screen or even the act of sharing it in a platform.

All photographic action triggers agencies in a wide network of actors, since the analogic devices from the digital cameras. What we point here is not new of this photographic action as actor-network, but the emergency of a new photographic process that is given in a network of algorithmic performances associated to metatexts, supported by a practice of data production that works as one of the main elements in the communicational exchanges. i. e., a wide performatic network that goes through photo, through the experience of the relationship with the other, through the space, the algorithms that interpret them, comments and interactions in social media, in addition to the different materials that compose them – metadata, subtitles, hashtags, geotags, emojis, etc. Within this intertwining of data, a new photographic practice is developed, that is not comprised to the image and that has the sharing and production of metatexts its central moment.

The photographic practice on Instagram, therefore, constitutes an important mediator in the processes of spatialization and sociabilization, (in group, individually or in selfies) as a translator of communicational forms of photography today. The photographic practice is transformed into a capture of technically retouched images, working as a social memory for a wider communicational process, involving the place, the preparation – with the choice of poses and images, the ludic moment, the sharing and the informational reinforcement of subtitles, comments and hashtags. To use the term of André Gunther (2014), we have a conversational image, but in the logic of data and algorithms of the system in question. This conversational property surpasses the image itself, allowing us to think about the photographic practice as a set of production of digital data.

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About the authors

Leonardo Pastor – PhD student at the Post-Graduate Program in Contemporary Communication and Culture at Facom/UFBA and researcher at Lab404 (Póscom/UFBA).

André Lemos – Professor at Facom/UFBA. IA researcher at CNPq and director at the Research Lab in Social Media, Networks and Space (Lab404) at the Post-graduate Program in Contemporary Communication and Culture (Póscom/UFBA).

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In between drinks: time, sociability and popular music at city bars

Entre umas e outras: tempo, sociabilidade e música popular em bares da cidade

Pedro Silva Marra¹

Luiz Henrique Assis Garcia²

Abstract: *Framing Savassi Square (BH-MG-BR) as an empirical object, we seek to analyze how is it possible to experience superimposed temporalities in contiguous spaces through combining forms of sociability and choices of repertoire, in two different bars located at this region. Our field work employs different formats of data (audio recordings, digital photos and videos and written accounts) on those uses of space gathered during drifts through this square. Thus, we discuss how people modulate acoustic properties (intensity, frequency and spatiality) of the sonorities they employ and different musical repertoires for producing “place”. This idea is reinforced by the understanding that in place time experience is “intersubjective”, so it’s socially and spatially localized. Popular music, inserted in this setting, plays a significant role at the conformation of social and historical experience of different groups that co-inhabit and dispute the city.*

Keywords: *urban space; popular music; squares; sonorities; temporalities*

Resumo: *Delimitando como objeto empírico a praça da Savassi (Belo Horizonte, MG, Brasil), procuramos analisar como é possível experimentar temporalidades sobrepostas em espaços contíguos por meio da combinação entre formas de sociabilidade e escolhas de repertório em dois bares diferentes localizados na referida região. Nosso trabalho de campo emprega diversos formatos de registros (gravações de áudio, fotos e vídeos digitais e relatos escritos) de tais usos*

1 Federal University of Espírito Santo. Vitória, ES, Brazil. E-mail: pedromarra@gmail.com

2 Federal University of Minas Gerais. Belo Horizonte, MG, Brazil. E-mail: luhen_asgar@yahoo.com.br

do espaço realizados durante derivas pela praça. Assim, discutimos as formas como as pessoas modulam as propriedades acústicas (intensidade, frequência e espacialidade) das sonoridades empregadas e diferentes repertórios musicais para produzir o “lugar”. Essa ideia é reforçada pelo entendimento de que, no lugar, a experiência do tempo é “intersubjetiva”, portanto, social e espacialmente localizada. A música popular, inserida nesse cenário, desempenha um papel significativo na conformação da experiência social e histórica de diferentes grupos que coabitam e disputam a cidade.

Palavras-chave: *espaço urbano; música popular; praças; sonoridades; temporalidades*

Introduction

As participants of the CCONM research group, we are interested in the dynamics of constitution of urban territorialities, especially to understand how the use of public spaces by the citizens who live there or pass by create places – even transitory places – there. We integrate, in the last years, a project³ dedicated to the study of four squares in the downtown region of Belo Horizonte, one of the big metropolis in Brazil. Squares mark meeting points in the urban fabric, due to their cultural, social, economic and political centrality, shown in the daily life and in specific contexts promoted in public, in the case of our research, celebrations, popular manifestations or musical performances.

Our researches have as one of the main focuses the understanding of the auditive experience in urban space.⁴ Public spaces are constituted through conflicts and negotiations created by multiple social actors in performances in the public arena that transform the space in place, and, thus, locate their identities (APPADURAI, 1996). Their confrontations and accommodations not only modify the urban space but are also altered by the changes that historically happen there. Currently, as in other study groups, we consider that social media and representations shared through the internet are also integrated in this game through its users.

Delimitating as an empirical object the Savassi square, we seek to analyze how is it possible to experience superposed temporalities in contiguous spaces through the combination between forms of sociability and choices of repertoire, getting out of 80 Bar, where you can listen to pop, rock, punk, post-punk, and different types of electronic music, to get to the other side of the street, over to Vintage 13 and its *easy rider* soundtrack. Our field work employs different formats of register (audio

3 “Find the audience again in the city squares: new forms of appropriation in the urban space in Belo Horizonte in the 21st century”, supported by CNPq.

4 A part of these research efforts derives from the project “Urban patrimony and popular music: the meanings of places”, coordinated by Luiz Henrique Assis Garcia at UFMG and supported by CNPq, and the other part derives from the studies of PhD of Pedro Silva Marra with PPGCOM/UFF. A preliminar version of this text was presented during the 18th bianual conference of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music (IASPM), performed at Unicamp in 2015.

records, digital photos and videos and written testimonials) of such uses of space performed during walks on the square. We took sound landscape (SHAFER, 2001) as a methodologic technique which allow us to access sounds and musical practices located in the space of its materiality. Therefore, we discuss the forms how people modulate their acoustic properties (intensity, frequency and spatiality) and different musical repertoires to produce the “place”. This idea is reinforced by the understanding that, in the place, the experience of time is “intersubjective”, therefore, social and spatially localized (WUNDERLICH, 2013, p. 383-384). Popular music, inserted in this scenario, fills a significant gap in the formation of the social and historic experience of different groups that cohabit and dispute the city.

Temporalities and sociability in the space of Savassi square

Savassi Square, marked by the intersection of the avenues Getúlio Vargas and Cristóvão Colombo, is the more popular name of the Diogo de Vasconcelos Square. That is due to the fact that, in the beginning of the 40's, a bakery was founded there and named after its owners, the Savassi family, with Italian origin. The neighborhood, with an eminently residential character – despite calling Funcionários (workers) – has transformed a lot from then on.

In the 50's, the first commercial businesses were implanted in the neighborhood: there was the Savassi Bakery, by the Diogo de Vasconcelos square, and beside it, in Pernambuco Street, the São Felix Drugstore. There was also a sewing store near Diogo de Vasconcelos square and beside the bakery store; the Colombo and Triângulo stores, located in the Cristóvão Colombo avenue. Two other services started to attract the attention of the people who lived in Belo Horizonte: the construction of Cine Pathé and Belo Horizonte's first supermarket, Serve Bem, both located at the Cristóvão Colombo Avenue (LEMOS, 2007, p. 7).

In bars, convenience stores and in the bakery, young middle-class people of the city used to meet. In the region, many public and private

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schools were created, creating a space with constant circulation of students, from elementary school to university students. When new neighborhoods began to appear in the south region of the city, the Savassi region started to represent a center to the middle-class and high-class layers of society in search of sophisticated stores and sociability spaces corresponding to their preferences. Starting in the 70's, the transformations in the space were intensified. Celina B. Lemos points, in her study on consumption and formation of a centrality at Savassi, the strong presence of private investments following the circulation of a consumer with high acquisitive power, constituting a “[...] locus of consumption and leisure of privileged groups” (LEMOS, 2007, p. 8). According to testimonials created by the author, the “noble consumers” saw in the Downtown a deteriorated space, without sophistication or exclusivity, and thus, the “[...] growth and legitimacy of Savassi coincided with the semi-saturation of the Traditional Downtown (LEMOS, p. 2007, p. 8). Following these changes, the urbanistic law created in 1976 regulated the “mixed” (residential/commercial) use of the region.

Consumption activities articulated forms of leisure and sociability that would correspond to local's expectations in search of refinement and taste. Not fortuitously, in the 80's, the bookstore Agência Status was created there, in front of the main bus stop at Cristóvão Colombo Avenue, opposite to Cine Pathé, a cinema popular as a meeting place for intellectuals, associated with “authorial movies”, where neighborhood goers remember watching movies by Bergman, Godard and Fellini. Lemos (2007, p. 13) considers having a continuity and transition of use between these two points of concentration and meeting on opposite sides of the avenue. Thus, a typical stroll of the middle-class or high-class subject through Savassi could include shopping, watching a movie, buying a book and ending the night in a bar or restaurant in the vicinity.

The practice of going in bars at Savassi was already integrated to the routine of those who worked there, as well as people who belong in the middle and high layer of the South region of Belo Horizonte. It is possible, thus, “to identify standards of frequency” in bars and snack bars

that were fashionable at Savassi, where we could see a territoriality in terms of use, having as base the groups and subgroups that frequented the place (LEMOS, 2007, p. 17-18).

In the same decade, part of the blocks of Pernambuco and Antônio de Albuquerque streets, which diagonally cross the space where the square is. In the square, they positioned flowerbeds and urban furniture, such as benches and payphones – which were still relevant as equipment. In parts that remained as streets, parking lots were created. If, at times, this space was configured as “landscape”, many situations could attract and retain locals, such as the presence of street vendors, artisans, painters selling art, beggars or even the police, concerned with repressing robbery and controlling the frequency of individuals considered threatening. As an idyllic space for groups of bigger power and resources – counterposed, in the social representations of the dirty Downtown, out of fashion, unorganized, filled with “undesirable people” – Savassi should be an adjusted, comfortable place for their privileged consumers.

We can consider that, in the 90's, the scene of the square became more complex and heterogeneous. The great quantity of bus stops transiting and stopping in the avenues, the existence of some stores with affordable prices, the diversification of services and, eventually, the own centrality that began to happen significantly increased the affluence and variety of people that circulate and appropriate the space. In addition, it became a place of gathering to watch matches and celebrate conquests of football teams in the capital of MG. That did not eliminate initiatives with the image consolidated in the region. We could quote the trend of “book + coffeeshops” post-modern spaces with retro atmosphere that were perceived as exquisite loci of sociability for groups detaining cultural capital. Três Corações Café and Livraria da Travessa became points for this type of activity using live music – performed by small bands or even one musician, with repertoire considered “tasteful” (jazz, MPB, *choro*) – to attract and please a demanding audience that is used to pay more expensive items, including food.

As a sign of the times and changes in cultural consumption habits, Cine Pathé closed. In its building, an evangelic church, a clothing store and a parking lot began to work there. The building was listed by the National Heritage, but the plans for recovering it as a cultural center did not continue. In the 2000's, the main corners became filled by cell-phone stores, in addition to a McDonald's store, already occupying the place since the previous decade, signaling the insertion of massified and globalized circuit of consumption; on the other hand, there are traditional commercial establishments with regional (Elmo Calçados) and local (Centro Ótico) coverage that still remain. It is significative to remember that the Claro store dislodged Café Três Corações, that ended up working in a much smaller space, behind where it used to be, after a campaign of "traditionalists".

Presentism and nostalgia in the social experience

In so many changes, Savassi square is a witness to the voraciousness from our time. While the huge compression of space-time provokes an unstable experience, particularly in the urban environment, the search for "symbolic anchors" (HUYSSSEN, 2003) rises the demand for the feeling of wholeness and belonging to a place and/or time. As Huyssen himself says, "[...] We have come to read cities and buildings as palimpsests of space, monuments as transformable and transitory, and sculptures as subject to the vicissitudes of time" (HUYSSSEN, 2003, p. 7). In an accurate way, Beatriz Sarlo qualifies the time in which we live in from the relationship between culture of velocity and nostalgia:

The present, threatened by the decay of acceleration, is converted, while it occurs, in matter of memory. Between time acceleration and the memorialist vocation, there are coincidences. Precisely the acceleration produces the emptiness of past that operations of memory intend to compensate (SARLO, 2003, p. 97-98).

According to the author, apparatuses such as the remote control, the fax, the modem contribute to the production of another texture of time,

characterized not only by the profusion of images but by the velocity in which they follow, reflect and run over each other (SARLO, 2003, p. 97). Thus, paradoxically, the present works in the aging of things and images and, simultaneously, in its conservation as signs of identity.

Therefore, we need to recognize a change in conscience of time proper of modernity, oriented towards the future, through the notion of progress, for a predominantly presentist perspective (HARTOG, 2013), which is affirmed since the end of the last century. François Hartog proposes using the concept of “regimen of historicity” because he thinks there is the degree of combination, the “more” and the “less”, in the mix between past, present and future while concepts that organize the experience that the human being has of time. This author characterizes the specific regimen of contemporaneity as “presentism”, seeing, on one side, flows, acceleration, mobility and, on the other hand, the permanence of the transitory, eating up the past and the future. An experience of time marked by the immediatism and eternally in crisis. The future “[...] Is no longer a luminous horizon in which we walk towards, but a shadow line we put in motion towards us, while we seem to skate in the field of present and chew on a past that does not go away” (HARTOG, 2013, p. 245).

This omnipresence of past, thus, put itself under the prism of present (LOWENTHAL, 1985, p. XV). There is no doubt that the act of remembrance belongs to the present, which does not imply disregarding that its occurrence is related to the material presence of vestiges of the past. Through the execution, either mechanic or in live presentation, of a repertoire which belongs to a wide archive of recognizable and associable references, articulated to other elements (name, decoration, menu, furniture, etc.), a certain bar produces an ambiance, “[...] A qualified space-time in a sensory point of view. [...] A specific humor expressed in the material presence of things and corporified in the form of being an inhabitant in the city” (THIBAUD, 2011, p. 1-2). The articulation between social experience and elements of a material culture mobilizes specific parcels of public, bringing together specific tastes, groups and

sociabilities from a set of songs that supplies symbolic anchors because it functions as a mean for the social interaction (DENORA, 2000).

We understand that songs are listened within socially produced interpretative schemes that supply references from which the individual remembers. It is unescapable that, as an effect of this same gesture, the “past” perceived (as an absent reference) is modified, in a way that this operation do not bring, as eventually is supposed to, a bigger stability, coherence and legitimacy to this recuperated space (HUYSSSEN, 2003, p. 4). What matters is to verify that the formation of repertoire happens through a circuit of experiences of the listeners that help the audition of concerts, of pairs, transmissions, discs and now, digital platforms, among other sources. The history of the music industry comprises what is stored in this forms of register, but it is harder to rebuild what is conserved in memory and it is orally transmitted (FAULKNER e BECKER, 2009). The constitution of repertoires reflects a dynamic collection which constitution and rearrangement are historically transformed, along with the forms of making and listening to music.

Exactly because of that, to understand the choices of repertoire, it is necessary to consider different contemporary cultural phenomena associated with time (nostalgia, retro, revivalism, museomania), through which these groups are constituted, including as clients. Raphael Samuel, investigating the re-significations of past in the British society, identifies markedly from the second half of the 20th century, the “resuscitating enthusiasm” which took care of many aspects of the social life – from interior decoration to consumption of antiques, from the diffusion of the taste for old photography to the historicization of the environment built (SAMUEL, 1994). Samuel still locates in “Swinging London” of mid-60’s the phenomenon of retro chic, or “industry of nostalgia”, in which recent technology is applied to products in a way of obtaining an aesthetic that refers to the old (SAMUEL, 1994, p. 83). Even through the form of revival, it has a parodic character:

Contrary to restorationism and conservatism [...], retro-chic is indifferent to the cult of authenticity. It does not feel obligated to remain faithful to

the period [...], blurs the distinction between originals and recycled [...], abolishes differences of category between past and present, opening a two-way street between them (SAMUEL, 1994, p. 112-113).

In both bars we talked here, mainly to what refers to interior decoration, use of design and regimentation of elements in material culture, this seems to be a dominant form, even if there are variations, as we will see ahead.

Sociability and popular music repertoires at 80 Bar and at Vintage 13

The two bars are dedicated to leisure activities, but we see differences between them. Both work on happy hour, but 80 Bar is more for a “pre-night” practice, in which groups of friends meet to drink beer and talk before going together to another party. A louder, more upbeat music refers to that.

For me, Savassi bars are very similar between them and a small detail is what makes us choose between one over the other (unless it only has seats in place X or Y). What attracts me in the 80 is also one of the things that makes me avoid the place: the music. It attracts me because I really like the songs that play in the bar, The Cranberries, Bon Jovi, Smashing Pumpkins, and other classics. However, most of the time the music is TOO loud, making it hard to talk at the table and even giving me a headache. If the idea is to sit and talk somewhere in Savassi, 80 is rarely the first place I think about. If you want to talk, sit away from the speakers.⁵

Meanwhile, Vintage 13 is a place to sit and spend the night: “It is a very small bar, with tables in the sidewalk, playing good old *rock’n’roll*. The location could not be better, right in the middle of Savassi”.⁶ The music is softer, eventually less dancy, which configures a certain posture of appreciation and reverence to rock (BENNETT, 2009). It also works

⁵ Available at: <http://kekanto.com.ar/biz/80-bar>. Accessed in July 1st, 2015.

⁶ Available at: http://www.tripadvisor.com.br/Restaurant_Review-g303374-d6226508-Reviews-Vintage_13-Belo_Horizonte_State_of_Minus_Gerais.html. Accessed in July 1st, 2015.

as background for conversation and, although there is concern with the quality of reproduction, it is not the focus, as demonstrated in the position of the speaker, above the door. This position is not favorable to the repertoire played, because many songs of the period presented an extreme stereo panorama, in which some instruments are located in the right speaker and, in other songs, everything on the left. As the speakers are a little bit far from each other, it becomes difficult to listen to a faithful record: whoever is closer to the speaker listens only what is coming out of it – only instruments or only drums and vocals, for example. Such differences seem to produce different times of occupation. Our observations indicate that 80 Bar gets crowded earlier and presents a bigger rotativity in the tables, while Vintage 13 takes longer to be crowded and clients occupy tables for longer. In addition to that, as the song in Vintage 13 is less intense, it remains open until later than 80 Bar.

If, in another opportunity (GARCIA, 2011), we studied songs that talk about places (and, of course, their respective times), now we study places that talk about songs or, that compose, through them, a way of creating a presence in the city. Faulkner and Becker, in their study about jazz, approach this composition of places. The authors compare the musical practice in a jazz club in Chicago, 1951; the musician's routine in a New Yorker dance club in 1978, which usually play in wedding parties, quinceañeras and balls in general; and the presentation of a jazz trio in a fancy restaurant in 2007 (FAULKNER and BECKER, 2009, p. 3-15). In each one of these places, there is not only the expectation of execution of different repertoires – songs that everyone knows in the first case; upbeat and popular songs of various genres in the second case; contemporary jazz in the third case – as the diverse musical performance of each one of these cases, which can even share one or two songs - different instrumental formations in each case, playing medleys in some and not others, preferable sound intensities in each one of the places, etc.

The different places are comprised, thus, in a dynamic among the practice of musicians, the expectations of who is going to these events, who is running these events, their spatial conformation and the uses that

are effectively performed there. A ball requires a specific musical performance different from a bar where people come to chat or a restaurant where you go to eat. Who is going to dance in a ball hopes to listen to certain songs and the owner of the place hopes the musicians put everyone to dance; who is going to chat in a bar hopes that the song works as a background to conversation – which gives more freedom to musicians; who is going to eat in a restaurant hopes the sound do not collide with his act of eating. Because of that, the owner of the restaurant looks for a soft song, not too upbeat or too intense. On the other hand, a wide space favors the ball, a cozy place favors a restaurant, etc.

Faulkner and Becker, therefore, are concerned in understanding how the musicians create their repertoire. Interrogating different work situations, they identify in the context an indispensable dimension to explain how and why a certain item is taken from a set composed by thousands of popular songs produced in the industry, beyond ethnical and traditional songs. The authors indicate the transit between repertoires with diverse cultural origins produced transformations in jazz throughout the time in which they confuse modification as the use of places, transformations in the practices of musical performance and constitution of new repertoires, which widens the set of compositions that were already constituted. Their research works the idea that, in case of jazz, there is today a co-existence of these diverse temporalities, but circumscribed to very specific spaces.

Extrapolating a little in regard to these authors, we can consider that, even in the case of mechanic execution of recorded songs, it is possible to identify a repertoire constituted in a way of attracting and fixating their desired clients, and, simultaneously, keeping away those who do not fit in the desired profile. We understand that this is valid both for different DJs hired to work at 80 Bar (including the idea that the house selects them within a wider range of professionals available) as the owner of Vintage 13, that made clear to inform us that, usually, makes the selection of what is going to be played and showed us the “old” Macintosh

that plays the playlist. There are events such as the “Vinyl Club” in which the musical playlist is made by other people.

In our case, both bars seem to follow a type of repertoire limited to certain specific genres, subgenres and eras (60’s and 70’s rock at Vintage 13; 80’s post-punk at 80 Bar), even if in a less circumscribed manner, because that axis is spread out to other eras, especially on 80 Bar. In the latter, we listen to music to previous decades that were reference to post-punk of the 80’s - it is possible to listen to The Kinks or David Bowie, but Pink Floyd or Yes would hardly play there – or songs from the 90’s or 2000’s that, somehow, use the 80’s as reference: “They played QOTSA (Queens of the Stone Age), Radiohead and The Cure, among others. They deserve my respect”.⁷ In this sense, the commitment to “authenticity” or “precision” regarding repertoire is considerably smaller than at Vintage 13. Moreover, being very close, it becomes evident that they majorly attend to different audiences – more diverse in the case of 80 Bar, “identifiable” at Vintage 13 - which both can bring a brand to the space, creating different ambiances.

In this study, we consider the thesis of DeNora (2000) in which agents use song to perform certain tasks. When handling certain acoustic characteristics (intensity, frequency and spatiality) of songs, these agents appropriate from their material characteristics (understood as something tangible by the body), that enable or catalyze its action. These parameters are involved with the “corporification of the action while doing the body engage in a rhythm (DENORA, 2000, p. 8). Thus, music comes into action not only to regulate velocities, pauses and continuities of action, but to pack the feeling of time involved in the development of action and, in a certain way, constituting this moment as an index to what is also referred to other time-space. The temporality imposed by the uses of place are connected to temporal aspects of music practiced there: dance connects to certain more body-oriented rhythms and accelerated velocities; the same way eating is connected to slower

7 Available at: <https://pt.foursquare.com/v/80-bar/4cae57a4ae16dcb9df69f54>. Accessed in: July 1st, 2015.

velocities and more relaxed rhythms and that the musical lack of attention produced by the conversation favors the temporal distention of improvisation.

The parameters of intensity and spatiality are manipulated for the constitution of different temporalities of leisure in each bar. On one hand, the higher volume of music and speakers on the ground, directing the sound directly to the client's bodies at 80 Bar contribute to its aspect of space for preparation of later moments in the evening. On the other hand, the cozy ambiance created by the less intense sounds and the speakers in a more elevated place at Vintage 13 constitutes a space to stay over the night. However, the main sound characteristic through which the time is dealt is the frequency, defined by the duration in which a certain vibration returns to a prior state. In this dominion, heights are defined, responsible to outline melodies and harmonies; speed and tempo; rhythms marked by the accent and division of durations; and tones, also known as color of the sound, audible aspects that differentiate two distinct sources that vibrate in the same number of times per second. The variation of those parameters differentiates compositions within a determined musical repertoire. We organized a board that seeks to synthesize the observations performed in our field works.

Therefore, different musical times worked through different songs articulate to temporalities, while social and historic category, that each one of the bars outlines. In the process, these bars fit the audience who goes there. Therefore, while the song "Just a Girl" by the 90's ska/hardcore band No Doubt filled the 80 Bar in an invasive manner, at Vintage 13, customers were listening to "Honky Tonk Women" by the Rolling Stones, in a lower volume.⁸ 80 Bar presents, thus, a rhetoric directed towards those who were young at the time and lived their teenage years listening to songs that seek inspiration in the 80's. This period and state of mind are brought again by the combination of a catchy, upbeat, energetic music. On Vintage 13, on the other hand, the appeal is to vigor,

8 Register of field research. Available at: <https://soundcloud.com/exploring-montreal/caminhada-anos-80vintage13anos-80>. Accessed in: March 15th, 2016.

freedom, contestation translated in songs of late 60's, early 70's, era in which such values were in vogue and were materialized in the globalized popular music through long guitar solos, fierce drums, the performance of main vocalists of hard rock bands and, of course, song lyrics.

Board 1 - Comparative synthesis of the field research results.

Elements of ambiance	80 Bar	Vintage13
Interior design	Clean	Saturated with references
Color	Variety of colors in a well-lit environment.	Smaller variety in a darker environment.
Tables	In the street and inside.	Only on the street.
Intensity of music/position of speakers	Very intense/at street level.	Less intense/on the ceiling.
Conversation	Hard	Easy
Repertoire	Indie, rock, punk, post-punk, pop, electronic, 70's to 2000's, especially the 80's.	Mainly rock from the 60's/70's.
Time of permanence	Smaller	Bigger
Target audience	Tends to be younger (up to 29 years old) and with a wider age range.	Tends to be more mature (over 29 years old); some specific groups, such as bikers.

Source: own elaboration from research notes between 2013 and 2015.

The era in which the song was written, especially if it was popular then – therefore, if it is perceived by the audience as a classic of a specific musical genre –, is an important factor of these timely dynamics. DeNora deals with this issue through a discussion of the subject's life history: when a song belongs to important moments of constitution of its subjectivities – a song which important to a couple, the friendship between two people, etc. Not only an individual moment, but also a collective one. La Marcellaise, as an anthem for the conquests of the French Revolution, for example; to play this song brings back memories from the past. The author says that, when this relationship between a

song and a moment is very strong, it stops being a mere background of the event and comes to build the memory in an alive manner.

“But the creation of that ‘moment’ as a heightened moment was due in part to the alchemy of respondents’ perceived or sensed ‘rightness’ or resonance between the situation, the social relationship, the setting, the music, and themselves as emerging aesthetic agents with feelings, desires, moods such that the music was the mood, and the mood, the music”. (DENORA, 2000, p. 67).

The author, however, treats music as a memory “container”. We believe that here she uses a term that is below the idea she wished to employ. We would rather say that music creates memory, it is its audible facet. It is important to remember the distinction created by Aristotle between memory (*mneme*) and remembrance (*anamnesis*). In his perspective, memory implies a perception that distinguishes before and after, the passing of time, but while memory is present as an evocation of an absence, of something that simply happened, the remembrance is product of a pursuit, of a path performed by an explorer of the past (RICOEUR, 2007, p. 35-39). At this point, the discussion created by Paul Ricoeur about the notion of “trail” is important, something that refers to memory as an absent presence. Then he uses the image of the drawing of an animal to explain that an inscription or registration has a double dimension, as itself and as a representation of something else (RICOEUR, 2007, p. 37). Such dynamic is performed not only by the reference to the era in which the compositions were written, but also at the time in which they were recorded, played and made a success. That is because the temporality of the music is also inscribed in the tone created by the instruments and technologic resources used in their register. Thus, electronic instruments, robotic drums and exaggerated effects which refer to the 80’s, organic performances of bands playing live, excessive stereo experimentations, oriental instruments, valved equipments or analogic synthetizers point towards the 60’s and the 70’s; and screaming vocals in between distorted guitars have its origins in the 90’s.

Final Considerations

Its conformed, thus, a specific temporal ambiance through which is possible to a listener to identify a specific era, creating this memory game even when the person do not know the specific song playing at a certain moment. Through this work with tones, a song can also bring us back to an era – and, therefore, create memories – even if it was not recorded at that exact period. Through the manipulation of frequencies, therefore, the modulation of musical times shuffles and connects different social and historic temporalities.

We talked about places where you purchase items, but, simultaneously, we talk about the consumption of the place. The use of elements that refer to a certain past, including songs, through a “retro ambiance” inevitably makes us think in a fetishization of the past, transformed in merchandise to be consumed. However, such process does not happen without, simultaneously, generating forms of sociability and appropriation that are configured from practices of subjects in time and space. The popular music integrates important moments in the constitution of the subjectivity of subjects and the imaginary of social groups. In this sense, it can be an active element of processes of remembrance in which its materiality creates the memory in its audible facet. It is possible, in our social experience as locals and listeners, even in a space crossed by different senses and disputes, different superposed temporalities, we found, even in a provisional, unstable manner, significative bonds that inform our existence beyond the presentist consumer voraciousness.

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About the authors

Pedro Silva Marra – Journalist graduated in Social Communication by the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG – Federal University of Minas Gerais), masters in Social Communication by the PPGCOM/UFMG, PhD in Social Communication by the PPGCOM at Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF – Fluminense Federal University). Professor of the courses in Journalism and Cinema and Audiovisual at the Social Communication Department at the Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo (Ufes – Federal University of Espírito Santo). Researcher of themes that relate sound and space, popular music and radio.

Luiz Henrique Assis Garcia – Professor at the course in Museology at the School of Information Science at the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG – Federal University of Minas Gerais). Graduated, master and PhD in History by UFMG.

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Pop culture and performance: identity games a anime conventions¹

Cultura Pop e performance: jogos identitários nos eventos de animê

Cíntia Sanmartin Fernandes²

Paula Rozenberg Travancas³

Abstract: *The great popularity of Japanese pop culture in Brazil, driven by the so-called anime boom in the 1990s, led to the creation of anime conventions. These conventions, initially aimed at fans of Japanese animations and TV shows, now gather neotribes, or urban tribes, that are grounded in the taste for various segments of global pop culture. Subscribing to the sociology of everyday life and of the imaginary, and supported by field research of ethnographic inspiration, this paper is rooted in the understanding of aesthetics as ethics to glimpse the desire that allows the communion between neotribes. To do so, five activities commonly performed at conventions that depend on the participation of visitors to come to life are analyzed: cosplay, animeke, k-pop covers and dance video games. These activities demonstrate modes of sociality that produce meanings through performance, in its dimensions of acting, play and game.*

Keywords: *anime conventions; pop culture; performance.*

Resumo: *A grande popularidade da cultura pop japonesa no Brasil, impulsionada pelo chamado boom dos animês nos anos 1990, levou à criação dos eventos de animê. Essas convenções, inicialmente voltadas para fãs de animações e seriados japoneses, hoje atraem neotribos (ou tribos urbanas) que se fundam*

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2 State University of Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil. E-mail: cintiasan90@gmail.com

3 State University of Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil. E-mail: ptravancas@gmail.com

no gosto por diversos segmentos da cultura pop mundial. Filiado à sociologia do cotidiano e do imaginário e apoiado em pesquisa de campo de inspiração etnográfica, este artigo parte da compreensão da estética como ética para vislumbrar o elã que permite a comunhão entre neotribos. Para tanto, são analisadas quatro atividades comuns aos eventos e que dependem da participação dos visitantes para ganharem vida: o cosplay, o animekê, os covers de k-pop e os videogames de dança. Tais atividades evidenciam modos de socialidade que produzem sentidos por meio da performance em suas dimensões de encenação, brincadeira e jogo.

Palavras-chave: *eventos de animê; cultura pop; performance.*

In the past, any mention to anime or manga in academic texts or in traditional media needed to be introduced by long explanations about what is Japanese animations and comics. Japan, or at least this aspect of their entertainment industry, is not only pop⁴, it is mainstream. In this sense, we begin with the presupposition that pop culture is about products themselves and the meanings engraved and circulated through them, that begin to integrate, even if ephemerally, the repertoire of imaginaries of the people who consume that product. Even though pop culture products inevitably have marks of its time and place of origin, they also have a certain mood of cosmopolitan uprooting that, at the same time, bring people from different places to a common territory. Thus, pop culture “establishes forms of fruition and consumption that surround a certain sense of community and sharing of affections and things in common that locate individuals within a transnational globalizing sense” (SOARES, 2015, p. 22).

Watching animes and reading mangas get easier every day for dedicated fans and more casual audiences. A lot has changed since the 90's, decade when animes became a national boom. At the time, otakus, term to who is considered a fan of pop culture, had to unfold to watch more than the few Japanese productions offered in Brazilian television. Eager to watch more anime and tokusatsu⁵, they needed to find VHS tapes, often without subtitles, obtained by a select number of specialized movie rental stores or copied from friends (MACHADO, 2009).

Due to the difficulty of access to anime, otakus from the 90's used to organize in clubs and promoted anime exhibitions, that also worked to know other fans of Japanese pop culture. Such exhibitions originated anime conventions, events that were, little by little, leaving the anime and tokusatsu sessions behind, but started to offer many other attractions.

4 Pop culture refers to what is called in Brazil mass culture or media culture, therefore, an array of cultural artifacts produced under the logic of entertainment industries that have the aim of mass consumption, either by the “great audience” or by some specific niche (SOARES, 2015).

5 Movies or series of special effects with real actors, usually about superheroes, monsters and robots. Some of the popular tokusatsu in Brazil were National Kid, Jaspion, Changeman e Ultraman.

Following the formula that made them popular, anime conventions happened on weekends, during all the weekend or just the sunday, in rented spaces such as universities, clubs or convention centers. It usually has at least one stage, where the scheduled attractions take place, such as cosplay⁶ contests, talks with voice actors or youtubers and music concerts. The rest of the space is divided into areas that have different activities that used to be available during all the event, such as videogame matches, RPG and trading card games, medieval battles⁷ and anime karaoke.⁸

From conventions with few hundred people, these events grew and multiplied, beginning to happen regularly throughout the country. The history of Brazilian's relationship with Japanese pop culture and anime conventions that appeared and got modified contributed for the path of investigation that adopted, throughout the last two years, as a methodological strategy of ethnographic field research, consisting in participant observation in six events in Rio and one in São Paulo. The variety of urban neotribes⁹, with their respective aesthetics evidenced by the research, lead to the analysis of participative activities frequently offered in conventions, in an attempt to see what is in common among these practices, approaching the desire that potentializes the communion of imaginaries and identifications of many groups present in these events.

It is important to reinforce that, according to Campos (2010, p. 4),

[...] the end of the Marxist-inspired thought of Birmingham school, and, simultaneously, the emergency of youth sociocultural contexts renovated take many investigators to adopt regenerated conceptual boards, organized around concepts such as “lifestyle”, “scene” and “neotribe” (BENNETT and KAHN-HARRIS, 2004) comprising what, in a generic

6 Costume of na anime, manga, videogame or any type of entertainment character..

7 Fight simulation with fake swords.

8 Karaoke with anime songs.

9 Maffesoli, in his book *O tempo das tribos*, suggests to see social groups in current Society as a type of neotribe, as communities founded in emotion: “[...] emotional Community is unstable, open, which can turn it, under many aspects, anomic regarding the established morals” (MAFFESOLI, 1987, p. 22). These “new tribes” of today’s society, “[...] unlike classic tribalism [...] would be characterized by the fluidity, punctual junctions and dispersion” (MAFFESOLI, 1987, p. 107).

form, is understood as “post-cultural studies” (WEINZIERL and MUGGLETON, 2004)

Thus,

[...] The concept of tribe, or neotribe, loaned by Michel Maffesoli (1987), comes from this movement of re-evaluation of paradigms, with an analytical framework more consentconsensualhe new empirical contexts where youth is located. While subcultures are perceived as an internally coherent whole, relatively rigid and uniform, with an ideological support that would refer to conflict of classes, tribes seem to exist more through the ephemeral, contradictory, for the apparently apolitical emotional connection, for the metamorphosis and gregarious fusion of hybrid outlines. The notion of youth tribe does not ignore the vigor of image and visual representation, in so far as it links individual to a lineage that do not result from structural determinants, but more aesthetical-stylistic options, emotional and gregarious, that are denounced to a great extent in the dominion of the performative and the appearance. The term “tribe” cannot stop evoking an imaginary filled with exotism, that recognized in the surface of bodies, parts of difference and distance (CAMPOS, 2010, p. 5).

Performances and identity games

Not all performance is socially marked by predetermined “social roles” (GOFFMAN, 1983). Any daily interaction requires the participants to act in the ongoing social game. In this theater of daily life - in which we act different “self” in interaction with others -, we live processes of identification and differentiation, constantly composing and recomposing what we understand as our own individuality.

This transformation that occurs in contact with the other is always difficult, ever-changing and transitory, since we don't talk about an identity but a persona, one of the many masks we put on in our social interactions. The mask does not represent something fake, but a role played according to the context and that impress a part of the true of what we are. As Maffesoli (1987, p. 15) summarizes, “the person (persona) only exists in relation to the other”. Therefore, “being”, otaku, gamer, cosplayer or any belonging to any other tribe is always a way of

being transcribed not only to changes in taste of individuals, but also in the moments and person with who is possible to be something and not another thing or more than one thing at once.

The multiple imaginaries acted by the different activities of conventions is embodied in the many aesthetics we found there.

Cosplays, the clothing, the accessories and the forms of communication belong to tribes that can be identified in conventions. The clothing and the presentation of self are very relevant in the materialization of conventions, which become spaces where people can wear clothes and accessories or adopt behaviors that could be frowned upon outside these occasions. The implicit agreement is that everyone has the freedom of being who they are (or who they want to be) without being judged for the way they look.

Clothes and accessories work both as belonging markers and difference markers, which allows the meaning of each piece of clothing or print to be read as the other participants of the convention, once most of the people there dominate these codes. One of the main roles of clothes in conventions, thus, is to be an invitation to interaction, since one of the main attraction of events is to be in the presence of other people who love pop culture. Therefore, clothing potentializes the communicational aesthetics of the group.

For many of the convention goers, cosplays or clothing and accessory items represent the reality of who they are more than the clothes they normally wear, in a way that

[...] As if, when they are disguised as animation characters, these young people would find their true personality. As if the monotonous everyday clothes were, in fact, the real disguise (BARRAL, 2000, p. 140).

Many of the convention goers wear black shirts with bands, anime or games printed in it, but even when they are not dressed as a character or following a specific style, they wear props and accessories that mark their sense of belonging of the tribe. They wear metallic necklaces with

pendants (for girls and boys), trench coats, gloves, hair accessories, key-chains or pins on their backpack or bag, which can or cannot refer to specific characters or series. There are also hats, ears and tails of cute animals, that can be used by boys or girls.

All of these elements make it difficult to identify where a simple composition of accessories end and where cosplay begins. These forms of wearing the passions bring up the importance of the body in the society, where it fits as an affectionate billboard inviting the contact with other members of the tribe. It is common, in anime conventions, a person to start a conversation with another just because they've seen the person wearing a shirt or a pin of some anime or series they like.

Among otakus, gamers, cosplayers, nerds, geeks and many other groups, these conventions can be characterized as "intertribal events" (MACHADO, 2009, p. 117). The feeling of belonging to one or more neotribes is fluid, dynamic and ambivalent, not having clear borders or exclusivity among the different groups (MAFFESOLI, 1987). Thus, the spaces of anime conventions are markedly heterotopic, since they "have the power of juxtaposing in one place a variety of spaces, different positions that are, in itself, incompatible" (FOUCAULT, 1984, p. 411).

The different attractions and activities that coexist in the same event are in constant negotiation of physical and symbolic space. This tension of heterogeneities, far from shaking the coexistence of neotribes, promotes diversity that solidifies the group (MAFFESOLI, 1987). The different urban neotribes present in these conventions are manifested in different aesthetics, known as "correspondence, as something that links one individual to another, which conduces to sharing experiences and common feelings with others" (OLIVEIRA, FERNANDES e SOUZA, 2008, p. 4).

This aesthetics are agglutinating and vectors of communion, constituting the meanings of being together and getting a glimpse of these tribalizing images in the bodies of who frequent these spaces. In this sense, the body is image and communicates, through its surface, voice, gesture and sensitive presence, constituting as a vector of sociality

and exchanges with the other (FERNANDES, 2008). Therefore, it is through the observation of participants in anime conventions, their affective interactions and common experiences we can be aware of the desire that unites them. There is, thus, beyond the differences between neotribes, some kind of being shared that makes this meeting with the different not only possible, but desirable, since “the cement (ethos) of all life in common is elaborated through the passion game” (MAFFESOLI, 2014, p. 44).

Unlike shows and lectures that happen in events, that are independent from the number of people in the audience, many of the activities among the schedule depend of the participation and performance of people in the convention to come to life. The most popular events are cosplay, anime videoke, k-pop covers and dance videogames.

All behavior and interaction can be understood as social performance, but what is, in fact, performance, depends entirely on the context in which the acts are played. Such activities re-territorialize space and modify temporarily the rules of the social game, which mark them as different from the “common life” (SCHECHNER, 2006). These activities are limited in time and space and their context of visibility makes that there is an audience.

“Performances mark identities, bend time, reshape and adorn the body, and tell stories. Performances – of art, rituals, or ordinary life – are ‘restored behaviors’, ‘twice-behaved behaviors’, performed actions that people train for and rehearse”. (SCHECHNER, 2006, p. 28)

The practices analyzed throughout our research carry a certain degree of self-reflexivity (GIDDENS, 2002) of the participants, since they implicitly admit that as restored behavior. Evoke and embody someone else, a “non-self” to which the performance makes reference to, an activity that is assumed as other in time or space.

Thus, what we restrict here as performance is the “act of presence in the world and in itself” (ZUMTHOR, 2007, p. 67). From Zumthor (2007) - retrieving concepts from Merleau-Ponty -, we understand that

we can find in the body speeches as potent as the ones we acquire in texts and in orality. In bodily inscriptions, we can unveil meanings of cultural texts. Thus, the author argues:

My body is the materialization of what is my own, a reality experienced which determines my relationship with the world. Gifted with incomparable meaning, it exists as an image of my being: it is where I live, have and am, for best and for worst (ZUMTHOR, 2007, p. 23).

The experiences of cosplays, anime videokes and k-pop covers is much more than simply putting on a costume, involving also the interpretation (or performance), materialized in the posture, the game of identifications, the understanding of that is to be different characters. In the practice of these performances, the individuals modify the knowledge, update virtualities and make their imaginary real.

Cosplay

Cosplay, the most prestigious activity in conventions (MACHADO, 2009), is also the one who had the most academic attention. It is the act of dressing up as the character of media narratives, either anime, books, movies, games, series or even “real” celebrities.

Cosplay is the fusion of the words costume and play (DAWSEY, 2007). The practice of creating and wearing costumes of media characters in conventions started in the United States in 1939, with sci-fi characters. The first register of this type of activity in Japan is in 1978. The term cosplay was invented in 1983 in that same country, where the practice was deeply popularized (SOARES, 2013). The arrival of cosplay in Brazil goes back to 1996, when the convention Mangácon took place.

Practically all the anime conventions nowadays have a cosplay contest. It is very common to see people strolling around with costumes in conventions, some of them prefer not to present themselves on stage. Going in cosplay practically gives the instant status of semi-celebrity,

even if it is only until the end of the convention or until the person takes the costume off.

There is an implicit agreement that, when one puts on a costume, the cosplayer is willing to pose for pictures that other people will ask them to take. In these moments, it is common to see the cosplayer making a characteristic pose of the character they are impersonating. When a cosplayer is walking in a convention, they are a “not me” and a “not not me” (SCHECHNER, 2011), being inquired, at any moment, to perform the character. While they are dressed up in costume, it is as if they are the character, living in the ambiguity of a double identity.

Image 1 - *Cosplayers* that weren't originally together, but since they all were dressed as DC characters, gathered spontaneously to pose for a picture.



The cosplay contest usually happens in the main stage. It is usually subdivided into the following categories: a) presentation, where only the costume and their resemblance to the character are judged b) traditional, in which one or more cosplayers perform a scene of the anime (or other media) the character was originated; c) free, in which cosplayers perform a skit with these characters, usually in humorous situations (SOARES, 2013).

Therefore, cosplay doesn't mean only to dress up a costume, but also performing a character. It is also not only an imitation, since they create new scenes, either on stage or off of it, since cosplayers pose for pictures in situations that never happened in the original material. Cosplayers allow enemies to kiss and characters from other franchises pose for pictures as if they were fighting each other. The cosplay itself can be an adaptation or recreation of a character regardless of the gender or physical characteristics of the cosplayers and the cosplay. There are female versions of male characters and vice-versa, situations in which not only the cosplayer is dressed in a character whose gender is different from theirs, but the clothes are completely adapted, as if the character was originally of another gender.

Image 2 and 3 - Man dressed as Mileena from *Mortal Kombat*, and a female version of the Joker beside the traditional version of the character at Anime Friends 2015.



The choice of the character by cosplayer usually is given by physical or psychologic affinities, for the challenge of creating a good costume or even to participate in a group performance with friends.

According to Nunes (2015, p. 45), “cosplay, understood as a metonymy of hegemonic narratives, manga, animes, among other things, reinvents the original narrative in the body of young people through the materialities consumed. Thus, through the affective choice and the transforming character of performance (SCHECHNER, 2011), that the cosplayer, at the same time, incorporates the character and performs processes of identity negotiation, acting for himself something typical of that character or that performance.

Anime Videoke

From clothes, we go to voice, an important element of the performance in its materiality (ZUMTHOR, 2007). The issue of speech is also manifested in the cosplayer, who speaks with their own voice or can be “dubbed” through lip sync, but the videoke brings the performer to the register of singing. *Animekê*, fusion of anime with karaoke, is the same as the latter: the person sings with an instrumental background taped from the music itself. What set animeke apart is the music selection, that can be anime songs¹⁰, videogame soundtracks, tokusatsu or j-music¹¹ (MACHADO, 2009).

Karaoke is the fusion between *kara* (void) and *oke* (an abbreviation of *okesutora*, Japanese phonetization of orchestra) meaning something as “no orchestra”. The activity was invented in Japan in the 70’s and was popularized in the 80’s and spread around the world, being a widely practiced form of fun until this day.

In their original country, karaoke is a social activity, guided by modesty and the search of harmony in the group, notorious characteristics of the Japanese social life. The importance to gather with friends or work colleagues to sing is to make an effort, to bring their A game. To sing out

10 Songs of anime soundtracks.

11 Japanese contemporary music, normally pop or rock.

of tune in these circumstances is not a reason to shame, but a relaxing activity that promotes unity through fun and “vulnerability” of all people present.

Coming to the West, karaokes were appropriated as a competitive activity of individual reaffirmation, even if this competitiveness is part of the play in this social ritual. An evidence of that are the homemade karaokes that give a score to the singer’s performance (SATO, 2007). Anime conventions gathers this two aspects of karaoke: at the same time it is a safe environment where people can feel free to be themselves and sing their favorite songs in any way they like, there is also the competitive level.

Animeke can take place in a separate stage or room or in the main stage. There is the free animeke, where the person sings without a commitment, and contests which the participants are judged for their performance and contestants can win prizes.

Some people choose anime songs in Portuguese versions, but it is very common to see contestants picking songs in Japanese, with no difficulty in singing, even though they don’t speak the language. This fact can impress many non-otakus, but it is dealt with naturality in conventions. That is because, even though many of them did not take Japanese lessons, anime fans are used to the sound of the language.

As the offer of dubbed animes in Brazil is relatively small nowadays, otakus recur to the internet, where they easily find animes with subtitles (LOURENÇO, 2009). These subtitles are usually fanmade, translated from Japanese or from other subtitles of other languages, activity called *fansub*. Just by listening the Japanese language in animes, movies, telenovelas and songs that Otakus end up learning the pronunciation, rhythm or even accent of the Japanese voice.

Both singing and learning another language, even if just for vocalization, not knowing its meaning, are body techniques that make use of the human vocal apparatus. They are learned, like any other activity, by imitation and training, acts that require the assimilation of moments (MAUSS, 1974); in this case, movements that produce voice and melody.

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Another common attraction in conventions are rock bands, normally covering anime and videogame songs. This attraction, however, due to it being previously hired by organizers, do not get in the scope of activities that any person can join and compete. The name of the bands, that normally have some degree of fame in the mainstream media or on YouTube, are shown as a formal part of the schedule.

K-pop covers

It may seem odd that South Korean pop music had taken a huge space in Japanese pop culture conventions in the last years. This expansion, however, is clear once we examine the Hallyu phenomenon. This term, that literally means “Korean flow”, but is more popularly known as “Korean wave” marks the quick rise of South Korea as a country exporting cultural products throughout the world. Initially propelled by the dissemination of Korean soap operas (known as k-dramas) in south east Asia, *Hallyu* became global in the beginning of the 2000’s through k-pop.

Abbreviation of *Korean pop*, k-pop goes beyond a musical genre with a strong beat and influences of North American musical genres such as electronic, R&B and hip-hop. The phenomenon also comprises the aesthetics of their colorful videoclips, in which band members wear fashionable clothes and dance highly synchronized choreographies. These boy and girl bands (rarely mixed) are the result of real factories of talent, recruiting kids and teenagers to have the opportunity of one day become idols. These young people are exhaustive training for years to become stars that appeal to the global market (KARAM and MEDEIROS, 2015)

Internet was essential to spread the taste of k-pop over the world. Social media websites allow the communication among Korean idols, that learn other languages in their training for their international fanbase, strengthening their image and giving the feeling of being accessible people. YouTube, in turn, allowed clips and concerts of these bands were easily shared by fans, that started to record their own covers of k-pop choreography and share them in the video platform (JUNG, 2011).

Internet is also essential for communication and formation of networks between fans, that can share their taste with people of their country and the world, learn with each other and organize off-line encounters.

K-covers were invented from that, a practice in which k-pop fans learn and perform, in group, the choreographies of their favorite videoclips. As anime conventions comprise an increasingly large amount of interests and Hallyu itself gained a lot of strength through the Japanese market, it didn't take long until k-pop covers became a part of the schedule. As Sasaki (2013) speculates, Japanese descendants may not be comfortable with the inclusion of South Korean pop culture in the schedule of anime conventions due to complicated history between the two countries. This apparent fall out, however, is not a concern for most Brazilians, which does not mean that there aren't any conflict between otakus, the former main target audience of these events, and k-pop fans.

In these contests, it is not rare to have levels of bigger contests (as well as the other activities reported here) that there are categories where only original dance covers are allowed - free in which participants can do mashups¹² of songs and create their own choreographies. At times, there is the division between solo presentation, duo and group presentation. In smaller contests, it is common to have one only modality, which end up receiving few solo participants, since the synchronization of movements between dancers is very important to make the performance impactful. Teams seek to be coordinated in gestures and also in the fashionable looks, using the same clothes or matching clothes together, almost always with pretty colorful items.

There are more simple choreographies, that can be practiced by beginners, and more complex ones, that require a high degree of training and skill. Some groups pick more "cute" presentations, element that unites k-pop and j-pop (Japanese pop music), others are more sexy in the clothes and movements, bringing up the North American influence in South Korean music. Some k-poppers (k-pop fans, dancers or not) seek to get closer from the Asian look, which often becomes difficult due to

12 Faixa que combina trechos de duas ou mais músicas.

the differences of physical constitution between Brazilian bodies and their Korean idols.

The bodily techniques necessary for the execution of k-pop choreographies are learned through products for massive consumption accessed on the internet. K-poppers imitate and reproduce the choreographies they watch, but also create new meanings to it and negotiate with them, since these techniques are juxtaposed to bodies that already have a previous gesture and symbolic repertoire assimilated in years through the Brazilian culture and habits.

Dance videogames

Still in the field of choreography, another form of popular fun in events are dance videogames. This genre of game was invented in Japan as the evolution of rhythm games, in which the player used the directions of the joystick to follow the commands in form of arrows, hitting the beat of the song. Released in 1998, *Dance Dance Revolution* (DDR) gave the player the command of arrows through buttons under their feet, making them step in the right place according to the orders that appeared on screen.

In the first years of the 21st century, DDR became a hit in anime events, newly established in Brazil. Dance games evolved and changed, which was reflected into their presence in events. Following the DDR trend, *Pump It Up* came along, very similar to their previous creation, now adding arrows in the diagonal, not only up, down, left and right. Then, there was the moment for the game *Para Paradise*, which used sensors on the ground to detect the player's arms, bringing the focus to the superior members.

The arrival of Nintendo Wii marked a new era for the dance games, adding movement sensors to the gyroscope embedded in the joystick. For Wii, *Just Dance* came out, 2009 game by the French multinational company Ubisoft. With colorful graphics, intuitive gameplay and a selection of hits, the game reached a huge popularity even among people that did not have the habit of playing videogames. Another big difference

of this new type of dance game is that, unlike DDR and others, in which the song was interrupted after too many mistakes of the player, causing frustration, the *Just Dance* generation allowed the gamer to keep playing until the end of the song, making the process of learning the choreographies easier.

Kinect, sensor of movements of Xbox consoles, elevated the gameplay of dance games. Using this system do play *Just Dance 2016*, the most current version of the series, the player uses their whole body to interact with the console (SILVA, 2013). It is no longer necessary to hold any joystick, since it has a camera that captures the player's movements. More than ever, to move your feet or hands is not enough to "trick" the game, you must participate with your whole body.

In anime conventions, *Just Dance* and, at times, his competition *Dance Central* are played in a limited space in the "floor" of the event. Only in bigger conventions or phases of bigger championships there is a specific stage for these games. Dance games are usually played in events with a maximum possible number of participants, two at *Dance Central* and four at *Just Dance*.

Image 4 - *Just Dance* at Rio Geek Zone 2015.



It is interesting to notice that a group of people gather around the players already knowing the choreography and executing it as if they are playing, phenomenon also perceived in the audience that watches k-cover presentations.

However, dancers/players of *Just Dance* and *Dance Central* need to worry less with their own image than those from k-pop. Therefore, they don't need to dress a certain way to dance nor be worried in keeping in shape within beauty standards, since who decides the winner is the videogame, that doesn't consider subjective aspects of the performance.

In contrast with other practices we analyzed, dance games are the only ones made with the objective of being imitated. The game is only completed when the players are corporified in the movements of the characters appearing on screen, characters that are re-creations of performances of artists in which the choreography is based on. Unlike other musical games, such as *Guitar Hero* and *DJ Hero*, dance games make the player truly dance, not only simulate the act of playing an instrument.

Dance can be part of an experience of musical fruition, but dance games go out of the wider sphere of the play and representation to be formalized into clear rules. Thus, between activities available in events, the dance game is what seems to blur the frontiers between performance and game, with "objective" notes and, at the same time, a sensitive presence that becomes a presentation before someone else's eyes.

Thus, the dance game is hardly separated from its game dimension, even if it is not played in a competitive way. The instructions on the screen, however, are not only followed, but translated, interpreted and negotiated between players and the game, dancers and the audience. The competitive character of dance games is closer to other performances in the event in audience engagement, whose reactions are also a part of the "performativ text" (SCHECHNER, 2011), which can engage their body and voice rooting for some of the competitors.

Final Considerations

All the activities open to participation of event goers materialize, in the body of these subjects, the desire to make contact with other people and aesthetics that, at times, refer to modes of being that are distant from those people, both in space and time. The anime event goers update and re-signify media content and cultural imaginaries. Such images carry, for these pop culture fans, a great “communicative-aesthetic potency”¹³, interesting them to their own ambiguity of being “others” themselves and having characteristics in common that allow the creation of affective bonds with these images. They become vectors of communion and signs of individual/tribal differentiation in relation to the social whole.

Either by media characters of cosplays, the voices of anime songs, the South Korean videoclips of k-pop covers, the characters of dance games, the event goers embody and materialize imaginaries and media texts. They embody something of these images due to the transformative experience of performance and party, that work as a locus of negotiation of identities and community.

Through the movement of embodied and semantized bodies, pop culture fans produce meanings and create, in the ephemeral spatialities of anime events, relational micro-territories that place the spaces and anesthetize the daily life through its sensitive presence, its appearance, their imaginaries and modes of being. In its relationship of integrality with others and with spaces, they live interactions and produce performances, behaviors restored, but unique in their context and execution, gathering aspects of theater, play and game.

13 Power is not only rationalizable, but sensitive, affectionate, emotional, enabled by the mundane aesthetic. Such aesthetic brings us closer and communicates to different communities within the globe, in which communication is the guarantee to the most primary form of being together, regardless of social contracts and deliberative actions. It is a type of union that is in the base of the Society, composing the communitary humus (FERNANDES, 2009).

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About the authors

Cíntia Sanmartin Fernandes – Post-doctor at the Communication School at UFRJ and the Communication and Semiotics Program at PUC-SP (2007-2010). PhD and master in Political Sociology at the Federal University of Santa Catarina, graduated in Social Sciences at the State University of Campinas. Professor at the Social Communication course at the State University of Rio de Janeiro (FCS-Uerj) and the Post-Graduate Program in Communication (PPGCOM/Uerj).

Paula Rozenberg Travancas – PhD student and master at the Post-Graduate Program in Communication at the University of the State of Rio de Janeiro.

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Subject, media and “consumption of experience” in celebrities to youth audience: Affections and proximity in the relationship between the writer Paula Pimenta and her fans

Sujeito, mídia e “consumo de experiência” nas celebridades juvenis: afetos e proximidade na relação da escritora Paula Pimenta com suas fãs

*Marcella Azevedo*¹

*Cláudia Pereira*²

*Carla Barros*³

Abstract: *With 18 published books and more than 1.2 million copies sold, Paula Pimenta is a sales phenomenon of the national publishing market. In view of her expressiveness as a celebrity to youth audience, this paper is based on a case study about the writer’s relationship with her fans, which extrapolates the media environment and interaction through social networks. This has created a close and personal relationship where the affection and states of subjectivity are experienced on the tenuous border between fiction and reality. This study aims to investigate aspects of “consumption of experience” identified in this relationship, as well as to understand the impact of these social relations on the constitution of contemporary juvenile identities. Articles published in the media about the author and her books are analyzed, as well as the interaction between Paula Pimenta and her fans in online social networks.*

Keywords: *celebrities; consumption of experience; juvenile literature; Paula Pimenta.*

1 Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil. E-mail: msazevedo@globo.com

2 Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil. E-mail: claudiapereira@puc-rio.br

3 Universidade Federal Fluminense. Niterói, RJ, Brazil. E-mail: barros.carla@uol.com.br

Resumo: *Com 18 livros publicados e mais de 1,2 milhão de exemplares vendidos, Paula Pimenta é um fenômeno de vendas do mercado editorial nacional. Tendo em vista sua expressividade como celebridade juvenil, partiu-se de um estudo de caso sobre a relação da escritora com suas fãs, que extrapola o ambiente midiático e a interação via redes sociais, configurando-se como uma relação próxima e pessoal, na qual afetos e estados de subjetividade são vivenciados na tênue fronteira entre ficção e realidade. Pretende-se investigar aspectos de “consumo de experiência” identificados nessa relação, assim como compreender o impacto desses mecanismos na constituição de identidades juvenis contemporâneas. Foram analisadas matérias publicadas na mídia sobre a autora e suas obras, assim como a interação entre Paula Pimenta e suas fãs nas redes sociais on-line.*

Palavras-chave: *celebridades; consumo de experiência; literatura juvenil; Paula Pimenta*

With 18 published books and over 1.2 million copies sold, Paula Pimenta has been consolidated as one of the main Brazilian writers and has books released in many countries. The author has a celebrity status and a large group of fans, usually teenage girls who call themselves “as pimentinhas” (the peppers). Her books, in general, are contemporary novels, often inspired in fairy tales, always with teenage protagonists.

Through a case study of the author and celebrity of the teenage audience Paula Pimenta, we intend to reflect over the celebrity phenomenon, more specifically its relationship with media and the construction of contemporary youth identities. In addition to that, we intend to analyze “consumption experience” which involves the relationship of the writer and their fans, what type of affections and states of subjectivity are lived in the fine line between fiction and reality.

The methodology of the present article is supported by three fundamental bases: case study (YIN, 2001), non-participating online observation (ORGAD, 2009) and in documental research.

To Yin (2001, p. 32), “the case study is an empirical investigation of a contemporary phenomenon within a real life context, having the limits between phenomenon and context not clearly defined”. Case studies, according to the ideas of Yin, allows, primarily, to investigate and understand more punctual and profoundly a specific phenomenon, and secondarily, to have access to an analysis that considers issues proposed by this work, coming from a “wide variety of evidences - documents, artifacts, interviews and observations” (YIN, 2001, p. 27). Part of these evidences result from the systematic collection of secondary data, whatever it may be, interviews with Paula Pimenta and reports about her published in media (documental research), as well as daily posts in her blog, besides posts in online social networks.

Part of what was observed concentrates in the trip the writer took with a group of fans in the beginning of 2014 to the city of Brighton, England. During the trip, taken from February 28th and March 9th 2014, Paula made daily posts in her blog and kept a constant update in her profiles on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. We comment, in part of the

article, posts of the writer and her fans related to the trip and collected through non-participant online observation. It is worth mentioning that the approach adopted in the article rejects a previous dichotomy in online and offline universes. As argued by Miller and Slater (2004) in their ethnographic study performed in cybercafes in Trinidad, this counter-position must not be taken as neither as methodologic or analytical research starting point, but seen in specific cultural contexts.

Celebrity, media and youth

When Edgar Morin published a “serious” text about movie stars, maybe he could barely imagine he would initiate a considerable discussion for social sciences. Coming from studies about the myth of pointing the place of movie stars in modern society, Morin went into an ambiguous and confused terrain, as he himself defined (MORIN, 1989, p. xi), as he himself defined, oscillating between “belief and fun”, and “human and divine”, “archaism and modernity”.

They were called “stars” - and still are - movie actors and actresses, mainly, that went through in the 20th, to inhabit the space dedicated to idols, formerly exclusive for sacred sphere. Then there is the dualities by Morin - between “belief and fun”, “human and divine”, the “archaism and modernity” - when proposing the theory of myth for movie star. In that mediatic context, the relationship between fans and stars was absolutely impossible. Otherwise, the “magic” and “seduction” is not effective, according to Morin.

Nowadays, the distance between admirers and admired does not seem to be a part of the spirit of time in contemporary modernity. Anthony Giddens (2002) calls “late modernity” the current days, in which lifestyles replace institutions and ideologies, i. e., a set of practices adopted by an individual in order to give shape to the material to their self-identities.

This notion of lifestyle reminds us of what Morin (1989, p. 97) demonstrate when treating “mimetism” stimulated by the relation of “dream”, “imaginary identifications”, admiration, anyway, between the audience and their stars, in which the way we dress, talk, walk is the same we

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admire. Everyone wanted to be just like Greta Garbo or James Dean and, while doing so, they looked all the same. Globalization and the dissemination of electronic media, among other factors, put the individual in front of another reality, with a wide range of “choices” (GIDDENS, 2002, p. 79), and some of them, possible, could also be represented in the lifestyle of the stars or celebrities.

Recently, other authors have contributed for a definition of “celebrity”. According to Rojek (2008, p. 12), it is about a phenomenon of attribution of a status to individuals that cause “impact over public conscience”: there is a recognition, that can be favorable - “glamorous”, according to the author - or unfavorable - “notorious”. Boorstin (2006, p. 79), in turn, sustains a more critical tone, underlining an empty character in the merit of celebrity that, for this author, “*The celebrity is a person who is known for his well-knownness*”. Celebrities work as artifacts led by market motivations that operate as constructs of the cultural industry. Rojek (2008, p. 12) is emphatic regarding this issue: “Celebrities are cultural inventions” Cover a product with myth and therefore, the magic of the star or the glamour of celebrity is a cultural market strategy, rational, to involve the consumption in what Giddens (2002) call “lifestyle”.

Before the crowd, the celebrity is powerful. However, this worship - the cult to celebrities - is composed by imaginary relationships. Therefore, there is not only a huge search for the traditional products created by the idols - such as a book, for example; fans want to go further, they desire to consume the celebrity herself. The incessant search for news about the celebrity in the media and the search by a contact with idol comes from there. In this sense, media plays a fundamental role in the relationship among celebrities and their fans. Beyond cinema screens, celebrities also found a space in a variety of communication outlets. Gabler (1999) reminds us how ancient is the emphasis given to profiles and biographies of major personalities, what became to be complemented with the publication of photos of big stars. The author says that the search for information and news about stars raised considerably the sale of newspapers (GABLER, 1999, p. 141). The same “symbiosis” was then extended to magazines and television.

Youth practices and cultures are the space in which the celebrity culture has more resonance. To Rojek, that happens due to a certain crisis in the traditional familiar institution, which would lead young people to seek other references. Without explicitly quoting the family, but mentioning an indetermination that would be intrinsic to teenagers, Morin says that movie stars help us in the pursuit of personality. “In the teenage phase, there is a socializing mimesis that contributes for the formation of an adult personality. In this phase, the influence of movie stars is more efficient” (MORIN, 1989, p. 106). Since Marcel Mauss (1974) reveals the social construction of bodily technics through which the anthropologist calls “prestigious imitation”, or, reproducing gestures, actions, behaviors that are successful and prestigious within a given social group. The same way, celebrities are a source of inspiration and imitation, mainly for young people looking for social prestige among their peers.

The concept of “youth” is inapprehensible if the intention is to easily use it up. However, whatever the perspective may be, everyone seems to agree that youth presupposes the idea of construction of identity. Understanding youth as an age group between infancy and adult life or as a social phenomenon that extend to other age groups (ROCHA and PEREIRA, 2009), it is assumed that “being young” is a lifestyle (GIDDENS, 2002) whose set of practices and values including the urgent need for building identity, both symbolic and social, as well as the establishment of the difference. To Woodward (2000), “identity is marked by difference”, and “difference is sustained by exclusion”, while identity “is marked by symbols” and the “construction of identity is as symbolic as social” (WOODWARD, 2000, p. 9-11)

Technology, for example, playing a fundamental role in the life of a teenager when it enables exchanges, storage, consumption and social markings (ROCHA e PEREIRA, 2009), celebrity as cultural invention (ROJEK, 2009) is also a part of the “spirit of time” in late modernity, favored by the separation between space and time, simultaneously arriving into different places in the world, influencing projects and actions of individuals, which adopt lifestyles that have ontological identity and security (GIDDENS, 2002).

Paula Pimenta: romance, fairytale and unique experiences for fans

One of the biggest authors of teenage literature in Brazil nowadays is the writer Paula Pimenta, considered a phenomenon of consumption with the teenage audience and seen as a celebrity with a large group of fans, who calls themselves “*pimentinhas*”. Paula Pimenta’s stories are set in the youth universe and the theme approached are those commonly associated to the experience of teenagers in high and medium layers of society. The author gives a romantic tone to her work, which deals with contemporary love stories, with strong inspiration in traditional fairy tales. More than writing about princesses, Paula Pimenta says she is a big fan of them, says that Disney is her favorite destination in the holidays and she has a youthful, romantic posture.

The author was nationally projected with the series of books *Fazendo meu Filme* (Making my Film) and *Minha Vida Fora de Série*, narrating stories of teenagers dealing with their own issues of youth in terms of social construct in the contemporaneity. The relationship of the audience with her work goes beyond the traditional position of reader, as it is common in the so-called contemporary “participative culture” (JENKINS, 2009), in which the fan collaborates with content creation and sharing information. In this context of big interaction stimulated by the rise of new media, Paula Pimenta’s fans always evidenced their engagement, seeking to interfere in the processes of consumption: they were the ones who, liking the first volume of *Fazendo meu Filme*, sent messages to the editor requesting the sequel for the story, impacting in the decision of editing the other volumes.

In this scenario, which points towards an active role of the audience formed by teenage girls in the consumption industry, there is a contrast with what was said by Angela McRobbie and Jenny Garber (1975) when they highlighted the lack of importance given to the role of girls in the youth subcultural groups, as well as the fact that women, usually, constitute a category that was not very celebrated by social scientists. Throughout time, teenagers were consolidating as an important

consumer audience, the first conquering different leisure spaces and representation, getting into the *mainstream* media with a diverse portrait. Beyond consumption, when they have the role of fans, these girls are engaged with their favorite media products. It is possible to identify in Paula Pimenta's fans a characteristic behavior of the fan club culture, as Fritzsche (2004) points out: they have a deep knowledge on the subject, establish ritual bonds of friendship amongst themselves, and, at times, "imitate" the idol. For the author, "the fan club culture enables the possibility to approach issues of self-representation, confidence and heterosexuality in a fun way, that may, although it does not necessarily have to, be used for resistance" (FRITZSCHE, 2004, p. 113).

Beyond that, Paula's books are the starting point for the existence of unique experiences by the readers. In the beginning of 2014, Paula Pimenta went on a trip with 15 readers (with age between 12 and 16 years old) to an exchange program in Brighton, England. The city was chosen because it is the place where Fani, in the *Fazendo meu Filme* series, went on an exchange program. The itinerary included visits to the main attractions mentioned in the books. According to the author, in her *blog*:

[...]I could show the girls the places where Christian and Fani strolled around in "Fazendo meu filme 2", including the place where he asked her to be his girlfriend! We can understand Fani. In a beautiful place like that it is impossible to resist! (PIMENTA, March 2nd, 2014).

For the fans, the trip was a rare opportunity surpass the mediated interaction, to which Rojek uses the term "para-social interaction":

The term "para-social interaction" is used to refer to intimacy relations built through the media, and not by direct experience and face-to-face encounters. This is a form of second-type intimacy, since it derives for people representation and not a true physical contact (ROJEK, 2008, p. 58).

The author says that this type of relationship is imaginary, once it is always mediated and it almost never is individual. Travelling with the writer, the readers establish a relationship with her that extrapolates media frontiers, becoming social in its strict sense, not "para-social" as Rojek

proposes. From then on, these readers set apart, become their idol’s acquaintance and the relationship gets more intimate bonds considered by them as a genuine friendship. In addition, there is the possibility, in a certain way, of getting close to the characters and the narratives they admire so much. When they visit where some of the main scenes took place, readers also “appropriate” their fictional world.

This different position is reinforced by the author. During the trip, Paula made daily posts on her blog and kept everybody updated in her Facebook, Twitter and Instagram accounts. It was possible to see pictures of the trip, with the writer appearing to be integrated with the teenagers. The feeling of friendship can be seen in the post made by the author in the end of the trip:

Our trip came to an end... Our goodbyes were filled with tears I couldn't hold my tears when I hugged my girls!! It was 10 intense days and in them I could know more each one of them. Now it will be hard to let go! (PIMENTA, March 9th 2014).

The girls in the group also made posts during the trip, showing a mood of intimacy with the author.

Another exchange program was made last year, when the writer traveled with a group of fans to Vancouver, Canada. The relation was in the fact that the group was doing an exchange program, just like the main character in *Fazendo meu Filme*. At the same time, the writer said she used the trip as research for the third volume of *Minha Vida For a de Série*.

It is worth mentioning that the trips with Paula Pimenta and her reader, specially to places that were scenario for her fictional narratives, can be related to studies of fan peregrination. As Mascarenhas (2017) explains, while remembering the term studied by Roger Aiden in 1999:

The phenomenon involves a dislocation of the individual in time and space, either through an internal trip of a consumer-fan reading a fiction or a physical trip. These physical spaces remember products, such as movie sets, the childhood home where an idol used to live in, tombstone of dead celebrities. Itineraries made by fans to see stars live are also

considered peregrinations, such as shows, ongoing shootings, among others (MASCARENHAS, 2017, p. 1).

Image 1 - Printscreen of the Blog *Fazendo meu Filme*. Posted in March 9th 2014.

domingo, 9 de março de 2014

Despedida

O intercâmbio chegou ao fim. A despedida foi difícil, pois durante os dias que passamos juntas, conheci um pouquinho mais de cada uma dessas meninas.

O mini-intercâmbio chegou ao fim... No momento da despedida foi a maior choradeira! Não consegui segurar as minhas lágrimas ao abraçar minhas girls!



Foram 10 dias muito intensos e neles eu pude conhecer melhor cada uma delas. Difícil agora vai ser aguentar a saudade...

Espero revê-las em breve, meninas! Foi muito bom passar esse tempo com vocês!♥

Source: <http://blogfazendomeufilme.blogspot.com.br/2014/03/despedita.html>. Accessed in: Jan. 12th 2018.

We can say that in these peregrinations, Paula Pimenta's fans have three different experiences: (1) the internal trip of the fan, symbolically dislocating for the fictional environment; (2) the physical trip, where they visit the geographic place that is used as scenario for this stories; (3) the difference of making the peregrination along with the idol himself, establishing direct contact with them, and breaking the barrier of sacredness by having a close relationship and developing bonds of a supposed friendship, at least during the trip.

Mascarenhas (2017) says that these peregrinations, that initially had a more “organic” nature, as initiative of the fans themselves, later became appropriated by the market, that started to offer personalized products: “It is an attempt of the entertainment industry to attribute value to this type of experience” (MASCARENHAS, 2017, p. 2).

Celebrity and the “experience consumption” in the case Paula Pimenta

The reactions observed and the experiences reported by the “pimentinhas” reflect, in a special way, the construction of symbolic bonds that are established, in the contemporary modern society, between fans and celebrities. The writer Paula Pimenta, making herself available for a consumer market of teen literature without precedents about her representative volume and the practices incorporated, become a very enlightening object of study for the purposes we had in this study.

Initially, we will highlight three fundamental points: (1) the construction of her subjectivity from an expanded notion of youth; (2) the necessary approximation with the audience through her expressive media visibility; (3) the disposition of a certain lifestyle that builds, in a way, the construction of difference and identity amongst teenagers.

Considering, therefore, the first of these three aspects, we can recognize the confluence of central values of the notion of youth, according to what was previously proposed: with 42 years old, the writer builds a teenage persona when expressing, in social media, her preferences for stuffed animals and theme parks, evidencing the ambiguity between child and adult. The same way, with the assumption that she is a celebrity, and, as such, a cultural invention, Pimenta is present in different media platforms, enabling a fragmentation of self for commercial purposes. In addition, when she shares her daily life with her audience, putting her as a friend, she appears to perceive the importance of affection in this relation; either by the product of her work, either by the form she puts herself in front of an adult world, showing herself as “transgressive” and

“questioning”, in a way. As a celebrity-merchandize, she gathers a set of connections that end up gathering different groups of young people, either on the online or offline environment. Finally, constituting part of the same basal idea of an attributed celebrity (ROJEK, 2008), she is “authentic” in her daily life and shared experiences through her huge media visibility in her different social media she maintains.

As a consequence of this privileged place of communication sustaining the first point, there is the second point: Paula Pimenta is a celebrity, not a star. Therefore, she needs to rupture the unsurmountable distance that separated admirers from their sacred movie actresses. In order to do that, she makes selfies in her bedroom and shares her life publicly; share her secrets and travel with her fans; she values this proximity, makes an effort to be touchable, more or less like an exposed merchandise; on the other hand, she needs to keep the magic and seduction, feeding, through her fictions and experiences lived beyond the pages of her books, a dream or imaginary relationships that will base what must be imitated by her reader/fans.

And this is the third and last aspect that, among other possible aspects, is highlighted in the analysis of Paula Pimenta: as a celebrity, she composes a particular, unique, distinct lifestyle, ready to be chosen and imitated. The symbolic set of values and practices present in her appearance, in the place where she lives, in what she expresses, in her gestures and the way she defines herself, all of that represents a choice between many other possible for an audience that, by definition, is under construction. The teenager, as it is characterized in the many forms of social representation of this part of life, is an unfinished being, and therefore, needs to stand out to be identified. Celebrities like Paula Pimenta, that extrapolate media frontiers and allow themselves to explore in other environments, in “real life”, end up being very attractive anchors in times of dissolution of ideologies, heroes and myths.

The bonds between fans and the writer Paula Pimenta can also be thought as a reflection around the concept “experience consumption”. What would it be to consume an ‘experience’? One can initially think in

a consumption that does not imply a purchase of a good, but in the fruition of an event-experience that involve a high emotional engagement of the subject for deeply communicating with their private “cosmological” universe. In the context of “experience consumption”, there is no room for a passive individual, but rather a dynamic individual that interacts and interfere with the situations they are exposed to.

In the discussion about this concept, we highlight two authors that present approaches related to the purpose of the present article: Colin Campbell (1987) and Laura Graziela Gomes (2007). Campbell (1987), seeking paths that took to the institution of modern consumption, presents the concept of *daydream*, characterized by the use of imagination aiming pleasure through the anticipation of a real event. The daydream is in the “border” of what is real, even when they are unlikely to happen; it is about introducing in the process of imagination a pleasurable anticipation of the future. Campbell (1987, p. 128) calls this process a “self-illusory hedonism”, in which the individual is the artist of imagination and dream, taking images and rearranging them into unique products. That would be, according to him, a legitimate modern faculty - creating a illusion that the individual knows it is fake, but it is felt as true. If the daily experience is not fun, with the daydream they have the possibility of escaping, seeking pleasure in their imagination. In this “otherworldly hedonism”, unlike the traditional hedonism”, the unknown is an open field for numberless and unrestricted forms of pleasure. The desire, here, is allocated in the unknown - the desire itself is an activity of pleasure.

The work of Gomes (2007), in turn, analyzes fansites linked to American TV series, directly exploring the concept of “experience consumption”:

Fanarts are concrete representations of what I am designating as “experience consumption” and, in this case, translate a rich away of shapes and forms which the experience and consumption of this experience occur personally and collectively on fansites, since there is a big investment in their production. They not only involve the use of different resources and abilities, from writing (*fanfictions*), to using sophisticated software for image treatment and manipulation (animations, videos, etc). All of

that made due to the love they feel for their favorite series and characters (GOMES, 2006, p. 8).

The author highlights that, especially after the advent of new media, the consumer begins to have direct access to content that allow them to experiment, re-signify - through fanfics - and share experiences related to the fictional universe of their preference. That possibility of manipulation involve affections resulting of a strong emotional engagement derived from the creative connection of imaginary landscapes. In a cultural context in which media has the center in terms of “instituting and sponsoring the rituals and cults to heroes of the daily life” (GOMES, 2006, p. 3), it is important to investigate concrete situations in which the “experience consumption” brings determined states of subjectivity in the relation between fans and celebrities, as we analyzed in the present article.

Gomes (2007), thus, shows how *fanarts* evidence the active role of fans, that, through creative interventions, reconstruct the fictional universes of their favorite authors - issue dealt by Jenkins (2009) within the idea of “participative culture”) Daydream (CAMPBELL, 1987), previously provided only by the author’s production, begins to also be created by the audience, that produces and circulates a fictional imaginary that is now expanded.

In the relation of Paula Pimenta’s fans, there seem to have another dynamic acting, inserted in the context of participative culture. One of the aspects that calls attention to the case analyzed is the expansion of the fictional world to “real life” from the moment there are situations like the trip with the author, in which fans circulate in the same places that the characters of the books, beyond celebrating birthdays of some of them as if it was real events, bringing the daydream dimension to “reality”. Campbell (1987) emphasizes in his analysis that daydreaming has its magic because it is formulated in the field of imagination; whenever something desired becomes real, it provokes a feeling of frustration, because reality would never be close from the pleasure given by wondering. In the case of Paula Pimenta’s fans, there seems to happen

another model, where fairytale gets mixed with “real life”. The universes dreamed from the perspective of reading books start to be lived by everyone as a “fact” - as making the same stuff as the characters - making the daydream real. It is an experience known for part of the daydream created by the immersion in fictional universes, but that takes concrete form through an experience in the field of “reality”. Due to the reports about the trip to the scenario of stories, the materialized daydreaming experience, instead of being frustrating as Campbell used to say, ends up maintaining and eternizing the strong emotions felt when people read books.

Pereira, Siciliano and Rocha (2015) propose a distinction between “experience consumption” and “consumption experience”, the first promoting a suspension of disbelief and total immersion of the subject in an experience that has beginning, middle and end, with a previously known narrative and that, among other aspects, is different from the latter mainly because it has the experience in itself as the good of thing to be consumed. In other words, every consumption presupposes an experience, but not every experience promotes such dislocation of the subject to a different place other than the daily reality.

Within “experience consumption” lived by fans, friendship and proximity with the author call special attention. The affection, that was already strong with the fictional universe of Paula, get a greater voltage in the direct contact that realizes the fan’s recurring dream of getting out of anonymity and standing out in front of their idol. As Maria Cláudia Coelho says, it is about “[...]Hope of being loved by their idol, of breaking their basic asymmetry of the relationship and establishing a relation of reciprocity” (COELHO, 1999, p. 53), In this case, the experience enables a high emotional engagement because the aura of friendship and intimacy that surrounds the whole trip puts the restricted group of fans within a sphere of proximity in which feelings are shared, indicating a movement towards a greater reciprocity in the relationship. Paula becomes a “friend” of her fans, gets emotional with the trip as much as they do and expresses the feelings of missing them on social media after

the end of the exchange program. We can perceive that the asymmetry between the writer and her fans is greatly diminished, because it is the proximity with the author in the fictional world that intensifies the magic of the experience. In addition to that, there is also the break in the routine and the experience as a merchandise to be consumed, mixing reality and fiction, transporting the pages of the book to the landscapes visited, as well as transporting the teenage girls to another routine, the character's routine.

It can also refer, in that point, to Rocha's analysis (1995) regarding the worlds "inside" and "outside" mass media. When the author analyzes the film *The purple rose of Cairo*, by Woody Allen - where a human character (Cecilia) can get inside the story of a movie she is watching at the cinema, at the same time a character of the "movie inside the movie" (Tom Baxter) is "freed" when he leaves the screen that separates the movie from the real world -, he talks about the fluidity of frontiers between fiction and reality. Through Cecilia's emotion, the barriers between the universes of a media product and the industrial society she watches in the film fall apart in the moment she "crosses the screen" and starts living in the totemic world, abundant and magic existent "within" mass media.

Paula's fans, in their way, also have access to this "internal" vision of media, where the frontiers between fiction and reality become reachable. In this case, it is possible to think about the idea of "experience consumption" not only as the possibility of fans being the creators of new content from an original universe, but especially as a path in which the fan see himself inserted into an expanded narrative that mixes imagination to experience and the emotions coming from that.

Final considerations

The article had as objective, from a case study about the writer Paula Pimenta, to reflect about the celebrity phenomenon, and, more specifically, about its relationship with media and the construction of contemporary youth identities. In this path, the idea of "experience

consumption” was productive to think about the affections and states of subjectivity experienced by the fans.

Analyzing the author in certain relationships with the authors, we highlighted, among other points, the construction of her subjectivity from an extended notion of youth and the necessary approximation with the audience through expressive media visibility.

As we’ve seen, Paula’s fans, as other groups in the contemporary media scene, expose their affections linked to the writer’s universe, circulating information in digital platforms, writing thematic diaries and even interfering in the process of creating of this book.

However, a certain event and their consequences inspired the reflections about this article, therefore, the situations related to the writer’s trip with a group of fans. Campbell (1987) argues that, in the modern and self-illusory hedonism, the subject is the “artist of the dream”, that obtains pleasure in emotions arisen by images associated to media goods or products. In the “experience consumption”, analyzed in this article, it is possible to expand the pleasure created by fiction to the real world without having a feeling of frustration, as the author used to say regarding mechanisms of realizing the daily daydream. The universes dreamed from reading a book turn to be experienced by everyone as a “fact”, or even an experience that comes from a daydream but is materialized in a “real” experience.

Victor Turner (2005), in one of his studies about rituals, makes an etymological exploration of the word “experience” and comes to an approximation to the word “danger”, that would have the same Indo-European prefix “per”, bringing the meaning of “trying, taking a chance, taking risks” Moreover, he highlights its forming and transforming character. Campbell (1987), in turn, says the experience of consumption appears as a moment of frustration, when it reveals itself as less pleasurable as the feelings of daydreaming. In the case analyzed in the article, the dimension of experience outlines possible feelings of danger and frustration, setting itself as a type of “magic reality”, where affections surround the bonds created between fans, the writer and characters in the fictional world.

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About the authors

Marcella Azevedo – PhD student and Master by the Post-Graduate Program in Communication at PUC-Rio.

Cláudia Pereira – Professor at the Post-Graduate Program in Communication at PUC-Rio. PhD in Anthropology (PPGSA/IFCS/UFRJ).

Carla Barros – Professor at the Post-Graduate Program in Social Communication at UFF. PhD in Administration by Coppead/UFRJ in the area Anthropology of Consumption.

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Do superheroes also get older? Bodies and masculinities in cartoons

Os super-heróis também envelhecem? Corpos e masculinidades nos desenhos animados

Rosângela Fachel de Medeiros¹

Rosana Fachel de Medeiros²

Abstract: *This paper analyzes comparatively two superheroes duos “Aquaman and Aqualad”, created by DC Comics, which premiered in 1960, and its parodic version (HUTCHEON, 1989) “Mermaid Man and Barnacle Boy”, SpongeBob SquarePants characters series created in 1999. This comparison aims to discuss the role of the body (LE BRETON, 2003) in the configuration of masculinities (Connell, 2003) presented in these cartoons, analyzing how each of the works draws up and submit such matters. The comparative analysis of these two superheroes duo puts into question the masculinity as a social and cultural construction that reflects a specific time, culture and society.*

Keywords: *super heroes; body; aging; masculinity.*

Resumo: *Este artigo analisa comparativamente duas duplas de super-heróis: Aquaman e Aqualad, criada pela DC Comics e que estreou em 1960, e sua versão paródica (HUTCHEON, 1989), Homem Sereia e Mexilhãozinho, personagens de Bob Esponja Calça Quadrada, série criada em 1999. Essa comparação visa discutir o papel do corpo (LE BRETON, 2003) na configuração das masculinidades (CONNELL, 2003) apresentadas nesses desenhos animados, analisando a forma como cada uma das obras elabora e apresenta tais questões. A análise comparatista dessas duas duplas de super-heróis coloca em discussão*

1 Integrated Regional University from Alto Uruguai and Missões. Erechim, RS, Brazil. E-mail: rosangelaefachel@gmail.com

2 Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul. Rio Grande do Sul, RS, Brasil. E-mail: zanafachel@gmail.com

a masculinidade como construção sociocultural que reflete determinada época, cultura e sociedade.

Palavras-chave: *super-heróis; corpo; envelhecimento; masculinidade*

Super heroes as body model of the hegemonic masculinity

According to David Le Breton (2003), each society and time picks and builds the particularities of their body, creating their own standards and building models of beauty and ideal shapes. Such models are constructs that fill the social imaginary and directly reflect in the artistic and cultural representations of the body, being subject to transformations throughout time. Thus, when we analyze body representations, we are also investigating the social cultural scenario in which they were created, their desires, concerns and obsessions in regard to body. Nowadays, perhaps more than other ages, we learn to have a young, productive, healthy and beautiful body, an ideal that is chased by men and women, that, do not measure efforts and investments.

Keeping the youth, beauty, strength, flexibility and elegance of the body became a daily task, because these characteristics value both the person and their acts. The body is, then, a provisional identity, a personal construction, passible of constant transformations thanks to multiple biotechnologic possibilities of remodeling, transformation and re-structure. And, as a response to all these actions of bodily improvement, an aversion to being fat and old is created, body conditions that represent the failure in dominating their own body (MEDEIROS, 2009). Because, as Paula Sibilía affirms: “The less youngsters become such organism, more worth of pity or despise they will look, due to being unable to mask their so miserably human essence of mature and decay” (SIBILIA, 2013, p. 97).

The young, strong, muscled and virile body of superheroes is configured, since their arrival, as a model of ideal male body image, a set of physical attributes that associate the values of hegemonic masculinity that were built and rebuilt throughout sociocultural transformations lived in each decade.

Ou seja, um corpo musculoso e enérgico “vem historicamente se tornando o referencial de corporeidade masculina, enquanto corpos que

desviam deste padrão são comumente satirizados ou mesmo excluídos da mídia” (BEIRAS et al., 2007, p. 62).

In this sense, a double standard is created, in which superheroes bodies are reflected and reflect on the social construct of an ideal male figure. Because even if not everyone aim to reach that physical ideal, it ends up influencing tastes and attitudes, once the definition of what is physically attractive is, to a large extent, a socio-cultural construct. And both our perception of ourselves and our response to other’s appearance is set from these issues. In this perspective, there is no doubt that the standard of attractive male body became increasingly muscular, and that is due to, in a certain way, the fact that the audience, both male and female, were gradually accepting the representation of an ideal male body increasingly physically exaggerated.

As a socio-cultural construct, the ideal of the male body reflects on the construction of the idea of a standard masculinity, which is not “natural”, since there is no stable male gender identity. Because, as Robert Connell says:

Usually we suppose that the real masculinity comes from male bodies – something inherent to the male body or that expresses something about him - either about that body provokes and drives an action (for instance, men are, by nature, more aggressive than women, rape is the result of uncontrollable lust or certain violent instinct) or limits it (for instance, men by nature do not care for children, homosexuality is something unnatural and, therefore, restricted to a perverted minority) (CONNELL, 2003, p. 73)³.

Comics collaborate in the creation of this male body standards, as Jeffrey Brown says about DC Comics, which extensively use as signifiers of masculinity the hypertrophied body, with muscles and veins, and

3 “Casi siempre se supone que la verdadera masculinidad surge de los cuerpos de los hombres – que es inherente al cuerpo masculino o que expresa algo sobre el mismo –, ya sea que el cuerpo impulse y dirija la acción (por ejemplo, los hombre son más agresivos por naturaleza que las mujeres; la violación es el resultado de la lujuria incontrolable o de cierto instinto violento), o que la limite (por ejemplo, los hombres no se ocupan por naturaleza del cuidado infantil; la homosexualidad no es natural y, por lo tanto, se confina a una minoría perversa)”.

recurrent fight scenes. Thus, these magazines glamorized the muscular mesomorphic⁴ male body and shared it as a cultural value:

“[...] the masculinity of our media-generated heroes is increasingly recognized in much the same way that femininity has been understood, not as a real and unified subject position but as careful orchestrate performance – or, in others words, as a masquerade” (BROWN, 1999, p. 25)⁵.

The body is the external, visible part of this representation of masculinity. And, in this context, muscles always symbolized and keep symbolizing male power as physical force, being seen as a confirmation of the “natural” difference between sexes. In this perspective, the male is recognized as opposed to female, and a game of dichotomies are installed: hard/soft; strong/weak; rational/emotional; active/passive. According to Brown (1999, p. 2): “classical comic book depictions of masculinity are perhaps the quintessential expression of our [North American] cultural beliefs about what it means to be a man”.⁶ We can extend this notion for a world context, once it is notorious the influence of American mediatic culture about other cultures.

The body is intrinsically rooted to the condition of super hero, it is in the body and through the body that the super-identity of the hero reveals itself. The body of each super hero has particular and fantastic attributes that makes them unique and special. Bodies that seem inviolable despite, sometimes, having a specific vulnerability, as, for instance, Superman’s sensitivity to kryptonite. Even though there are generations, super heroes are always represented at the pinnacle of their physical form, unrelated to diseases, aging and death.

The indestructible body of the superhero configures the burning desire to keep our bodies beautiful and healthy as long as possible and it

4 Indicates the predominance of tissue derived from the mesoderm (bones, muscle and conjunctive tissue). It presents a higher density and skelectic muscular development.

5 “[...] the masculinity of our media-generated heroes is increasingly recognized in much the same way that femininity has been understood, not as a real and unified subject position but as careful orchestrate performance – or, in others words, as a masquerade”.

6 “classical comic book depictions of masculinity are perhaps the quintessential expression of our [North American] cultural beliefs about what it means to be a man”.

seem to be rooted in the imaginary of the masculine power centered in the strong, agile and invincible body, already glorified in the Greek narratives in characters like Hercules, Achilles, Odysseus and also in the bible, in, for instance, the image of Samson.

In turn, the villain's body tend to be represented as hateful, grotesque or funny. While the super hero's body is symmetrical within health and beauty standards, the villain's tend to be deviant to this ideal, presenting, for example, scars and/or physical handicap, that refer to the grotesque.

However, these representations also incide over the social construct of masculinities, since, according to Cornell (2005), it is not only oriented by the images that the subject has identified with, but also by those which set him apart. Masculinities are configurations of social practices that are referred to male bodies, being both related to the symbolic and institutional order of society and the individual aspects of the subjects.

Aquaman and Aqualad: super heroes timeless bodies

Image 1 – Aquaman and Aqualad designed by Ramona Fradon.



Source: Pinterest. Available at: <https://br.pinterest.com/pin/198228821075749179/?autologin=true>.

Created by 1941 by writer Mort Weisinger and by the artist Paul Norris and released by DC comics, Aquaman is a super hero capable of breathing underwater, has superhuman strength, and abilities to swim with superspeed and communicating with sea creatures. His home is an ancient temple of the lost city of Atlantis, where he rests in a lonely throne.

Aquaman belong to the first pantheon of super heroes, inaugurated by the release of Superman in 1938 and Batman in 1939. And, as many other characters of comics, his origin story went through modifications over time and according to the series. In his original story, Arthur Curry (Aquaman) was son of Atlanna, an Atlantian princess banned from Atlantis due to her interest by the Earth, with the lighthouse keeper Tom Curry. With two years of age, Arthur was found playing under water without drowning by his father. However, Atlanna only revealed the truth about her origin many years later, as well as the abilities inherited by her son: breathing under water and communicating with sea creatures.

In the 60's, the great popularity of the character took him to TV in an animated series dedicated exclusively to him. In that same time, he earns a partner: Aqualad, a young orphan of an Atlantian colony that became his companion and disciple, repeating the recurring pattern of super hero stories: the older, wiser and stronger man that becomes a mentor of a youngster that, despite having a well-shaped body, still isn't as muscular as his mentor. A notorious example of this partnership is the duo Batman and Robin (which begins in 1940), that, was always a target of suspicion, with many analyses that seek to suggest or unveil a possible homosexual relationship between them.

Homosexuality has always been a transversal issue in discussions about the configuration of super heroes. Either due to a visual perspective, that recognizes the body and outfit representation – extremely fit, which value the muscular silhouette of their bodies – a homoerotic aesthetic, either due to the recurring homosexual reading of the relationship between the super-partners, often based on the Greek model

of pederasty. A relation was established by an older man (*erasta*) and a younger man (*eromenos*) with the educational purposes of inserting the young man into society, which “would denote spiritual affection of an adult man for a boy, and consequently, would not have obscene meaning and content (VRISSIMTZIS, 2002, p. 100). However, only in the 90’s began to appear the first super heroes with a sexual identity different from the normative heterosexuality.

In all Aquaman’s versions, from the Golden Era (1938-1950) to the Modern Age (from 1985 until today) of the comic books and also in the television series, many things have changed, but his suit, even though it was influenced by the fashion tendencies of each period, is always recognized by the colors orange (the long-sleeved shirt) and green (the pants and gloves) and by the yellow belt with a big buckle with an A shape (his initials). His clothing repeats a preestablished pattern that values the athletic, youthful and agile body of super heroes: fitted shirt and pants that show their muscular features, with trunks over pants that, along with the belt, highlights the narrow hip and draws attention to the crotch and equally fitted boots, that emphasize the leg muscles. The same pattern is seen in the Aqualad suit, who wears a red fitted shirt, and, due to his condition of being a student, does not wear pants, but blue shorts, with the same color of his boots and gloves, the buckle of his belt presents a stylized “A” (his initials), similar to the Aquaman’s.

The image of Aquaman repeats a pattern inaugurated by their direct predecessors: Superman and Batman:

“These superheroes were idolized for their incredible bravery, moral superiority, and (for the time) fantastic physical strength and proportions. Since Superman and Batman were supposed to be more powerful than ordinary men, they were drawn with physiques that exceeded the currently accepted standards of strength and fitness.” (JIROUSEK, 1996, p. 5).

As other classic super heroes, Aquaman is a tall man with fit body, broad shoulders and narrow hips, with a well-shaved face⁷ and a very

7 The classic image of a superhero creates a significant change in relation to the old standard of masculinity, in which the beard and other body hair indicated maturity and virility.

strong chin line. The only distinction of his appearance in relation to most super heroes is blond hair. His physical completion as the other classic super heroes, has varied throughout time, fashion, culture and social influences, but always towards a strong body with defined and symmetrical features, respecting beauty and health standards that tend, currently to an increasingly muscular body.

Mermaid Man and Barnacle Boy: super heroes also get old

Image 2 – Mermaid Man and Barnacle Boy



Source: Wikipedia. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Mermaid_Man_and_Barnacle_Boy.jpg.

Mermaid Man and Barnacle Boy are the only human characters of the American animation (*SpongeBob SquarePants*), created in 1999 by Stephen Hillenburg. They personify the duo of super heroes that are the main characters of the television show *The Adventures of Mermaid Man and Barnacle Boy*, SpongeBob and Patrick's favorite show. The

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duo appeared for the first time in the episode “Mermaid Man and Barnacle Boy”, of the first season, in which SpongeBob and Patrick found out that their favorite super hero are retired and try everything to make them go back to the fight against crime, and consequently, the television show could carry on.

The duo of super heroes lived their pinnacle of youth and fame in the 60's, period known as the Silver Era of comic books (between 1956 and 1970) in the USA. The episodes SpongeBob watches are from this period, as a re-run, repeating and recreating the aesthetics (of fights and the usage of onomatopoeia) made famous by the Batman TV series, in the same decade.

The animation created by Hillenburg then makes direct references to the series, recreators their most notorious and characteristic elements: choreographed fight scenes; the existence of a secret hide-out place and the way of entering it, clear allusion to the BatCave; the Shell Signal, an underwater sound version of Bat Signal (both used to ask heroes for help); and the invisible automobile used by the super hero duo, a combination of Bat Mobile with Wonder Woman's invisible jet. In addition to that, the idea is that it is an “old” series is reinforced by the apparition of super heroes in the diegetic context of SpongeBob's adventures, both already old and retired and living in Bikini Bottom in a retirement home.

The duo of characters Mermaid Man and Barnacle Boy is an evident parody of another duo: Aquaman and Aqualad. We thought about the notion of parody by Linda Hutcheon:

Parody is, thus, repetition, but repetition includes difference; it is imitation with critical distance, whose irony can benefit and harm at the same time. Ironic versions of “transcontextualization” and inversion are their formal operators and the field of pragmatic *ethos* come from the disdained ridiculous to the reverence homage (HUTCHEON, 1989, p. 54).

i.e., in the parody, the repetition of text gives space to artistic innovation, because it subverts the original text and allows the creator a critical posture. It demands from the reader/viewer a previous repertoire that

creates a dialogue with the parody, so they can get fully in the meaning game. Therefore, parody is considered a contemporary genre, in which the reader/viewer has an active function in the interpretation of the work (BRANDÃO, 2003).

The similarities, or repetitions, begin by the fact that both superhero duos live under the sea. As Aquaman and Aqualad, the Mermaid Man and the Barnacle Boy are hybrid human beings with the same ability of water creatures of living under water. In addition, Aquaman and Mermaid Man have the same ability, the ability of communicating with sea creatures. This relation of resemblance between two duos is reinforced and evidenced by their outfits, that are almost identical.

Like Aquaman, Mermaid Man wears black trunks over green pants fit by the body and an orange long-sleeved shirt, green gloves and a belt with a M-shaped buckle (referencing his name, Mermaid Man), which hides many powers, configuring as a revival of Batman's utility belt. However, there are, in his outfit, deviant elements of his classic referent: over the orange shirt, the Mermaid Man wears a bikini made out of shells and, over his nose, a type of mask shaped like a starfish. And still, completely diverging from a superhero costume, he wears pink slippers that reveal his current position of retirement.

Barnacle Boy's suit is also similar to his classic duo, Aqualad: blue shorts, red shirt fitted to the body and blue gloves, but as his suit of Mermaid Man, his suit also presents deviant elements: a baby blue cape (which refers to other super heroes), flippers instead of boots, glasses⁸ and a sailor hat. The image of Barnacle Boy brings back the memory of another classic super hero: Robin, Batman's partner, from who they may have appropriated the idea of a cape in his suit. His original name makes reference to Robin's original description, "The Boy Wonder".

It is clear, however, that this intertextual relationship among characters is only evident for adult viewers of *Sponge Bob*, with similar age to the show's creator, Hillenburg. Born in 1961, he had a childhood

8 It is interesting to highlight that wearing glasses has always been associated to weakness and body limitation; thus, it is not fortuitous it is a part of Superman's disguise as Clark Kent.

filled with television shows, as the series dedicated to the trips of Jacques Cousteau and super hero shows. Many of the memories and intertexts seen in his show come from this time and these shows. Creating, thus, a second level of reading, given from the recognition of the dialogue between the classic super hero image and the super heroes presented on *Sponge Bob*.

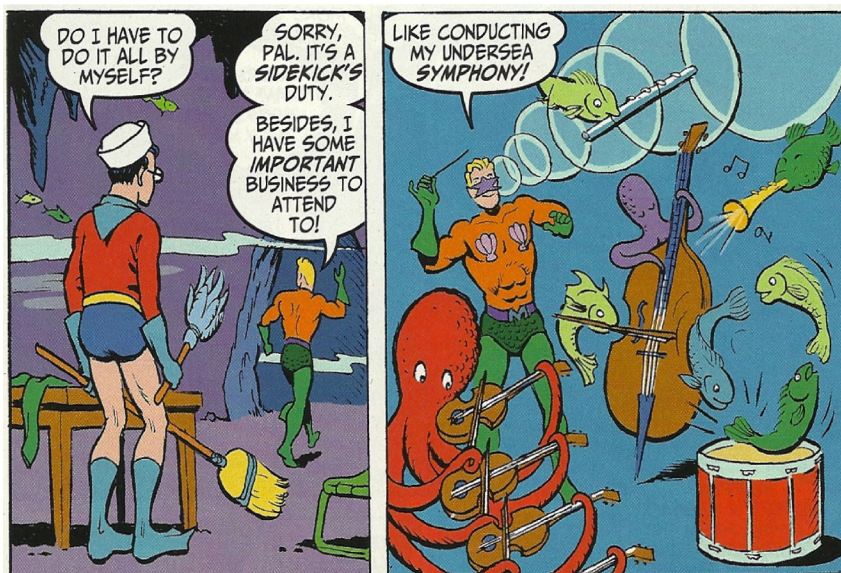
Mermaid Man and Barnacle Boy are super heroes from the 60's that got old and whose bodies are degraded and fragilized. Their old physical form, young and strong, can be seen in the TV series *Mermaid Man and Barnacle Boy*, watched by *SpongeBob* and in comic books read by the character and published on *Nickelodeon Magazine* (Nick Mag), which were drawn by the famous illustrator Ramona Fradon, responsible for *Aquaman's* comic book during the Silver Age. When we see the images of young *Mermaid Man* and *Barnacle Boy*, that repeat the body standard legitimated by super heroes, the similarity with the aquatic super heroes from DC Comics, making us see them as their aged, funny version.

Image 3 – The young *Mermaid Man* and *Barnacle Boy* in the series *The adventures of the Mermaid Man and Barnacle Boy*, watched by *SpongeBob*.



Source: <https://giphy.com/gifs/spongebob-spongebob-squarepants-episode-9-11EtpdMX3MIKwznHi>.

Image 4 – Comic book excerpt Mermaid Man and Barnacle Boy, illustrated by Ramona Fradon for SpongeBob's comic book.



Source: School Library Journal. Available at: <http://blogs.slj.com/goodcomicsforkids/2013/06/18/review-spongebob-annual-size-super-giant-swimtacluar-1/>.

However, instead of young, muscular, beautiful and strong, as we see in the comic book and in the TV show by Sponge Bob, Mermaid Man and Barnacle Boy are old and out of shape. The Mermaid Man already has white hair and is fat, while the Barnacle Boy is bald, skinny and curved, physical attributes that are far from the established standard for super heroes. Something transgressive and unheard of, super heroes that got old, lost their memory and agility and that, despite still keeping their superpowers, are no longer bodily able to continue their activities. The series *SpongeBob* deconstructs, thus, a standard of representation of super heroes that, despite fitting the passing of time, updating narratives, scenarios, and clothing following the social and cultural transformation, keeps them always with the same age and same shape, as if they are frozen in their best shape.

While divergent body from the ideal desired model, the old body is on the sidelines of images of our mass culture as a way of blurring

the undesired reminder that we are all, unquestionably, walking towards death. The contemporary cult to the young, skinny and athletic body transformed aging into a shameful body state. As Paula Sibilía comments:

[...]Through the increasing tyranny of youthful appearance, old age is censored as if it was something shameful and obscene, which should remain hidden, out of scene, without aiming the so desired visibility. A body state to be fought – or, at least, sagaciously masked - for being morally suspect, and, therefore, humiliating. Something indecent that should not be shown; at least, not without using filters and touch-ups that our era created to this end and, with the increasing insistence, are now available to everyone and asked for us to use them. Thus, in plain validity of this values that ratify the cristalization of a new morality, the privileged scenarios of the audiovisual media avoid showing old bodies (SIBILIA, 2012, p. 97).

Although the perception of a recent and gradual tendency of giving more visibility to “older” characters, the mediatic exhibition of the old body is still something that causes discomfort. The representation of the old body and its decrepitude comes, usually, associated to the ugliness, sadness, pain, and consequently, death. In this logic, it is easy to understand why the witches of fairytales are generally described as old and are highlighted by all the body deformations coming from aging: wrinkled skin, crested, twisted hands and, to top it all off, a repulsive sign raised by the passing of time, preferably located on the face, right in the nose.

These characters put in discussion the idealized image of super heroes, starting by their names (both associated to the sea world, such as Aquaman and Aqualad), which, despite keeping similarship with the names of classic super heroes – such as Superman, Ironman, Spiderman, Batman and Robin – present odd elements.

The first Mermaid Man refer to the mythological image of a hybrid being, half woman, half animal, being more frequent the combination man/fish. The image of the mermaid refers directly to the feminine, to the image of the beautiful, seductive woman, creating another deviation in relation to the masculine image of the super hero, emphasized in their

names by the word “man” “*Superman*, *Iron Man*, *Spider-Man*, *Batman* and *Aquaman*. The wordplay created by the name brings, therefore, a paradox of genre when it unites the word “man” (male) and “mermaid” (female). Similarly, the name *Barnacle Boy* also creates a estrangement, since it is more common the use of boy in reference to kids, rarely used referring to grown men.

Thus, when their names are compared to the previously mentioned super heroes, which use words referring to strength, courage and hardship (super, iron) or to animals that usually are frightening (spider and bat), it is clear there is a rupture of old standards and the desire of putting in discussion the stereotypes of hegemonic masculinity associated to the image of the superhero.

In addition, the fact that the Mermaid Man uses shells as a bra, which creates a burlesque, ugly and masculine of the ideal of beauty created by Ariel, from the *Little Mermaid* (Disney, 1989), and wearing a pair of pink slippers proposes a reflection about the current condition of masculinities on our society. And even if, while young or old superheroes, they seem courageous or brave enough to fight the villains, their suits and names refer to the feminine world, calling attention to the ambiguities created in the conformation of identities in these characters.

Such condition can be related to the perception of Brown that the identification of readers/viewers with the comic book superheroes results in the attraction feel for the duality of masculinity present in this type of character. Brown is referring directly to characters that have double identity: the heroic alter ego, personifying strength, trust, power and the maximum ideal of masculinity, and the secret identity, which presents the vulnerabilities, insecurities and softness of the “ordinary man”.

The secret identity unravels the masculine vulnerability represented by characteristics that would be considered not masculine. When we identify with this secret identity, the reader/viewer can, then, fantasize also having a heroic facet. And, although such ambivalence cannot be presented in *Aquaman* (which does not have a double identity), *Mermaid Man* can represent his double, constituted precisely to give visibility to

this “body frailty” side of his original character. Moreover, the Mermaid Man himself, equally without a double identity, is configured in the interweaving of dualities: frailty/strength; masculine/feminine; old/new; therefore, as a mosaic of multiplicity of masculinities, that does not have an opposite in the feminine, but rather a complement.

From Aquaman to Mermaid Man: the crisis of the contemporary man

According to Stuart Hall (2005), the crisis of the modern subject is built from the de-centralization of his cartesian certainties, which comes from the influence of five theoretical pillars: the Marxist thought; the discovery of the unconscious mind by Freud; the work of the linguist Ferdinand de Saussure; the “genealogy of the modern subject” and a new type of disciplinary power” presented by Michel Foucault; and, finally, the impact of feminism both in the theoretical criticism and social movement. The subject, previously seen as having a unified, stable identity, became “fragmented, composed not with one, but with several identities, sometimes contradictory or unresolved” (HALL, 2005, p. 12).

The same way, there is also this idea of the existence of one only model of masculinity, which is constituted in the difference created towards homosexuality and the feminine, loses meaning and unravel multiple masculinities, corresponding to different insertions of the man in the social, political, economic and cultural contemporary structure. When he loses his traditional role of domination and due to his new social attributions (taking care of kids and doing chores), the contemporary man lives the “macho crisis”.

The comparative analysis between two duos of super heroes put in discussion the issue of masculinity as a changeable socio-cultural construct that reflects its time, culture and society. According to Robert Connell (2003), there is no only form of construction of the masculine in societies, but multiple masculinities understood as configurations of practice around the position of man in gender relations. These masculinities are

hierarchized from the power relations in the center of which creates a hegemonic masculinity – set of practices and values with the function of assuring the dominant position of men and women subordination. When referring to these masculinities, Connel affirms that:

There is a conventional narrative about how masculinities are built. In this narrative, all culture has one definition of conduct and feelings appropriated by men. Young men are pressured to act this way and to distance themselves from women's behavior, understood as the opposite (CONNEL, 1995, p. 189-190).

Aquaman and Aqualad, with their perfect bodies and in perfect shape, classic representation of super heroes, corporify the pinnacle of heteronormative masculinity. In turn, the Mermaid Man and the Barnacle Boy, parodic configuration of classic super heroes, represent the contemporary complexity of the subject that needs to handle an ever-increasing life expectancy, followed by the aging and body decay, with the deconstruction of old standards of gender as, for example, in regard to masculinity, unraveled in their multiple possibilities in the *Sponge-Bob* series -, that can be contradictory without stopping being legitimate, putting in discussion old paradigm related to sex and the male gender (MEDEIROS, 2010).

When being old, weak men with decaying bodies and corroded by time, and, carrying elements of the feminine world that are exhibited naturally, the characters Mermaid Man and Barnacle Boy deconstruct the idealized image of the super hero, maximum representation of a hegemonic masculinity. And reinforce the identified situation by Cornell, in which contemporary masculinity, as a result of multiple social, cultural and identitary interactions, is a multiple and fluid condition. In this sense, the animation gives visibility to the fact that it is no longer possible to identify one only model as representative of what it is to be a man.

Sponge Bob is set apart in the mediatic cultural scene for presenting to the viewer and putting in discussion contemporary issues referring to the human in relation to the status of the body and to new perspective of gender and masculinities in the configuration of contemporary

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identities, mainly male. In a world increasingly guided by the search of maintenance of youth in the body, but, on the other hand, has an increase of life expectancy and the growth of elderly population, aging is still a denied state.

The media and audiovisual productions, most of the time, only give visibility of old age and the old body in the medical-scientific context of shows about health and disease prevention, for example. Or even, in the configuration of elderly characters, almost always in the sidelines of narratives, that seem not to create interest. Present or represent elders as complex, sexual and interesting subjects, as well as showing their bodies as the object of desire or productive both for work and for sex is still an exception.

The parodic configuration of super heroes in *Sponge Bob* unravels the contemporary complexity of the relation established with the body and masculinity. Old age and the body transformations coming from it, mainly about the male body, which has their sexual drive associated to youth, directly reflect in the reconfiguration of masculinity of these individuals. The duo Mermaid Man and Barnacle Boy, with their body fails coming from old age and deviations of the idealized model of male representation, puts in evidence the condition of getting old, so frightening in today's society. But, at the same time, de-constructs hegemonic standards of masculinity, reinforcing Connell's (1995) collocations in relation to the existence of multiple masculinities.

When putting in evidence elder characters and old bodies, with all their limitations and frailties, *Sponge Bob* instigates a reflection about the position and the role of the elder subject in today's society. In addition to that, when the show presents images of these super heroes when they were young, it gives visibility to the process of aging and the transformation of the body. Combined with that, the naturality with which these characters link feminine elements to their male identity creates deviations in the hegemonic model of masculinity and creates the perception of diversity of ways of living and seeing masculinities in the contemporaneity, which, the same way as the body, are in constant change.

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About the authors

Rosângela Fachel de Medeiros Correio – PhD in Languages by the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS). Masters professor in Languages – Compared Literature of the Integrated Regional University from Alto Uruguai and Missões (URI), working in the following fields of research: comparatism and cultural processes, as well as reading, languages and teaching.

Rosana Fachel de Medeiros Correio – PhD student at the Post-Graduate Program in Education at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul.

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Conservative culturalism in *Narcos*¹

O culturalismo conservador em *Narcos*

Marcio Serelle²

Abstract: *This paper investigates the conservative culturalism discourse in the two first seasons of Netflix series Narcos (2015-2016). The conservative culturalism (SOUZA, 2015) is an idea-force that defines Latin-American societies as insufficiently western places, marked by perversity and corruption. Narcos narrates, from an American perspective, the rising of drug trafficking in Colombia and the trajectory of Pablo Escobar. Thus, it mediates schematic representations of Latin Americans. Narcos domesticates some aspects of narcoculture and, at the same time, celebrates them in an audiovisual industrial format. In this article, I discuss those issues by analyzing narrative elements of the series, which, between fiction and document, circulates, with some controversy, as an account of the recent history of Latin America.*

Keywords: *conservative culturalism; narcoculture; documentary reading; representation; Narcos, Netflix series.*

Resumo: *Este artigo analisa o discurso do culturalismo conservador nas duas primeiras temporadas de Narcos (2015-2016), série da Netflix. O culturalismo conservador (SOUZA, 2015) é tomado, neste texto, como uma ideia-força que define sociedades latino-americanas como espaços insuficientemente ocidentais, marcados pela perversidade e corrupção. Ao narrar, a partir da perspectiva estadunidense, a emergência do tráfico na Colômbia e a trajetória de Pablo Escobar, Narcos medeia representações esquemáticas de latino-americanos. Domestica*

1 A version of this text was presented at the Visual Culture Work Group at the 2017's International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) conference in Cartagena, Colombia. The study is a partial result of the ongoing research "Critic of conservative culturalism", financed by CNPq (Universal 425863/2016-6).

2 Catholic University of Minas Gerais. Belo Horizonte, MG, Brazil. E-mail: marcio.serelle@gmail.com

aspectos da narcocultura ao mesmo tempo em que a celebra em formato industrial. Neste artigo, discuto essas questões por meio da análise de elementos narrativos da série, que, entre ficção e documento, circula, com alguma polêmica, como relato da história recente da América Latina.

Palavras-chave: *narcocultura; leitura documentarizante; culturalismo conservador; representação; Narcos; Netflix*

Introduction

The first two seasons of the series *Narcos*, released on Netflix in 2015 and 2016, narrate the emergency of the cocaine traffic in Colombia, the purchase of the drug in the United States and the story of Pablo Escobar (starred by Wagner Moura), investigated and chased by American policemen, from late 70's to the 90's. Although it involves producers, directors and actors from different countries, including Brazil, *Narcos* brings, mainly, an American perspective of the Colombian culture, society and politics. The series point of view is expressed by the voice of the character Steve Murphy (Boyd Holbrook) – agent of the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), department of fight against narcotics -, which leads the narrative. However, the perspective is also built by other narrative elements that manifest the discourse that Jessé Souza (2015) called, in another context, conservative culturalism. According to Souza, conservative culturalism is a type of idea-force that defines Brazil, but also other countries from Latin America, as a cultural space governed by signs of personalism, passion and sensuality. Our societies are seen as places in which personal relationships and interests, corruption and perversity prevail over law and collective and public values.

We consider that *Narcos* reproduces this discourse of the conservative culturalism and represents Colombians and other Latin Americans through the lenses of stereotype. *Narcos* is affirmed as a product of fiction and entertainment, however, it strongly evokes what Roger Odin (2012) defined as a “documentarizing” reading, therefore, a form of reception which takes a film or part of it as documental. The series, “based on actual events”, articulates through its montage, drama and photography, tele-journalistic material, images of newspapers and other documental elements that sustain the truth of the facts narrated there.

Facing that, I intend to analyze the first two seasons of the series as mediatic texts between fact and fiction producing, reproducing and disseminate some of the reductive representations of Latin Americans in a context marked by narco-culture and its narratives (RINCÓN, 2013; BRAGANÇA, 2012). This study articulates, thus, cultural and narrative

analysis, with focus on relations between audiovisual products, television critique and socio-historic context.

In the first part of the article, I discuss aspects of *Narcos*' fictionality and the way the series proposes relationships with historic facts and characters, demanding a "documentarizing" reading. This hybridization between fact and fiction circulates in a mediatic culture which has a fascination by narco-narratives. The narco-culture is criticized in the second part of this article, with identification of its subversive characteristics and the possible domestication of them by industrial formats. The final analytical movement conjugates the reflection of how the narco-culture elements in *Narcos* work with the series conservative speech. I analyze two main narrative aspects: the filmic point of view, in which we watch the degradation of a hero by immersion in the Colombian culture, and the intertextuality with the magic realism, aesthetic presented as autochthonous and the reflection of incivility.

Fact, fiction and "documentarizing" reading

Narcos, as in other series based in actual events, is a narrative in-between fiction and document. In the beginning of the first season episodes, there is the ambiguous message:

This television series is inspired by true events. Some of the characters, names, businesses, incidents and certain locations and events have been fictionalized for dramatization purposes. Any similarity to the name, character or history of any person is merely coincidental and unintentional.³

These are not the right lines of contract of the series, once this hybrid between dramaturgy and archive deals, with certain didactics, as we've said, of the emergency of the international traffic of cocaine from Colombia and the persecution to Pablo Escobar through the perspective, mainly, of the American agent Steve Murphy. The last sentence of the message, which talks about similarities and coincidences, was erased in

3 This and other passages referring to *Narcos e El patrón del mal*'s texts were transcribed and translated from the original vídeos available on Netflix.

the second season, which ended up reinforcing, in this opening text, the referential aspect, even if it is subverted to fit well to the dramatization.

However, if the series is partly submitted to a historic world, the relationships established with the elements of immediate reality are not from the same category of which Wolfgang Iser identifies in fictional texts. As Iser proposes (2002, p. 958), “there is in the fictional text a lot of reality that cannot only be identified as a social reality but also as a sentimental/affectionate reality”. However, while selecting elements of the real, the text transgresses it and, in combination with aspects of the imaginary, presents it as a scene, under the “what if” logic. This denudation, according to Iser (2002, p. 982), signals two aspects: the recipient must take the reality presented there between parenthesis and fiction as it is, and, even so, engage in the game in a way that the world represented there is taken as world, which implies a “temporary non-realization of receptors”.

However, *Narcos* is insufficiently fictional in the sense that, even though it is deliberately “staged”, their world is weakly put into parenthesis. Their fictional space, despite the initial message, does not want to be completely autonomous, as if the series wished to be also an informative narrative about recent history of narco-traffic on Latin America. According to this modulation, a Brazilian television critic wrote that *Narcos* “is a show committed to the facts”, which intends to “be popular, palatable to all audiences”. In the series, “the traffic in America gains a faithful portrait”.⁴ Even with its contrary evaluation, as in news in Brazilian websites “*Narcos*, five lies in the Netflix series about Pablo Escobar”⁵ and “13 mistakes of the 2nd season of *Narcos*, according to Pablo Escobar’s son”⁶, the perspective is maintained, because it only makes sense to ask this type of correction (and point lies and mistakes) of referential narratives, such as journalism and history narratives, for example.

4 Available at: <http://kogut.oglobo.globo.com/noticias-da-tv/critica/noticia/2015/08/trafico-na-america-ganha-retrato-fiel-na-serie-narcos.html>. Accessed in: June 13th, 2017.

5 Available at: http://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2015/12/03/cultura/1449162724_440714.html. Accessed in: June 14th, 2017.

6 Available at: <http://super.abril.com.br/cultura/13-erros-da-2a-temporada-de-narcos-segundo-o-filho-de-pablo-escobar/>. Accessed in: June 14th, 2017.

We know with Roger Odin (2012, p. 17) that a more or less documental aspect of a movie can be established in the space of a reading, without any intention from the enunciator, through an attitude which the intellectual named “documentarizing”. This is a type of reading that considers a movie as a document, i. e., as register, illustration of reality, either it is physical social or even referring to the cinema as an institution. For that, it is necessary that the viewer, in front of a film, builds a real enunciator (the camera, the cinema, the society, the performer, among others). The production of a documentarizing reading can be done, according to Odin (2012), both in an individual level, from the voluntary or involuntary act of the reader, or in an institutional level, in which pedagogic, historic, psycho-analytical instructions are produced. We can say that a large extent of the journalistic critique, at least in Brazil, made to *Narcos* works in that second level, as texts that instruct and propose a historic and social reading of the series.

However, either by the diegetic or extradiegetic elements (the way the series was promoted in Brazil, for example), we infer that *Narcos* deliberately proposes an ambiguous relationship between fact and fiction. The narrative is, thus, complex both in the point of view of analysis of its elements and the circulation referring to the way it produces representations of Colombia and Latin America, which, along with other narratives (journalism, literature, cinema and advertisement, for example), composes a symbolic element unfolding from the daily life (SILVERSTONE, 2002).

Concerning the analysis of the narrative, the method should comprise this bi-front aspect, because the mimesis in *Narcos* is also strongly generic: the police narrative, the duo of “cops”, the scenes of mafia movies, the scenes of chase, the character Murphy, which ends up becoming a complexed and justified version of the Hollywood “tough guy” regarding the ambiguities and deterioration of the hero (DYER, 1998). In this case, Murphy is perverted precisely by the violence and lack of rules in Colombian culture. “But don’t call me a bad guy yet”, Murphy asks the viewer in the opening episode, until he can narrate a little more

and, thus, demonstrate what transformed him into this type of corrupted hero. “Sometimes, bad guys make good things”, he says, reinforcing his ambivalent role.

On another hand, *Narcos* is filled with archive, especially photos. Two of them call attention to the way the filmic *mise-en-scène* is built to remit documental images. The first is a reconstitution of the registration of Pablo Escobar in a police station in Medellín in the second episode of the first season. The scene alludes the production of a popular image of Escobar smiling while holding the numbered plate (the real picture, which will later be used as proof against the drug dealer, is superposed to the fictional image and will return in other episodes of the series). The other picture appears in the final episode of the second season. Taken right after Escobar’s death, it frames the fat, bloody body of the drug dealer, shown as a trophy by the policemen who chased him. Among them, there is Murphy. The picture becomes, thus, historic evidence of the agent’s participation in the events. Besides the photography, images of news reports, of television announcements, among other archives that also instruct the reading of the series as a document.

These documentarizing elements contribute to the constitution of the conservative culturalism, once they affirm the entertainment also as a teaching moment. In the documentarizing reading, it is possible to have fun and learn with the series. But the forms of entertainment are not neutral, once they carry the industrial perspective of Hollywood, which has historically proposed a reduced set of Latin American roles, one of them being the drug dealer. The fictional and historic space is dislocated, in *Narcos*, to Colombia, but it keeps the format of American police narrative, that, articulated to the document ends up reinforcing and fixating Latin American stereotypes.

From narco-culture to conservative culturalism

Narcos reveals the fascination of cultural industry for the so-called “narco-culture”, defined by Omar Rincón (2013) as the exaltation of drug traffic as a popular way of living, with opulent and ostentatious style

- because it is important to show you achieved something in life. “Narco-culture” is a symbolic territory that unites Latin America. It creates a new labor division which includes sicarios, “beauty queens” and patrons, as well as their aesthetic versions, under the veil of a fairly flexible Catholicism. Although it is based in the family-religion-property tradition, narco-culture is a Latin American response to the neoliberal exclusion:

The drug culture says that in order to get out of poverty gain power, everything works: to rise in whatever field and with other forms, without respecting the laws, rules, institutions, values, bodies, ethics, lives: a mentality that says it is not worth the effort, nor the long road, or legality, or democracy or human rights: a mentality that became our ethic-aesthetic: it is appealing because it says who we are (RINCÓN, 2013, p. 196-197).

If narcoculture results from the asymmetries of capital, it is exploited by the system itself, which produces narratives such as *Narcos*, in which subversive aspects are domesticated if compared to other forms of expression, such as narco-runaways and some literary narratives or even more ambivalent audiovisual fictions. To Rincón, the cultural industry is fascinated by violence, rebellion, women and the accelerated world of traffic. Latin American intellectuals, in turn, are seduced by the latter, marginalized and close to the abyss. Therefore, we live a paradox: “On one hand, traffic is fought with guns, and, on the other, its aesthetic is celebrated” (RINCÓN, 2013, p. 209). To a certain extent, this is also *Narcos*’ paradox: the speech points and condemns the western insufficiency of Latin America, but it does not stop from aestheticizing violence and corporeity in our lives.

In the series, violence is taken to the centerstage through recurring images of torture, execution, rape, among other violations that affirm the banality of horror in Colombia. In the episode nine of the first season, Pablo Escobar, in his luxurious prison, La Catedral, murders, with a cue stick, a partner of narcotraffic. The camera frames Escobar, dirtier and dirtier at every blow he makes, and in other shots, shows images of the disfigured body. In the following scenes, sicarios throw parts of the corpse in an oven - after showing a severed hand and taking a ring from

it. The edit articulates this scene with another, in the same prison, but festive mood: sicarios cook a barbecue with cheerful Colombian music in the background. More than once, this counterpoint between extreme violence, raw realism and ordinary or festive scenes is used as a resource that points towards the naturalization of crime and towards how, in that society, some lives are suppressible.

Available in a platform which counts with over 90 million subscribers (the clear majority in the United States) *Narcos* is an important mediator form and its schematic aspects of representation spread stereotypes not only of Colombians, but of Latin Americans in general, in a speech which reproduces what the sociologist Jessé Souza called, in another context, conservative naturalism.

The discourse of narcoculture is, as we've said, the discourse of para-legality, which every method are valid to socially ascend, which includes corruption and violence. In that, he can easily supply elements to a conservative culturalism. But the speech of narcoculture is also, in its ambivalence, the speech of "peoples morale", the defense of "their own", the tactics against underdevelopment and produces other narratives around the daily life of traffic. In them, the "stories are the same they tell in the news, but in another version: now [the traffic characters] are brave and loyal; subjects born in the country and who defend the people; Robin Hoods that give what the law and the government takes away (RINCÓN, 2013, p. 202).

The narco-imaginary can be understood, according to Maurício de Bragança (2012), as "debris of modernity", expression which the author develops from the discussions of Beatriz Sarlo (2010) around a Latin American cosmopolitanism coming from below, referring to our peripheral, ill-formed modernity. However, as Bragança proposes, these "debris" sustain a revanchist attitude and the antagonism in relation to the American politics, mainly of immigration. The drug dealer's line in the first episode of *Escobar, el patron del mal*, series produced by the Colombian channel Caracol, summarizes this revanchism: "There's a long time we brought vices from there. Now it is time to return the favor".

In the perspective of a conservative culturalism, however, the social ambivalence is erased, and our ill-formed modernity becomes only an index of delay. *Narcos*, in a *pop* and plain dialog with aesthetic aspects of narco-culture, reproduces through their representative scheme, the idea-force of conservative culturalism. Among the aspects of what I will appropriate for analysis at the series are the life led by the sign of corporeity, affection and passion, which affirm the fake character of our civilization. In this society, acts the immaterial, not the material; the contextual relationships are worth more than the contractual, which makes them prevalent, inevitably, according to this vision, personal interests, corruption, perversity (in the etymological sense of the term, *pervertio* “put aside”, “made unlike the rules”). That implies the activation of a counterpoint, of “another external” with a positive character almost always idealized by an American character, evidencing the inferiority of our subconscious.

In this article, I chose two narrative elements of *Narcos* for analysis: the filmic point of view, linked to the trajectory of character formation of Murphy, lead character in opposition of Pablo Escobar, and the intertextuality with the magic realism. The hypothesis is that these aspects are meaningful in the constitution of the place of utterance of the show and in the projection of audiences as they weave conservative cultural representations of Latin America.

Some Colombian “lessons”

The voiceover which leads *Narcos* is, as we’ve said, from the DEA American agent Steve Murphy, which narrates our present. The line is cynical. In some passages, it puts in perspective the aspects much more economic and political than humanitarian that move the United States in the “war on drugs”, while the actions of the character remain serving interventionist attitudes. We understand the cynicism, from Safatle’s point of view (2008, p. 68), as a “reflexive ideology”, which undress and even criticizes the mechanism and its function to precisely remain to exercise it. “The cynicism appears as a bigger element of the diagnosis of

an era in which power does not fear criticism that unravels the ideologic mechanism” (SAFATLE, 2008, p. 69). Thus, *Narcos* openly criticizes the imperialist and economicist politics of the Reagan government (1981-1989), with inclusion of the television announcement in which the first lady, Nancy Reagan, releases the popular slogan “Just say no” in the anti-drug campaign. However, the clarifying and criticism of Murphy in any moment make any difference in the field of action of character, convinced with the necessity and functionality of American practices, which can be extended to the discourse of narrative.

In the condition of viewers, we are not limited to Murphy’s field of vision, because, as the own filmic semiotic, other realities, notably the referents to the private and the public of Pablo Escobar, are not. The voice, however, always goes back to key moments of the episodes to adjectivize some events, establish relationships between characters, review and temporally articulate the actions and, thus, build and reinforce a point of view. Would that be the return of the voice also as a form of conscience to avoid we get too close, mainly in the second season of Escobar? It is through this voice, for example, that the Latin American lefts are ridiculed, and the American efficiency is praised as our idealized counterpoint.

In a criticism to the series, Rincón (2015) contextualizes the war of testimonies that already composes the cultural history of narcotraffic in Colombia. They go from the official version to the local audiovisual narratives, as the previously quoted Escobar, el patron del mal, about Escobar resistance, and Cartel de los sapos, perspective “narco” of the story. The Netflix series, in turn, according to Rincón (2015), “emphasizes the righteous heroes, the true ‘made in USA’ who come and save this little uncivilized country”.

This is a memorialistic portrait of a witness involved in the events which narrate so that the viewer understands from an American perspective, the formation of traffic in Colombia and the persecution which culminated as we see in the last episode of the second season, in the death of Pablo Escobar. In other instance, which qualifies this first one, this is

also the formative narrative of a character whose ambivalence refers to a certain preponderant trope in the American cinema, the tough guy. To Richard Dyer (1998), the tropes (the good guy, the pinup, the rebel, the independent woman, among others) are recurring representations shared socially, built by easily identifiable traces and which have a certain aesthetic function in narratives. From Orrin E. Klapp, Dyer talks about the relationship between types and stereotypes in fiction, proposing that type must be understood as a representation belonging to a hegemonic group which produces to the extent that the stereotype is the representation of the marginal and the banned in relation to this group. That implicates power relations in which determined groups can be defined as central and point others as peripheral, stereotyping them. In *Narcos*, Murphy composes a type which refers to the place of enunciation, and, in a wider way, to the own point of view of the series – one “us” -, while the Latin Americans are “them”, to who we reserve the stereotype.

Murphy lives tortures and exterminations, becoming, thus, an accomplice of this actions. In other events, he himself is responsible for triggering violence, as in the first shot which open *Narcos* in media res. But Murphy refuses the role of the villain: “If there’s anything I’ve learned in Colombia, is that good and bad are relative concepts”. As the tough guy, Murphy is a corrupted hero, recurrently male role which faces contradictions regarding moral and social categories. However, again as the tough guy, the violence used is functional. In the narrative, Murphy is led to this condition. As he explains in the first episode, the decision of Murphy and his wife, Connie (Joanna Christie), of combatting traffic in Colombia is a “mission”, because the couple – him as policeman, her as a doctor – experienced the death of young people in Miami due to the traffic. The event that precedes the arrival of the couple to Colombia is the death, watched by Connie, in a hospital, of a young woman carrying cocaine capsules in her stomach. The same way his father, after the attack on Pearl Harbor, decided to enlist in the American troops to fight in the Second World War, the DEA agent decides to fight in the war in Colombia, building, initially, a set of analogies between the conflicts.

But the war hero characteristic is corrupted by the para-legality of Latin America, by the filtered narco-culture and returned through the lenses of a conservative culturalism. “They don’t follow the rules, why should we?”, asks the agent. The resurgence of brutality expressed even in the daily life, alcoholism, his wife’s abandonment, among others, are events in this narrative of a fall of a character transformed into this type. There is a significative scene: Murphy, with his wife and their recently adopted child in a car, drives through Bogotá. The street is narrow and there is a bad traffic. Murphy gets distracted and crashes into a taxi. The taxi driver and the policeman get into an argument. Visibly upset, Murphy takes off his gun and threatens the Colombian driver. Next, he shoots the tire of the taxi and goes back to the car. At the end of the scene, shot in the back seat, we see the incredulous look on Connie’s face.

These seem to be Murphy’s Colombian lessons, or Latin American lessons. In these years, the character does not incorporate anything else: he seems completely unrelated to the language, there is no reference regarding his habits (cooking, drinking and clothing, for example) or with any other cultural aspect.

But who Murphy narrates for, who is the “narration recipient”, (this viewer included in the filmic text)? Rincón (2015) evaluated that *Narcos* is a series created for the “gringos of Miami”, not for Colombians, whose narco-series are those locally produced by RCN and Caracol that, beyond industrial formats, conjugate the country’s cultural matrixes. For the critic, beyond the mistaken point of view of the series, Wagner Moura’s effort to emulate the accent and behavior of the local “narco” are not successful.

In Brazil, the series was widely promoted, both by advertisement and cultural journalism. It was mainly emphasized, the participation of Brazilian people in the international production – beyond Moura, José Padilha, producer and director of a few episodes; Lula Carvalho, photography director; Rodrigo Amarante, composer and singer of “Tuyo”, opening sequence; André Mattos as actor. This coverage celebrates, as a certificate of quality, the arrival of part of the Brazilian cultural

production in the cosmopolitanism of the American cultural industry. Perhaps, that can also unfold for a niche Brazilian audience of Netflix, with a greater flexibility to empathetically adopt Murphy's point of view than the Colombians, Latin Americans just like us.

The autochthonous bizarre and inexplicable

The references to magic realism, in the condition of a key aesthetic in the understanding of Colombian culture and society, constitute another trace that serves to *Narcos'* conservative culturalism. The mentions to this aesthetic open the first and close the second season of the show as landmarks of the narrative. The initial episode, "The arrival", a text intends to prepare the viewer for the absurdity of events that will follow: "The magic realism is defined as what happens when a realistic scenario, highly detailed, is invaded by something too strange to believe. There is a reason for the magic realism to be born in Colombia". The text is shown over an image of mountains covered by a mist, which the soundtrack helps build, initially, as a mysterious place. While the soundtrack gains a Colombian rhythm, we go down in an aerial travelling to the city of Bogotá, in a contiguous space to the mystical.

The expression magic realism, in fact, was created in Germany in 1925 by the historian and critic Francis Roh to designate a return movement, in painting, to realism after the expressionist turn in previous years. Even in Literature, as Zamora and Faris recuperate (1995), magic realism, before becoming a label related to Spanish speaking Latin American fiction, can be found in preceding works of modern fiction, such as *Decameron* and *One Thousand and One Nights*. According to the authors, the expression started to designate a set of narratives in which "the supernatural is not a simple or obvious aspect, but an ordinary aspect, a daily occurrence – admitted, accepted and integrated to rationality and materiality of literary realism" (ZAMORA and FARIS, 1995, p. 3).

However, even though it is not characteristic of our time or exclusive of the Colombian literature, the argument returns, in *Narcos*, in its final episode, "Al fin cayó", now in the voice of the narrator, Murphy:

If you look for “magic realism” in the dictionary, you will find a literary style that inserts fantastic and mythical elements in a work of realist fiction. It was in Colombia where everything started. And who spent some time around here knows why. It is a place, where, daily, the bizarre goes hand in hand with the inexplicable. But, just like Gabriel García Márquez’s work, weird shit comes in critical moments. When everybody is tense, is when everything is about to change.

While Murphy dialogues with the viewer, the montage articulates a lot of images, such as the bizarre defense of the Colombian goalkeeper René Higuita, folkloric parties and an indian healer. The opening scenes of the episode are, also, a fantasy of Pablo Escobar: being president of Colombia. The viewer of the show knows, through the events narrated in the first season, that the drug dealer had, indeed, a political project. Through a dream of the character, the narrative makes this project a reality. In the imaginary inauguration, Escobar lights up a marijuana joint and gives it to the former present César Gaviria (Raúl Méndez). In this episode, there are also mythical elements, as the neckless for protection a sicario gives to Escobar, with a sword of the Archangel Miguel, the Virgin Mary and the baby Jesus of Atocha, in a clear reference to the narcoculture. Or even, the detail of the teacup, that, spilled by Pablo Escobar’s wife, soak the napkin and imagetically anticipates the death of the drug dealer.

The narrative itself produces a sequence that could be, in certain aspects, magic realism. Escobar, tired of living in hiding, decides to take a risk and goes out alone in Medellín to take an ice cream. In the ice cream shop, no one recognizes him, not even a military man - which, in the series, can be explained due to the fact the drug dealer got old, fat and let his beard grow. But when he sits in the square to wait for the ice cream, he receives the visit of a dead cousin, Gustavo Gaviria (Juan Pablo Raba), which naturally sits beside him for an affectionate conversation.

The magic realism, as Zamora and Faris proposes, is a complex movement that involves counter-hegemonic ideologic aspects, questioning

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realist and collectivist conventions, once the narratives evoke, through myths and legends, communitarian practices based, many times, on oral stories and in rituals. “In cases like that, the works of magical realism reminds us that the romance began as a popular form, with communitarian imperatives that continue to operate in many parts of the world” (ZAMORA and FARIS, 1995). But in *Narcos*, the visceral identification of Colombia with magic realism works as, beyond an intertextual form of the narrative itself, a projection in a bizarre environment, as if an aesthetic in the field of art was a direct reflection of socio-cultural aspects. In this logic, the eccentric, unlike what suggest Zamora and Faris, is not a space of emergency of difference and other possible logics to the hegemonic, but the signal of a pre-civilization stage that, more than once, wants to show Latin American’s lack of development.

Final considerations

Narcos, in its first two seasons, constitute as fiction that, deliberately, acts as a “documentarizing” reading (ODIN, 2012). This is due to different aspects: the adherence of the narrative to events and historic characters, in which the series is opportunely inscribed in the mediatic vogue of narco-culture (RINCÓN, 2013), celebrated in many other audiovisual products, but also in news, literature and music (the drug ballads, for example); For its didactics, which intends, mainly through the voice of the American narrator, to explain to the viewer how the emergency of cocaine traffic happened in Colombia, the dissemination of drugs in the United States and the story of Pablo Escobar; the scene, who links drama and archive images in the condition of document. At the same time, the series have a strongly generic mimesis, structured from the industrial format of police narratives of cinema and television (the scenes of chasing, the duo of cops, the voiceover of a policeman, the sex scenes, the formation of a social type whose violence is presented as necessary), directed in a global market.

In the articulation between fictional and factual elements, the conservative culturalism is formed (SOUZA, 2015) of the series, with

emphasis in the representation of a sensualistic Latin American environment, personalist and naturally corrupted that is led by a logic that escapes rationality and points towards our western insufficiency. The United States appear, not without criticism, as a counterpoint through the efficiency and intelligence of federal agents. Murphy and his wife are altruistic citizens that, in order to help young victims of traffic and drugs, are going to “fight” it in Colombia. In this article, I mainly analyzed two narrative elements: the filmic point of view and the intertextuality with magic realism. The point of view conduces the narrative in a didactic way to the viewer, affirms the American perspective of the show and creates a discourse of motivation for the transformation of hero in a more ambivalent type, corrupted by the Latin American environment. The magic realism, in turn, is described as autochthonous aesthetic, born in Colombia and that brought, in literature, the eccentricity of that culture.

The contemporary audiovisual series are known by the way they have been working in a less dualistic manner both in their narrative contexts and their characters, considered “thicker” if compared to those American television products that dominated our television in the 80’s and the 90’s.⁷ *Narcos*, as we’ve said, do not stop making criticism to the United States - as, for example, the decision of that country to intervene in Colombia only when cocaine became a problem of financial frontiers, or even, the methods and alliances made by CIA on Latin America. Evidently, the series can arise conflicting readings around its speech. In the release of the second season, for example, Wagner Moura, after receiving critics to the first season, mainly in Colombia, declared in interviews that “*Narcos* is not about good American cops going to South Americans to save poor people from the bad guy. [...] The heroes are the Colombian people, who decided to fight against the terrible narco-terrorism installed in their country in the 80’s.”⁸

7 See the discussion of François Jost (2012), that, from the perspective of Northrop Frye, describes heroes of contemporary American TV series.

8 Available at: <http://cultura.estadao.com.br/noticias/televisao,e-hora-de-deixar-pablo-escobar-par-tir-diz-wagner-moura-sobre-protagonista-de-narcos,10000073573>. Accessed in: August 8th, 2017.

However, the interview, as a para-text shared through the mediatic text to which it refers, can have the function of establishing and orienting a type of reading, sometimes contrary to some that was already formed. In the analysis of the series, the critic of *Narcos*, when put in front of more predominant discursive aspects, can be pertinently interpreted as cynical, once it has, in general, an affirmation of a conservative culturalist view.

Finally, the main issue of this article can also be investigated in analysis studies compared between the series and other audiovisual narratives of narco-culture, as the Colombian production *El Patrón del Mal*, of different cultural background. Such collation can contribute for the identification and analysis of aspects and nuances of conservative culturalism. *Narcos* is also an open series. The final scene of the second season is a room of officials designating the agent Javier Peña (Pedro Pascal) for a next mission, a *topos* of serial investigation narratives (let's think of *Mission: Impossible* or James Bond movies). Again, we see here how aspects of the industrial format and the genre conform the narrative. In the third season, agent Peña investigates the Cali cartel, also in Colombia, pointing towards another historic background. All of that demands study of these industrial formats and the relation they establish with recent history of our continent, putting in motion, between entertainment and document, more or less schematic representations of Latin America.

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About the author

PhD professor at the Post-Graduate Program in Social Communication at the Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Minas Gerais (Catholic University of Minas Gerais), with post-doctoral internship at the Queensland University, Australia.

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The social construction of authorship of advertising films

A construção social da autoria de filmes publicitários

Tatiana Güenaga Aneas¹

Abstract: *This article examines authorship within the field of advertising film, considering the operating of institutions and professionals involved in the creation of these products: advertising agency, advertiser and production company. From a perspective based on the field theory (Bourdieu, 1996), and in dialogue with authors who discuss authorship in the field of cultural production, the work aims to establish theoretical and methodological premises to understand the positions of authorship in advertising films, and the benefits of incorporating this understanding into the analysis of this kind of audiovisual work.*

Keywords: *advertising film; advertising field; authorship.*

Resumo: *Este artigo examina como se constrói o lugar da autoria no interior do campo do filme publicitário, considerando a atuação de instituições e profissionais envolvidos na criação destes produtos: agência publicitária, empresa anunciante e produtora audiovisual. A partir de uma perspectiva que tem como base a teoria dos campos de Bourdieu (1996), e em diálogo com autores que discutem autoria no campo da produção cultural, o trabalho busca discutir os lugares de autoria de filmes publicitários, com ênfase na relação entre instâncias criativa e produtora, e as vantagens de incorporar esta compreensão à análise desta espécie de obra audiovisual.*

Palavras-chave: *filme publicitário; campo publicitário; autoria*

1 Federal University of Sergipe. Aracaju, SE, Brasil. E-mail: tatiana.aneas@gmail.com

Introduction

This article talks about the issue of authorship in advertisement pieces. Coming from reflections on how we build and reproduce a possible place of authors in the interior of the advertisement production and how to understand this authorship helps us examine these movies in their poetic and stylistic dimension, proposing a reflection despite this phenomenon, supported by Bourdieu (1996) and his studies on Flaubert and the French literary field. In dialog with researches that investigate authorship in fields other than cultural production, such as cinema (JOST, 2009; RAMOS, 2004), telenovela (SOUZA, 2004; SOUZA e WEBER, 2009), videoclip (BARRETO, 2009, 2014) and advertisement itself (HANSEN, 2013), we come from the hypothesis that an analysis of the authorial aspects of an advertisement film must build the history of this field, determining the position of the agency, of the advertiser and the producer responsible for the creation of films studied in the relation with their competition, as well as their positions and dispositions derived from the social trajectory of the professionals involved in its production. To understand advertisement films, the themes, genres, styles and authorial instances that characterize how the expression of a point of view, of a position of agencies, advertisers, producers and creators that act inside these companies generate, thus, the necessity of knowing positions of reference that would motivate the presentation of a certain stylistic constitution and not another.

Thus, we recognize the necessity of localizing both the agency as well as the advertiser and the producer in the interior of what we are calling field of advertisement film, because we suppose that, if it is possible to think in an authorial instance of the context of production of these films, their constitution crosses the relationship among these three institutions. Although the conception of an advertisement film, its idea, either of responsibility of professionals of advertisement creation, it is important to affirm that a significant part of the space of possibilities of creation of an agency, even these with high degree of autonomy and recognized authorial nuance, is determined by the advertiser – for

essentially pragmatic reasons, as the fact that the advertiser, client of the agency, the one who approves the idea, pays for the production and signs the movie, but also by the fact that this advertiser company occupies a position in its own original field, which, in turn, will determine what will be possible or not to adopt this as public discourse, through advertisement, as taking a stand.

Brands, in the contemporary context, have trajectory and personality, position themselves within a market in which advertisers compete for space in shape of economic (and also symbolic) capital. The position of the advertiser fills in this space, it is possible to imagine, is directly related to the way it is presented in their campaigns and advertisement pieces. In this study, however, the focus of analysis lies preferably on the instance of creation (advertisement agency) and their relationship with the advertiser (company) and the production (audiovisual producer). Which does not mean, however, a suggestion that the advertiser and producer instances are less important in the constitution of this place of authorship – even because, as we concluded, placing where the highest degree of autonomy within a collective creative process demands an analysis of the specific case.

Origins and extensions of the notion of authorship

Discussions on authorship are abundantly found in practically all of the spheres of artistic and cultural production nowadays. In literary study, where certainly this preoccupation has been vastly debated, the issue on who produces a text and which are the implications on its form and content crosses disciplinary fields in a way of motivating the elaboration of different conceptual models. The landmark for contemporary discussions is found in the field of Foucault's criticism and in Barthes' defense on the death of the author. Given the distance between theoretical affiliation of both authors, what seems to be similar in their writing is a certain unsettling feeling with the applanating and romantic vocation that the notion of author, commonly applied and practiced in literary

criticism, would have on texts. About that, Barthes' comment is clear when he affirms that:

Giving an author to a text is to impose a safety mechanism to this text, is to give it the ultimate meaning, is to wrap up the writing. This conception is perfectly convenient to the critic, that intends to attribute the important task of finding out the author (or its hypostasis: the society, the history, the psyche, the freedom) under the play: once found who the Author is, the text is "explained", the critic won [...] (BARTHES, 2004, p. 69).

It is equally possible to detect, in Foucault and his notion of function-author, a (methodologic) effort, of taming this historically constituted construct with an almost sacred statute that empties out texts of autonomy, that would be submitted to their author's intentions.

The name of the author is not located in the status of men, is not located in the fiction of the book, but in the rupture that establishes a certain set of discourses and its singular way of being. Consequently, we can say that in a civilization like ours, there is a certain amount of discourses that are provided with the "author" function, while others lack such function. A particular letter can have a signatory, but not an author; a contract can have a guarantor, but it does not have an author. An anonymous text read on the street in a wall will have an editor, but not an author. The author-function is, therefore, characteristic of the way of existing, circulating and functioning of certain discourses within a society (FOUCAULT, 2001, p. 34).

In critic and in academic research on cinema, the debate around the notion of author is maintained since the *politique des auteurs* and constitute a vast field of studies, with extensions that get to the field of television and spread through reflections on authorship in specific products such as telenovelas, documentaries and videoclips.² With approaches that go from textual analysis to culturalism, what arises in common in the set of studies on authorship in the audiovisual field seem to be the agreement that prior meanings on who the author a product of this kind would be collaborate in the understanding of a book and a

2 Among the many authors that study the issue of authorship in the audiovisual field, we can cite Bordwell (2003), Gerstner and Staiger (2003), Gunning (1991) and Jean-Claude Bernardet (1994).

creative process that is originated. For an analyst whose questions would be centered in the work in itself, as it was the case of great part of 60's semiology, it is perfectly possible to leave the author "at the door of his theoretical constructions" (JOST, 2009, p. 11). In this research, however, we are challenged to face que issue of authorship and ways how it can be transposed for the analysis of advertisement films.

In fact, what matters here, more than attributing an authorship of an advertisement film, sterile procedure in the point of view of analysis and with a hard operation, is to detect which positions, amongst the various agents engaged in the creative process, concentrate the necessary capitals to decide on the composition of the film and in which aspects (thematic, narrative, aesthetic, etc.). Following the path taken by Souza (2004), Souza and Weber (2009), Ramos (2004), Nogueira (2002) and Barreto (2009, 2014), we go back to the premises offered by the theory of fields to reflect on the place of the author, the social meaning of authorship and the possible reverberations of this phenomenon in the composition of advertisement films.

Thus, the real hierarchy of explaining factors impose the inversion of progression adopted ordinarily by analysts: it is important to ask not how a writer came to be who he is – with the risk of falling into the illusion of a reconstructed coherence – but how, given their social origin and socially constituted properties, he could fill, or in certain cases, produce the positions already made or to be done offered by a determined sate of the literary field (etc.) And give, therefore, a more or less complete and coherent expression of position that were inscribed in a potential state of these positions (for example, in the case of Flaubert, the inherent contradictions of art for art and, in a more general manner, the condition of artistry) BOURDIEU, 1996, p. 244).

In *Pascalian meditations*, we find similar indications:

However, how can we distinguish such reading of the projection of the wild founded in vague analogies, with which frequency the reader is delivered (overall when he intends to get the role of author, thinking and living his reading as a second "creation")? The effort to walk on the

author's shoes is only justified when there are means of building the place as such, i. e., a position, a point (beginning of a point of view), in a social space that is nothing but the literary field inside which this author is located (BOURDIEU, 2007, p. 106)

Here, we go back to the idea that the social status of the creators involved in the production of films within the field is defined through the capitals necessary to fill it (in species and volume) and tends to be a certain specific point of about what is this field. The individual or collective author, or, as we prefer, the authorial instance is, therefore, a point in this space: to rebuild it helps the analyst give meaning to their choices, present in films in form of compositional strategies, mechanisms of production of cognitive, aesthetic and affective effects (GOMES, 2004). About that, Souza and Weber (2009, p. 80), when dealing about the role of screenwriter as telenovela author, they say:

It is especially important to widen the knowledge on relationships among which the social and historical conditions enabled the acknowledgement of screenwriters as telenovela authors in Brazil and the degrees of decision-making they have in a collective system of audiovisual creation to pick and choose the strategies of composition of scheduling the foreseen effects in the stories they've created.

We reinforce that, in the list of researchers we previously quoted, we come from the premise that, even in the context of audiovisual production performed within big companies and with strong commercial character, the authorial condition does not necessarily derive from an absolute control over the work by their creators. Which does not impede, on the other hand, that the creators have quality as a criterion, seeking to adjust this disposition to the demands of the market - with bigger or smaller strength, according to their own habits, their interests and the position they fill in the field. In the case of the field of audiovisual production, whose material specificities demand a structure of equipment and a diversity of professionals for its performance, it makes even less sense to think of an experience of creation absolutely separated from

an industrial logic, or minimally, of labor division. About that argument, Souza (2004, p. 3) says:

What these reflections reaffirm is the pertinence of the focus of investigation on the relations between the work situations of performers and the process of an authorial creation, about the conditions of a work process that allows to perform choices associated to the expression of styles and the authorial recognition. Arguments that point for the necessity of widening the knowledge on the conditions of process of creating and recognizing authorship in TV drama. Knowledge that helps composing more precise categories of analysis to face the interpretative limits made by the studies in this field that insist on the antinomy innovation-repetition, disregarding the authorial experiences in the field of massive commercial production.

What Souza is telling us is the necessity of the analyst to know the field in which these authorial instances are inserted in, because only with that knowledge, that allows reaching the meaning of authorship in the studied field, the analyst has conditions of precisely localizing the “particular experiences of authorship” (SOUZA, 2004, p. 4). That because such experiences are specific to each field of production and depend, still, in the state of this field and the place in which the agent or group responsible for the work is located.

Authorial instances in the field of advertisement films

In the specific case in the field of advertisement audiovisual production, it is possible to outline different occurrences of authorial attribution. For the “wide audience”, or for a non-specialized audience for this type of product, in most cases, the authorial instance of an advertisement film is the advertiser. As Ramos says (2004, p. 100), “the advertisement is a kingdom of anonymity for the audience”. It is interesting to notice how the terms “commercial” or “advertisement piece” are more common in this field of reception, whereas the word “film”, that refers to a more “artistic” and valued field of cinema is predominant in the field of specialized reception, as it is the case in awards and critique. When dealing,

through discourse analysis, with tensions present in the authorship of advertisement ads, Hansen (2013) concludes that:

[...] the voice that is highlighted in the creative process of the advertisement discourse, i. e., the voice which has visibility in the ad is the voice of the advertiser that signs the advertisement piece. This appreciation comes from a fact previously analyzed by us: the erasure of distance between advertiser and target-audience, enabling the latter to have the illusion of accessing the advertiser directly, without the mediation of an advertisement agency and their professionals. We foresee that this voice is highlighted for the target audience (real reader), usually someone not specialized in the subject and a potential consumer of the advertisement, in the moment of contact with the final advertisement. Through this reader's eyes, the responsible for the ad is the advertiser, which deceptively appears as the author (HANSEN, 2013, p. 149).

As Hansen indicates, the advertiser is nothing more than a “deceptive author” because the professionals of the agency are responsible for the conception of advertisement pieces. In many cases, the performance of the professional that represents the advertiser happens much more in the sense of allowing ideas or not, as a type of gatekeeper. When the agency detains an important symbolic capital, however, and it is recognized in the field for their creative ability, there is a bigger probability that the advertiser gives in to their propositions, even if they present risks – situation under the condition of the position of the advertiser himself, that influences his tendency or not to the innovation and the associated risk. Barreto (2009) also tensions this question to talk about shared authorship between the performatic instance (singers and bands) and the directive instance (directors), typical of the videoclip production field, bringing up the idea that the autonomy to create is derived from the added symbolic capital, which could be useful to think authorship in the field of advertisement films:

The consecration of a performer give him more relevance in the defense of specificity and autonomy of the productive context in which he are inserted in, because it pervades him the power of a successful representative in the competition process of his own field, stimulating

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his purposes of controlling the artistic management of his work and reacting to pressures coming from external fields. In the field of videoclip, directors, singers and bands considered as authors can, for example, put themselves against the label's inclination for success formulas, generally linked to the crystallization of pre-conceived ideas on how a clip of a certain genre should be (BARRETO, 2014, p. 66).

In a similar way, the field of advertisement films has its canons and conventions. The films of retail are emblematic of positions in which creators have little autonomy to create innovation. These canons are organized by known discursive shapes, as it is the case of films based on the witness of celebrities or in the appeal of authority (VESTERGAARD and SCHRODER, 1996, p. 97). The consecration, the recognition and the added symbolic capital are, in general, the indicators that an agency or creative have power to ask and convince the advertiser to bet on new ideas and to take the risks involved with innovation.

What matters here is to call attention to another aspect of the relationship between agency and advertiser: if, for the general audience, agencies and creatives eventually give up claiming authorship of films, the same cannot be said about the specialized audience – i. e., professionals of advertisement audiovisual production themselves, journalists and specialized critics. For them, the authorship of an advertisement film tends to be of the creative instance, of the agency (in the institutional field) and of the professionals of its team (in the individual field). To verify this affirmation, you just need to consult news about advertisement films in the specialized media, that, invariably, position the agency in the condition of authorial institution, adopting discourses such as “AlmapBBDO signs Volkswagen's new film”.

Similarly, awards are, in general, directed towards agencies, and these institutions take the award and get the prize of the symbolic capital. Hansen (2013, p. 161) defends that, in the dimension of effective doing, “the authorship is shared among the professionals of the agency and the advertiser” and that “the creative process of the advertisement discourse is a collective manifestation by nature”. We do not disagree of such

sentence, but we add that, despite being a collective work, in the terms described by the author (and in which we must insert the producer, in the case of films) it is for the agency and its professionals, overall the creators, that this authorship, in general, have more value and importance in the point of view of recognition.³

It is about a notion of authorship not only underlying the practices of advertisement activity and presupposed by those who participate in this field but institutionalized in the form of laws and regulations. The text of the Decree 57.690, enforced in February 1st, 1966, that regulates the Law n. 4.680, enforced in June 18th, 1965, which talks about the profession of advertisement person, is clear in regard to who is the owner of ideas present in films and campaigns:

The idea used in the propaganda is, supposedly, the Agency's, and cannot be explored by others, without the reception of a fair wage, reinforcing the disposed in the art. 454, of the Consolidation of Labor Laws (BRASIL, 1966, art. 9th, VIII).

The standard for the advertisement activity, published by the Executive Council of Standard Norms (Cenp - Conselho Executivo de Normas-Padrão), also brings indications that the recognition of authorship in advertisement pieces must lie on the agency (and its professionals): "As stimulus and incentive to creativity, it is presumed that the advertisement ideas, pieces, plans and campaigns developed belong to the Agency which created it, observing the law on copyright" (CENP, 1998, p. 9).

Authorship as the result of disputes for symbolic capital

It is important to briefly talk about how power relations are established and the division of work within agencies in the process of creating a film. Even inside an agency, the recognition of authorship of a film is not

3 Even so that advertisement agencies pay for their enrollment in prizes. In 2014, AlmapBBDO invested approximately 120,000 euros in advertisement enrollment. Source: Reclame, August 12th, 2014.

necessarily a simple and pacific process. Film's datasheets seem to be an interesting indicator of this dispute and the dominant positions within an agency. In the credits, that circle through the specialized media, shared by the agencies themselves, the order of presentation of information says a lot about the importance attributed to professionals in the process of creating and producing a film. Usually, after the title of the movie, advertiser and product, the first position listed is the advertising manager, followed by the creatives (copywriter and art director), producer and scene director. The technical positions, usually professionals of the producer, come next. About the importance of datasheets as an instrument of recognition of individual authorship, the advertisement professional Marcello Serpa says: in an interview to the magazine *Meio & Mensagem*:

And, in the market of creation, it is essential that we have a profound respect about two things. The first is for the advertisement people, the creatives, that is the respect for the datasheet, that means respecting the authorship and never putting your name in front of someone else's work. A creative director who puts his name in each and every job that appears in the agency is crushing the talents that work alongside him. This is a common practice everywhere (SERPA RESPONDE, 2015).

For hierarchy purposes, the creative director is pointed, in datasheets, as the main responsible for the film - even though the idea is not usually his, but from the creators, which are below him. It is expected that this professional is capable of recognizing, in the propositions presented by the creative duo, that one that has potential to become a film that fills the needs of the advertiser and assure recognition for him, for his team and for the agency.

Possibly due to the importance of the script as a primary instrument of materialization of the idea of a film, some researchers attribute a supposed authorship to the script writer. Ramos (2004, p. 98) asks: "Who is the creator of the 30-second 'piece', the writer or the director?", transposing for advertisement a tension between screenwriter and director that is typical of the field of cinema. Baggio (2009, p. 154) follows the

same path when talking about the “death of the advertisement author/writer”. The process of conception of the idea of a film, however, in the current practices of agencies, is the creative duo’s responsibility, being indistinguishable the precise origin of the individual’s point of view, except in rare cases that are expressed. In one of the few script manuals for advertisement films available in Brazil, Barreto (2004) summarizes this process:

Currently in advertisement agencies, there is this idea that writing scripts is task for the writer. [...] Writing the script, however, it is only the last phase of its structure. It is the technical phase. There is something else that comes before the knowledge on how efficient dialogues are built and how scenes are separated. This “thing” is the script’s basic element, it is what depends the creation of its structure. The ‘thing’ is the idea. And with the idea, there is no argument: in a campaign, the idea is the copy-writer’s and the art director’s responsibility (BARRETO, 2004, p. 25).

Marcello Serpa, originally an art director, had authorship attributed to many films throughout his career, for instance. Some agencies adopt today a work scheme in which multidisciplinary teams are dedicated to one or some clients, making this presupposed authorship to the writer to fail. In the point of view of social recognition, the authorship of an advertisement film, within the agency, is attributed to the duo that signs the creation and their director or hierarchical superior. From the point of view of analytical premises, this finding leads us to the analysis of the trajectory of these agents, and, overall, the position they fill in the moment of emergency of a studied film.

Agency and producer: between conflict and partnership

Finally, it is necessary to detain ourselves in the relationships established between agency and audiovisual producer. This relationship, very well described by Ramos (2004), tend to sway between partnership and conflict. This is due to the fact that the agents of the audiovisual field (mostly the director) have slightly more accentuated artistic aspirations than the

creatives of agencies. Generally, because they circulate in neighboring fields, such as cinema, in which the director's authorship is supposed, these professionals, in order to work with the advertisement field, have to be willing to, at least, share this place.

On the other hand, the field of advertisement films is the place where audiovisual professionals can find resources often scarce on other spaces - in comparison with the possibilities of acting in the Brazilian cinema, especially until the 90's, this difference is even more relevant. Ramos counterposes these two scenarios that are put for the audiovisual professionals in Brazil: on one hand, a more autonomous cinematographic work in terms of conception, but limited due to difficulties acquiring technical resources and low economic return; from the other, the subordination inherent to the task of filming the idea of others, but with the possibility of having access of a superior production structure in a field that values the aesthetic of their work. "However, despite the negative side, the activity has attractive attributes: the search for dominance in the cinematographic work, the technical appreciation, these are positive features regarding advertising to maintain a constant audiovisual update" (RAMOS, 2004, p. 94).

Frequently, the area of advertisement films is described as a space for learning and renewal on the behalf of professionals in the field. A director can have in this space a place of aesthetic experimentation that the cinema or TV less frequently enable. Ridley Scott, important movie director, started out in advertising, and still today, maintains a significant amount of production in this field, along with working in cinema.

I loved doing commercials. I loved turning footage, and loved the fact that commercials were on film. I loved how they were all visual. To me, advertising films were little capsules of perfection. You also got an opportunity to craft a 30-second commercial much more often than you did a 60-minute television film. (SAMMON, 1999, p. 29)

Although there is, in fact, a dispute for the control over the result of the work, overall between creatives and directors, it is equally true that some aspects of the way the productive process of advertisement movies

were built in Brazil end up favoring the performing instance in terms of relative freedom and autonomy. In the North American and English markets, the competition and level of specialization end up ranking directors per segment, limiting their action (BERTOMEU, 2011, p. 127). In addition, in these countries, it is much more common the follow-up of the creative team on set, which, in Brazil, rarely occurs, even due to the amount of work that, often, impedes creatives from leaving the agency.

In the interpretation of script for the construction of the audiovisual of the play, there is few clarity in the commands and decisions. The dominion of technique allows the directors to make consistent contributions and decide on many aspects that an advertisement professional does not know (BERTOMEU, 2011, p. 138).

That is because, even though animatics and/or storyboards generally foresee scenes and sequences of the film, they are less specific in terms of color, texture and lighting, camera movement, edition rhythm. Even plastic parameters, such as shot scale and framing, theoretically foreseen in the documents supplied by agencies, are possible to change. What Washington Olivetto says reinforces that idea:

Since the beginning of my life in advertising, I put all my trust at the professionals I choose to work with me and give all freedom to them, a fact that may explain the majority of my successes. In the case of commercial production, I say to the director what I want in the movie, but I let him hire the cast and crew, the lighting, the sets, the scenarios, the angle, the criteria of editing, the soundtrack, the sound effects, everything (OLIVETTO, 2008, p. 45).

In fact, this is the expected contribution of a director of advertising films: once captured the general idea of creation, he controls and take decisions related to the aesthetic dimension of the film. It is in this dimension, therefore, that the analyst who examines a movie can, generally, check the presence of a performing instance, in the shape of choices that are translated into strategies of mainly aesthetic effects. It

is evident that this reflection does not apply to all cases, but it points to a tendency of functioning of relationships between agency, advertiser and producer. That is because it is also true that, in order to work with certain performers, eventually the agency and the creatives have to give up their own autonomy and delegate the step of conception also to the producing instance. Among others, it is possible to think about the series of short films *The Hire* (Fallow/BMW/BMW Films, Anonymous Content, Zeta RSA Films. USA, 2001), in which the episodes (separated into two seasons) were written and directed by known filmmakers and in whose production, by the directors' appeal, the agency's interference was minimal.

Conclusions

This article discussed the place of the instances involved in the process of creation, approval and production of advertisement films, betting that this knowledge would help widen the range of possibilities of analysts to locate poetic, narrative and thematic choices within this films, that may be related to positions in these institutions and professionals in the field of production of advertisement films.

When dealing with a private film, the understanding of the place of the advertiser in their field enriches the analysis not only in the sense of understanding how this emergency was possible, but also regarding the forms how the discourse about the brand is inserted in this narrative. The creative instance, in turn, tend to be the place of thematic and narrative choices of the film, once it is up to the advertisement agency and the creative team the conception of the work, its general idea, its script and its primary indications of visual style. Finally, the reflection on authorship in an advertisement film cannot come before the understanding of what is the place of the audiovisual producer. Although it is an instance that supposedly would have less creative autonomy, once their function would be executing the idea created by others, the analysis of position and trajectory of the professionals linked to the producer

seems to be an essential procedure to understand many aspects of style, especially aesthetic style, of these films.

In short, we defend here an analytical posture that comprise textual and contextual aspects of advertisement films as a strategy to better understand how the creative choices of concrete agents reflects in the composition of these materials. And that, the advertiser, the creator and the producer have equal parts in this process, the authorship of an advertisement film being a social construction derived from power relationships between these institutions and agents that act on them. Finally, we reinforce that this reflection proposes general tendencies and premises for an analysis of this nature, that must be done in the empirical analysis of particular cases of concrete audiovisual productions.

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About the author

Professor at the Social Communication Department at Universidade Federal de Sergipe (UFS). Professor at the Communication Post-Graduate Program at UFS. Has a PhD in Contemporary Communication and Culture by Póscom at Universidade Federal da Bahia (UFBA, 2016), a masters in Contemporary Communication and Culture by the same institution (2011). Specialist in Social Communication Design by the Universidade Salvador (2009). Graduated in Social Communication, with major in Journalism, by UFBA (2007).

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Science in advertising narratives: strategies in free-to-air TV

Ciência em narrativas publicitárias: estratégias na TV aberta

Maria Ataíde Malcher¹

Weverton Raiol²

Abstract: *In this paper, we present nine strategies of science usage in TV advertisement. Understanding advertising as a narrative articulated to our daily lives, therefore, a mediation of communication processes and a constructor of patterns, we develop the research following the proposal of Motta (2013) for the communicational analysis of the narratives. Based on seven analytical movements, we identified the following strategies: (i) the scientific components; (ii) the scientific environments; (iii) the invitation to experimentation; (iv) the relation with innovation; (v) fiction and reality; (vi) the scientific animations and illustrations; (vii) the specialist and scientist characters; (viii) the celebrity characters; (ix) and the non-specialist characters*

Keywords: *advertising; science; narrative; free-to-air TV.*

Resumo: *Neste artigo, apresentamos nove estratégias de uso da ciência em anúncios publicitários televisivos. Entendendo a publicidade como uma narrativa articulada ao nosso cotidiano, portanto uma mediação de processos de comunicação e uma construtora de modelos, desenvolvemos a pesquisa seguindo a proposta de Motta (2013) para análise comunicacional de narrativas. A partir de sete movimentos analíticos, identificamos as seguintes estratégias: (i) os componentes científicos; (ii) os ambientes científicos; (iii) o convite à experimentação; (iv) a relação com a inovação; (v) a ficção e a realidade; (vi) as animações e*

1 Federal University of Pará. Belém, PA, Brazil. E-mail: ataidemalcher@uol.com.br

2 Federal University of Pará. Belém, PA, Brazil. E-mail: weverton.raiol@gmail.com

ilustrações científicas; (vii) os cientistas e especialistas como personagens; (viii) as celebridades como personagens; (ix) os não especialistas como personagens.

Palavras-chave: *publicidade; ciência; narrativa; TV aberta.*

Introduction

We do not always perceive how much science is present in the daily life through advertisement (CASALLAS-TORRES, 2012; PITRELLI, MANZOLI e MONTOLLI, 2006; SIBILIA and JORGE, 2016). However, if we think about it, we can easily remember of products advertised as the most recommended by specialists, with innovative formulas and/or able to transform the daily life. Therefore, the use of science in advertisement narratives is not something new but makes us think about how these promises advertised are “materialized”, for example, by the presence of characters of specialists or the demonstration of reactions in our body.

In an analysis of the schedule of Brazilian network TV as a whole, a quantitative highlight was found in advertisement regarding other television categories in which there are references to science (MALCHER et al., 2017).³ Since then, our efforts were unfolded into a new research, in which we seek to understand how science was used in television advertisement narratives shown, in the period between June and November 2013, in commercial breaks of Record Belém and TV Liberal, in Belém, PA.

Among our results, coming from the concept of advertisement as an element strongly articulated to the market and the daily life (TOALDO, 2005; GOMES, 2008; PIEDRAS, 2009; TRINDADE, 2012), we identified nine strategies of use of science for the construction of advertisement narratives. In this article, our focus is to present and discuss these strategies; in order to do that, we will resume some steps configuring the research in order to clarify how it was developed until its results.

Approximations in the advertisement research

As a starting point, we understand that the advertisement narrative has as the main goal the seduction. In order to do that, it uses strategies

³ This study is a part of the results of the research “Representations of the women scientist in Brazilian TV and in teenage imaginary”, financed by the National Council of Scientific and Technologic Development (CNPq) through MCTI/CNPq/SPM-PR/MDA n° 32/2012.

that may get their interlocutors involved. When we see advertisement as a market action (GOMES, 2008) that aims to constitute processes of communication through strategies that articulate the context of its production/vehiculation, we go beyond its economical function: we get in its quality of mediatic and cultural product that is inserted in the daily life, configuring perception and practices of subjects that they can involve.

Toaldo (2005), Piedras (2009) and Trindade (2012) emphasize the importance of this market dimension of advertisement for its insertion in the daily life. Thus, when we study advertisement, “we can know ourselves, as if we are watching, in a screen, our lives reproduced in fragments (ROCHA, 2006, p. 2).

In Toaldo’s (2005) study, which analyses the Brazilian context through advertisement pieces, we have advertisement as mediation of moral values that articulates with other instances that weave the social field. When considering that the values present in television advertisement narratives relate with the scenario in which we take part, Trindade (2012, p. 177) also emphasizes that “there we have a mediation”. Therefore, advertisement searches, in our daily lives, for elements in which we can identify ourselves in, so we can recognize ourselves and participate of what is proposed by it, giving meanings to practices coming from what is publicized. That necessity of being constituted and constituting the daily life tends to build models in a relation of consumption of goods (TOALDO, 2005; PIEDRAS, 2009; TRINDADE, 2012).

Perceiving advertisement as mediation and building models privileges the analysis under the perspective of communication as a process, because we understand that the reconfiguration of meanings and practices derives from identification and negotiation. Thus, advertisement introduces news and reinforces what is latent, bringing meaning on the daily life and making sense to be inserted in it. This link makes us think on how science is strategic for advertisement narratives, because this knowledge is not detached from our practices and its presence in our lives is alters with time but has continuities when it is about “illuminating” the

world. This is a clue that science has, in our society, an important role, otherwise it would not involve the consumers with the advertised products and certainly would not be a recurring strategy for advertisement.

Methodological procedures

Our research, derived from a previous project, begins with the already collected advertisements⁴ and we refined this corpus for the established goals. Considering the proposal that the advertisement is the element that not only interrupts, but overall, sews the television schedule together (PIEDRAS, 2009; TRINDADE 2012), we analyzed 83 advertisements inserted in commercial breaks,⁵ that were organized by categories of advertised products (Table 1).⁶

We understand that the analysis of television advertisement narratives from the notion of advertisement as mediator and constructor of models is consonant to Motta's (2013) preoccupation of investigating the narration under the communicational gaze, seeking to understand how the narrative strategies are revealed as attempts of establishing dialogs between massive productions and its interlocutors.

Therefore, we consider that the narratives are cultural productions inserted in contexts and creators of social significance, imbricated in sociocultural and communicational dimensions. This notion helps us consider narrative as a culture in action, and then we study the creation of strategies that generate meaning over reality. For analysis purposes, Motta (2013) guides us to think narratives in three levels, because, as processes, they are not divisible. They are the level of expression,

4 In the previous research, we recorded 648 hours of television schedule of Record Belém e TV Liberal, collected in the period from June to November 2013. The collection was performed through the technique of builded weeks, randomly drawing two times of each day of the week within the referred period, until we have two weeks of television schedule.

5 The *corpus* is composed by pieces of the following advertisers: Acnase; Activia; Avon; Canal Futura; Celpa; Chevrolet; Cicatricure; CNPq; Colgate; Danoninho; Densia; Dove; Fiat; Flanax; Floratil; Ford; Friboi; Goicoechea; Head Shoulder; Imecap Hair; L'Oréal Paris; Listerine; Mediasp; Mr. Músculo; Neutrogena; Top Therm; Pantene; Pepsi; Petrobras; Pointts; Qiar; Respire Melhor; Shell; Shot-B; Targifor C; Tiguvon; Tio Nacho; TRESemmé; Tylenol; Veja.

6 This organization was na indication of Trindade (1999). However, se used the authors proposition from the Market segments that anually invest in advertisement (INVESTIMENTO PUBLICITÁRIO, 2016).

content and metanarratives.⁷ According to the author, the perspective of communication should focus in the level of content, since the analysis will raise coming and going of the other levels.

Table 1 – Advertisers and advertisements per product category.

PRODUCT CATEGORY	ADVERTISERS	ADVERTISEMENTS
Food	4	7
Drink	1	1
Public utility	1	1
Fuel	2	4
Cosmetics	6	18
Household cleaning	2	2
Personal Hygiene	9	24
Medicine	7	8
Veterinary Medicine	1	1
Other farmaceutical products	4	6
Services	2	3
Vitamins and Supplements	3	3
Cars and accessories	3	5
TOTAL	40*	83

Source: research data.

Note: *The advertisers can be in more than one product category. However, in the total, these advertisers are only counted once.

The level of expression is the surface, where we can identify the verbal, the sonorous, the visual, - they are forms of expressing what takes us to history, it is through them that we get in content. The level of content is the projection of narrative through expressive resources - even if there is no content without verbal, sound and visual resources, it has its own grammar: characters and their roles, the scenario, the chain of actions, among other issues that involve the intrigue. In the level of metanarratives there are the issues that surround our culture. There lies

7 Motta (2013) indicates alternatives to name the same plans. Considering the bibliographic reviews and our proposition, we chose to name the three plans as: expression, content and meta-narratives.

the background, the imaginary that we evoke for the understanding of what is narrated. In this level we see the “moral of the story” and all the actions, even the most fictional, have a link to what it could happen.

After understanding the levels, we made seven “movements of analysis” (MOTTA, 2013) that work simultaneously, but that are in an order so it is possible to have the notion that we can get deeper in each one of them: (i) observe and decompose the story; (ii) understand the articulation between the parts that are constituent; (iii) let arise their episodes; (iv) understand the wire that connect them; (v) analyze the characters as main figure of actions; (vi) watch the argumentative strategies; (vii) understand the conflicts from the surface to the deepness.

Both first movements result, respectively, in a synopsis-summary and a timeline that helps the other steps. Let us begin, therefore, composing and recomposing the 83 stories. We generate the synopsis-summary and identify that, due to the repetitions and combinations, a selection of 30 advertisements contemplated the resources identified since then. Later, we elaborated a timeline proposal that linked the common structure to the advertisement script (presentation, arguments and complicity), through Figueiredo (2014), and the advertisement narrative structure (initial situation → disturbance → transformation → resolution → final situation) indicated by Flausino and Motta (2007).

From the adoption of these structures, we analyze the 30 selected advertisements in order to understand the logics of narrative construction. For Motta (2013, p. 146), it is necessary to face the “narrative as a link of performance of interlocutors in a process of communication”. Thus, we simultaneously perform the five following movements from the synopsis-summary and the timeline of each advertisement. And, in this process, we perceived the strategies of use of science that we present next.

Science Activation Strategies in Television Advertisement Narratives

Coming from the theoretical-methodological premises presented, we identified nine narrative strategies of television advertisement that

involve science: (i) scientific components; (ii) scientific environments; (iii) an invitation for experiments; (iv) the relation with innovation; (v) fiction and reality; (vi) scientific animations and illustrations; (vii) scientists and specialists as characters; (viii) celebrities as characters; (ix) non-specialists as characters. In the following chapter, we present how they configurate and which are the category of products they use.

Scientific Components

The scientific component is the element, substance or nutrient present in the constitution of the advertised product. In some cases, it is the conducting wire of argument of the advertisement, with information regarding its characteristics and the result it brings. In others, it is only briefly mentioned, having the result as the main focus. The components are emphasized or quoted in the advertisement narrative to make science as an attribute of the product.

The scientific components are, generally, found in products of personal hygiene, but also in categories of food, cosmetics, household cleaning products, medicine and supplements and vitamins. Beyond innovation, they have the function of giving the advertiser the characteristic of effectivity, because generally they are products with unique properties. Even these components that are not new or are found in other products are built from what they can transform.

In Elseve Arginina Resist X3 advertisement, from L'Oréal Paris (Image 1), scientific components are used in the process of argumentation, specifically in points of transformation and resolution of narrative. They show how that conduct the problem presented to the expected solution.

The action of the scientific component is presented with animations, which begin with nutri-omega rings and arginine in contact with the hair bulb, from where hairs run through the capillary fiber, illustrating the “triple action” promised by the products. In its argument, the advertisement recurs to the notion of effective results.

Mainly anchored in the presence of what is exclusive, the locution (explanation) and the animation (demonstration) that are also important

reinforcements of this argument. But not only that, the own presence of the singer Jennifer Lopez, the colors, the name given to the result (“fortifying triple action”) are also attempted resources of communication to science as differentiation of product to consumer.

Image 1 – L’Oréal Paris, Elseve Arginina Resist X3 (30s).



Source: research collection.

Scientific Environment

Another strategy that is present in advertisement pieces is science as supplying context of creation or validation of the product, which we call scientific environments. Unlike the components that are constituent, environments create a space of product reassurance, relating them to science.

Generally, scientific environment are scenarios of labs, clinics or offices. However, we also consider scientific environments the places in which the narrative develops this evident scientific context, either the living room or a TV show scenario. In these cases, the environment has its elements associated with research processes, experimentation, treatments, etc. This strategy is present in the following categories: food, fuel, household cleaning, medicine, services and vehicles and accessories – which, usually, present environments with the presence of scientists or specialists dressed in white coats.

The advertisement of the car S10, manufactured by Chevrolet (Image 2), for example, brings the scientific environment in different movements of the narrative, even through the nature of contextualization. This occurrence in different steps of the advertisement is a characteristic of these ads that resort to this narrative strategy.

Image 2 – Chevrolet, S10 (30s).



Source: research collection.

Science is explicitly present in the creation and validation of product to advertise a vehicle for consumer that value resistance even if it has a scientific component. In the case of Chevrolet, it both certifies that the product is capable of facing obstacles (ramps, currents, etc.). a Science becomes a certification and reinforces the investment of the brand in the development of products with follow-up of specialists while explicating these processes.

Invitation to experimentation

Both components and scientific environments present the science as a fundamental element for desired results. And a important step for it is experimentation, but, above all, the invitation of validation. This proof is made from the consumption of what is being advertised. We consider

as a strategy the explicit invitation to the certification of efficiency of the product.

This is a strategy present in food, cosmetics, household cleaning, personal hygiene, medicine, vehicles and accessories. In the case of Activia and Listerine, challenges of daily consumption are created for, respectively, a good activity of the intestines and a proper oral cleanliness. Targifor, in turn, brings the presence of a TV show presenter, but tests are also made for a consumer that needs more energy.

The invitations to experimentation are also given in lab environments, around experiments and processes of tests. It is the case of the advertisement Renew Clinical by Avon: what leads the narrative since the beginning is an invitation to the proof of anti-aging action (Image 3).

Image 3 – Avon, Renew Clinical (30s).



Source: Research collection

In the advertisement, there is a character that can be considered a portrait of the beauty standard.⁸ Her role is to show that neither the discovery

⁸ We understand as beauty standard the body image that is idealized by society in a certain era.

of the brand nor her beauty are a product of miracles, but a result of scientific knowledge that Avon has. This notion is complimented by the animation, that shows the effect of the product (“Collagen explosion”), emphasizing the molecule as a big scientific discovery. The textual information shows clinical results, the narration explains the action of the product, the framing privileges the skin and face of the characters.

Thus, the technology that enables beauty reinforces the experimental notion, contemplating the scientific component and its processes of creation and certification, seen through the manipulation of lab instruments. These elements build a narrative about a measurable result that can be seen through the consumption of the product. Science, in this case, requests our testimony for innovation.

Relation with innovation

Another important strategy that the advertisement narrative builds is the idea of innovation. Related to science, we consider that innovation brings the notion of exclusivity of the advertised products, because, as we’ve seen, advertisements talk about discovery, advances, formulas and other names for a scientific development represented as useful, creative, technological and innovative.

Science as a synonym for innovation is identified in advertisements of foods, cosmetics, household hygiene, personal hygiene, medicine and vehicle and accessories. In some, products use the strategy of scientific components, but emphasize in them the exclusivity of the brands. Which doesn’t occur in products that contain vitamins, because these cannot be considered properties of a brand.

To emphasize the process of creation and composition of a product also are forms of adding the impression of an innovative science, directly reinforcing the objective of advertisement: creating and consolidating differentials in the advertised products, seeking more chances to involve the consumer. We know that the new is one of the characteristics of advertisement (FLAUSINO and MOTTA, 2007); when related to scientific knowledge, it would not be different, because it is presented as an

essential element to the innovation we purchase, renovating the shampoo, medicine and other products that help is in the daily routine.

In an advertisement by Petrobras, paying a homage to their mechanic engineer Frederico Kremer, we bring some points about this strategy of relating science with innovation in the advertisement narrative (Image 4).

Image 4 – Petrobras, “Frederico Kremer, people is what inspire us” (30s).



Source: research collection.

As the main character in the narrative, Kremer is revealed right at the beginning of the advertisement, associating the career he always dreamed of to process of scientific development and innovation. The advertisement alternates images of the engineer and other people working in the lab. Kremer’s dreams are configured along the narrative as collective dreams, and the other characters emphasize how he is an inspiration, that feels the necessity of going further, developing products and bringing innovation to society. The collective feeling built by the engineer’s testimony represent all people who work with him and

Petrobras itself. Therefore, by telling his story, he says that everyone is involved in the process of creation.

The presentation of innovation is one of the contributions of advertisement to rise and maintaining circulation of consumption goods. In our analysis, it is evident that the reference to science is used as an ally in the construction of this argument. Advertisement narratives, in this sense, are built so we could perceive innovation as the base for brands. Even when the focus is on people and stories, the transformation is in the products.

Fiction and reality

Being “between” reality and fiction is a common characteristic to any narrative. When the reference to science is inserted in this relation, we understand that this knowledge is the responsible for creating some elements. Thus, this strategy is found in all the advertisements analyzed. In some cases, the focus is the reality, as in the advertisement for Tiguvo, which uses real images of application and presents the bovine organism in an anatomic animation. Even in this case, the animation brings fun and didactics, a way of simulating the product’s action and the results obtained.

The characters involved with the science can be diverse: the scientist, the specialist, the celebrity and the common subject. They can be doctors, engineers, housewives, parents or actors interpreting any of these roles. Thus, advertisement has license to bring facts, even scientific, from the fictional. The scenarios can be futuristic and fun, but represent the world in which we live in, and have elements of recognition and idealization in our daily life.

We identify resources that privilege the similarity with reality and others that seek abstraction to have more expressivity, as in the advertisement “Mathematician”, by Pepsi, in which is clear the contract with the advertisement narrative: real or fictional, the important is being possible (Image 5).

The plot goes from what is normal for a mom to events practically unbelievable but based on reality: saving money buying soda allows her

the investment on her son's education and the opportunity of being a scientist with goals of winning a millionaire scientific prize. The idea of the brand is to create a fun and over the top, yet believable mood.

Image 5 – Pepsi, “Mathematician” (30s).



Source: Research collection.

In advertisement, even science, recognized by the commitment with rationality, can be thought as a way of adding fiction to the narrative. In Pepsi's ad, we don't have the scientific knowledge being used, but the idea of scientific career as an argument of prosperity, of investment that can bring financial and social products. The notion of science is not present as a process of creation, nor as a component or validation of a product. Its role is to represent a prestigious story, of knowledge recognized by society. Another issue that is important to highlight is the characterization of the character, in some moments, as a genius that lacks effort, highlighting the notion that science is an “environment” or an “action” of intelligent people with natural vocation for learning.

Scientific animations and illustrations

Presenting and showing processes and results in a didactic, ludic and/or humorous manner is another strategy we identify in the advertisement

pieces analyzed. In addition to some advertisements we already presented, others also bring illustrations and animations as a conduction of their segments. They show the demonstration of action of scientific components, mainly in the human organism, with didacticism and ludicity in the characterization of scenarios. This strategy helps understand the processes of development and reaction of the advertised products, because, the more we understand, the bigger the chances we will get to involve in the woven argument.

We identify this strategy in the categories of food, cosmetics, personal hygiene, medicine, veterinary medicine and vitamins and supplements. We can say she presents in different degrees between representations close to reality and abstractions. In the first case, the narratives that bring anatomic models with details that allow us to recognize them as part of the human body (except in Tiguvon, which is applied in bovines). Thus, we have blood vessels, layers of skin and muscles as ways of acting a didactic dimension.

There are also advertisers that use less faithful animations to the human anatomy, but, through resources such as colors and abstract forms, can link the result of the product with our body. What we perceive as an advantage in the abstraction is that it allows more expressive visual appeals, representing explosions and restorations, as we've seen in the advertisements by L'Oréal Paris and Avon.

The important role of scientific animation can be seen in the ad 'One rope, a thousand learning experiences', by Danoninho (Image 6). The animations and illustration enter in two points of the advertisement. The first, right in the beginning, with the function of contextualizing the theme, as a jingle, indicating the content that is going to be analyzed. The animation with more explanatory/demonstrative potential has the function of clarifying the absorption of Vitamin D and calcium in the body as essential nutrients. The drawing with rounded and ludic shapes is important to fundament how the product helps having stronger bones for, consequently, guarantee the child's possibility of playing and learning.

Image 6 – Danoninho, ‘One rope, a thousand learning experiences’ (30s).



Source: research collection.

We perceive that the animations and illustration extrapolate their characteristics as resources and establish as important strategies to explain elements of scientific knowledge in a way that we get closer to them and recognize ourselves in our daily lives, bringing science closer in the construction of our practices.

Scientists and specialists as characters

The scientists and specialists can be recognized as owning scientific knowledge. From them, the narratives present problems and its respective solutions. The presence of this characters can be considered a direct way of proposing science as an attribute of the products advertised in the category of foods, fuels, cosmetics, household cleaning, medicine, other pharmaceutical products, services and vehicles and accessories. In these advertisements, scientists and specialists consolidate the scientific content of information when clarifying how much a problem can be inconvenient and how practical can be its solution.

There are three forms of presentation of artists and specialists in advertisement narratives. In the first one, they have voice and appear as characters that explain a problem and/or a solution that involves the

product. In the second, its presence is identified from a context and/or textual and sound elements. In the third, its participation is given only by parts of its body, as its arms with white coat and gloves. In its first form, when the character has an explanatory function, it takes a central role. However, in all cases, the presence of this characters characterizes a component or environment as scientific, even if it is not the only resource used.

In the advertisement toothpaste Colgate Sensitive Pró-Alívio, the mosaic, the first-person narration, beyond the effects in the background sound, as noises in public spaces, they are resources have reinforced the narrative of memory of the central character. Dental sensitivity makes her lose happy moments in family. But, as part of the memory itself, she remembers her dentist. That is how the specialist is mentioned and brought up as someone who can, even without directly talking, recommend us a solution of daily problems (Image 7).

Image 7 - Colgate, Sensitive Pró-Alívio (30s)



Source: Research collection.

The presence of the dentist is what changes all the direction of the story. What comes next in the advertisement creates the resolution of the narrative and reinforces the recognition that a dentist can refer a tooth-paste. In that same advertisement, we see, in the end, a new validation for the scientific knowledge, now not anymore by a specialist played by an author, but for two dentists identified by their number of

Celebrities as characters

Other characters that are important in the advertisement narratives analyzed are celebrities.⁹ Even though they are not representatives of scientific knowledge, they have a role in the recommendation and reinforcement of results that science offers. Their function is to add to the product the recognition they have, associating them to beauty, reputation and lifestyle as scientific benefits. I. e., idealizations that surround the products advertised from the scientific knowledge.

As public personas who work with their own image both in the sense of beauty and reputation, celebrities contribute for the advertisement narrative by associating their personal attributes to the results promised by the products and act in the identification with the audience. What we perceive is that, in advertisements that use science and have celebrities as characters, the scientific knowledge is usually a solution for their lives. We identify their presence in the categories of foods, beverages, cosmetics, household cleaning, personal hygiene and other pharmaceutical products.

The celebrity is used in different ways: they can have the center of the argument with their own personality or play another character; in both cases, however, the product is validated. There are advertisements in which the celebrity is presented illustratively, with a secondary role, but even in this case, they can still call attention and contribute for the advertisement of the product.

9 We understand the concept of celebrity as “a famous and unique person, recognized by an audience and whose fame can vary according to ‘human feelings’, the impression of the audience who recognize them” (SIMÕES, 2013, p. 106).

The presence of the actress Dira Paes as a mediator of the challenge created by Activia is an important tool for context of the problem that many characters face. In a talk with friends, she is seen as someone who knows the solution to this problem, and, in the end, after the demonstration made through animation, eats and validates the yogurt (image 8).

Image 8 - Activia, “Dica de amiga vale ouro” (30s).



Source: research collection.

The environment where the advertisement occurs allows us to guess that this is the moment to know a little more of the three characters, as in a television interview. As a celebrity and a mediator, Dira has the role of giving the advertisement arguments, giving suggestions and taking the position of spokesperson of the brand. Thus, we recognize her diverse status, which gives her “permission” to qualify these products. Dira, as other celebrities, can be the personification of styles we idealize in health, beauty and others that science can help us achieve.

Non-specialists as characters

Last but not least, other characters in advertisement narratives that use science are the representatives of the common sense, the non-specialists. They do not have the notoriety of celebrities, however, they are known for “experiencing” daily life. Fictional or factual, these characters present the problem and/or solution from a previous experience. Therefore, even though they do not have scientific knowledge, they validate the results. The knowledge they have about the daily life consolidates strategies that not only reinforce the advertised products, but science itself as a solution for the problems faced daily.

This strategy bases and emphasizes the satisfaction with the results of the products developed by the scientific knowledge. Through these non-specialist perspectives, we recognize our needs and desires. More than sharing what they have learned, they represent us. They are fathers, mothers, young people, elderly people, women and men that are in the advertisement to present who we are and who we want to be. Therefore, they are important for us to see science in action, but also for “teaching” us how we can reach what is shown by the advertisement.

In the advertisement about the rufous hornero, at Canal Futura, we see these characteristics in the farmer and in the native Brazilian, that compose the set of knowledge about the bird. The other characters, the architect and the biologist, for example, have scientific information, however, the non-specialists present the recognition through the bird’s singing and the origin of the bird through legends, or through traditional knowledge (Image 9).

Canal Futura makes the presentation of what will be narrated in the advertisement, saying that is possible to meet nature by being in contact with it, through the recognition made by the farmer. The characters talk about what they know about the bird in their fields (architecture and biology), and the native Brazilian talks about the popular legend that explains the existence of the bird. The interviews, based in observation and tradition, reinforce the ending given by the narration, saying that the channel gathers different forms of knowing the world to share with

everyone who watch it. We know that, in this case, the strategy of the advertisement is not about validation, but the importance of the educational approach, that can be thought of as something that surrounds all the advertisements with non-specialist characters: they are essential so that science can be consolidated into knowledge that reflects into the daily life.

Image 9 – Canal Futura, “João-de-barro” (30s).



Source: research collection.

Final Considerations

In the analyzed advertisements, the idea of science is necessary to consolidate the different skills of the products. However, what concerns us is how the advertisement can build this notion and the processes of communication that can be created by it. Thus, we identify as scenarios, characters, sounds, animation and information in different platforms are important resources to consolidate the reference to science as a strategy of construction in the advertisement narrative. The scientific knowledge brings to advertisement the notions of experimentation, innovation, exclusivity, reality, fiction, playfulness, legitimacy and others.

Advertisements guide our textual, sound and image resources for the construction of the nine strategies we identified, and all of them say something about science that we recognize in our daily life. What is highlighted is the scientific knowledge as source of solutions for our lives - an evident metanarrative. The logic perceived in our analysis, of knowledge as solution is, without a doubt, something that calls our attention: science is essential for advertisement purposes because it has the recognition of a knowledge for a better life.

Thus, a product can be publicized from a scientific component that, beyond being exclusive, can be considered as the innovation of the decade, tested and proved by specialists, with its action explained thoroughly, being indicated by a beautiful actress and validated by parents as an ideal for their children. They are independent possibilities that can be combined to involve our advertisement narratives and emphasize the role of science in our daily life.

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About the authors

Maria Ataíde Malcher – PhD in Communication by University of São Paulo. Professor at the post-graduate program in Communication, Culture and the Amazon by the Federal University of Pará and the Post-graduate program in Science, Technology and Health by the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation.

Weverton Raiol – Master in Communication by the Federal University of Pará (UFPA). Researcher at the Research Lab in Multimedia of the Group of Innovation and Technology applied to Teaching and Extension at UFPA.

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Language, consumption, and happiness: journalistic discourse and ambivalence¹

Linguagem, consumo e felicidade: discurso jornalístico e ambivalência

Marcelo Pereira da Silva²

Ana Maria Dantas de Maio³

Abstract: *The discussion about consumption, consumerism, and the discourse of happiness is associated with contemporary society. Based on Critical Discourse Analysis, we analyzed two journalistic texts published in Brazil in 2013, which address the relationship between consumption, life, and happiness. Faced with these problematic issues, we put on the spotlight the ambivalence appended to the journalistic discourse on happiness in the context of a culture of consumption, considering the meanings it produces interfere in the social fabric since world convictions are acquired through the discourse, which constitutes and molds the world in meanings.*

Keywords: *journalism; critical discourse analysis; consumption; happiness.*

Resumo: *A discussão em torno do consumo, do consumismo e do discurso da felicidade enleia-se à sociedade contemporânea. Fundamentados na Análise Crítica de Discurso, analisamos dois textos jornalísticos publicados no Brasil, em 2013, que tratam da relação entre consumo, vida e felicidade. Diante dessas problemáticas, colocamos na ribalta a ambivalência apensa ao discurso jornalístico sobre a felicidade no contexto de uma cultura de consumo, considerando que os sentidos que produz interferem no tecido social, pois as crenças sobre o*

1 An initial version of this article was presented in 2014, in the 2nd World Congress of Iberian American Communication which took place in Braga, Portugal.

2 Paulista State University. Bauru, SP, Brasil. E-mail: marcelosilva_rp@hotmail.com

3 Embrapa Pecuária Sudeste. São Carlos, SP, Brasil. E-mail: anamaio@uol.com.br

mundo se adquirem por meio do discurso, o qual constitui e constrói o mundo em significados.

Palavras-chave: *Consumo; Jornalismo; Análise Crítica de Discurso; Felicidade*

Introduction

Consumption typifies a participation in a scenario of disputes about what society produces and their forms of usability (CANCLINI, 2010); it represents, therefore, the admission that consumption constitutes part of the communicative and integrative rationality of societies. When happiness as a product of the sociocultural process is promised to everyone, and in every corner, hedonistic pleasures are glorified, the everyday life of the subject and their consumption activity go through a fireproof.

The emerging market economy after the Industrial Revolution disseminate, today, facing a fine line between conscious consumption and consumerism. The satisfaction of “nesires” (needs and desires) establishes the search of human wellbeing, which, obviously, takes companies to profit, to the intensification of production and the rise of consumption possibilities. Bauman (2011, p. 83) conceives consumerism as “the tendency to locate the concern with consumption in the center of all focus of interest and almost always as something that distinguish the last focus on these interests”. Consumerism lurks the subjects as the consumption society looks down upon durability, comparing terms old and outdated, improper to keep being used and destined to the trashcan; in this path, Morin (2015, p. 301-302) affirms that the “consumption transforms in consumerisms in which the superfluous become indispensable” and the old luxuries, necessities.

The objectification of people, linked to the humanization of objects, conduct us to think happiness as an “object of analysis” which takes us to question the *modus operandi* and the journalistic discourse. We understand this discourse as owner, producer and transmitter of meanings, because the physical distance between instances of emission and reception create distinct forms of representing the world - these representations point towards the production of norms, for a social desire and the revelation of value systems. The discourse, for us, is a practice that not only represents the world, but “the meaning of world, constituting and building the world in meaning” (FAIRCLOUGH, 2016, p. 95).

The journalistic publication follows a pluri-oriented ocular path, and which speech remains as a trace which can always come back: who writes, to correct or erase; these who read, to remember, recompose or re-semanticize your reading. This observation brings the existent dialectic between the subjects of the communicative process, in which predominates a changeable meaning that renews itself in time and can be re-semanticized in different mediations and conditions of production/reception.

Once these issues were placed, this article performs a discourse analysis that supplies the subsidies for the weaving of a critics to consumption society and the discourse of happiness as a product on sale, wished to be purchased, if possible with previous reservations and a big waiting line.

We selected two journalistic reports that fit into this theme. The first constitutes the location of a Brazilian minister - polyphonically represented by the power in the country - and punctuates the contradictions between verbal discourse and the dominating ideology: the authority seeks to clarify the preoccupation with the consumption, however, implicitly,⁴ suggests the importance of the car industry for the economy in the country. The enunciation succumbs to interests presented in the enunciated and unveils the ambivalent character of contemporary subjects.

In the second news report, published in *Revista da Cultura*⁵, the enunciator uses his margin of autonomy in the construction of a critic discourse about the “characteristic malaise of an asphyxiated society” (SOUZA, 2013, p. 32). Although the enunciation makes advertisement of commercialized products by the company and defending an ideology that interest them, their gaze to contradictions created in this situation evidenced by the content and the form in which the discourse is built.

We believe that journalism has potential for multiple performances. It can either fold into the capitalist ideology that instigates consumerism

4 Term used by Van Dijk (2005) as a counterpoint for explicitation, meaning, thus, something that remains implied.

5 This publication is a product of organizational communication of Livraria Cultura, one of the biggest bookstores in Brazil.

and links happiness to acquisition of good, services and signs or propelling the critical sense in opposed direction to a predictable discourse. The critical analysis represents, in this article, scientific mechanism of custody. Far beyond a singular theoretical-methodologic field, enables a surveillance code that allows to break one of the most influent discourses nowadays, the journalistic discourse.

Theoretical-methodologic aspects - context of objects in analysis

The discourse is a field of negotiation between organization - as enunciator - and their target audience, which can coexist with manipulation, lies, seduction and pseudo-events; it is in and by the discourse that the man becomes the subject, by assuming a social place to assure the property of telling and printing their brands and intentions. In this line, the critical analysis of discourse will be our field of theoretical-methodological anchorage to verify some meanings appended in the journalistic discourse in analysis.

The language organizes the thought, bringing it to a system of references that is, at the same time, product and process of constant work in itself. Through language, the man creates and recreates the universe in which it inserts; it is not about, therefore, an instrument ready to use. Language, thus, is constituted as an anthropo-cultural system of references, since it occurs in a socio-cultural context. We become, to some extent, socio-cultural investigators when studying contexts, voices, tensions, and intentions of subjects in discursive interactions.

The language, different discourses and subjects never are innocent. The agents of discourse operate restrictive choices to limits of determined order of speech (FAIRCLOUGH, 2016); the critical analysis of discourse, thus, works with contradictory aspects that surrounds the discourses built by organizations, countries, institutions and subjects. The enunciator must be considered within an interactive design, in the interior of an enunciative institution, inscribed into a cultural articulation,

implicating papers, places and moments of enunciation, a material support and a form of circulation for the statement that will reveal not only his image, but also a form of seeing the world, in which the subject is interpellated by ideology.

Thus, in a society which is competitive, connected, imagetic and consumerist, in which progress manifests itself through volumes produced and consumed, we consider that the gears of journalistic discourse not always contemplate balance, much less the deepening of contradictions peculiar to contemporaneity. On the contrary, it is not uncommon to have situations in which journalism promote the disorder of current practices of consumption, stimulating them and contributing for the creation of an abyss where few lights clarify, the pressure creates angst and happiness appears as the salvation for readers/consumers.

It is very wide the perspective of critical analysis of discourse proposed by Van Dijk and Fairclough, beginning by the premise that must be applied to texts that involve social issues and act in social change: it is the case of consumption and its link to the notion of happiness. In this article, even though statements allow a detailed and in-depth study, we prioritized some categories of analysis that characterize the theories we mobilize, such as the demarcation of in-groups and out-groups, lexical choices, topics and positions marked that allow to relate discourse to ideology.

The news report “Minister asks the overcoming of the model ‘I am happy when I buy’ was chosen intentionally from the research at Google with the keywords “consumption”, “happiness”, “happy” and “consumerism” in news websites. It was published in August 23rd, 2013 in the online version of the magazine Carta Capital⁶, news outlet founded in 1994 by the journalist Mino Carta.

The text “Divã contemporâneo” was located in Livraria Cultura’s website during a research for journalistic material produced in the area of organizational communication. The bookshop edits the Revista da

6 It is a weekly magazine with a liberal editorial line showing support for the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT).

Cultura, issued monthly, in the printed and digital. The statement, published in September 2013, fits the profile of material we were looking for because it relates human behavior to issues such as consumerism, happiness, velocity, aging and ephemerality of relations.⁷

The search for journalistic material produced by an editorial group and by a company was intentional, because our intention is to widen the gaze over this type of discourse that commonly dispose of different origins and follows orders proper from the organization.

Discourses and their dimension of analysis - theoretical elements

When Van Dijk (2005) proposes the analysis of journalistic text, presents a series of clues that we should look for in statements to investigate ideologies and relations of power. We believe that, where discourses appear to be contradictory, there are focus of instability favorable to maintenance or rupture with the *status quo*.

The analysis should look for indicators such as content and form of titles and headlines (that he calls “topics”), the use of figures of speech, the identification of subjects that talk and their allies (ingroup), the identification of “others” and non-allies (outgroup), exacerbated polarizations (example: good and bad), global and local contexts, the participants of speech (including interlocutors), the level of detailing of the text, the use of passive voice (which tends to hide the agents), mind models of the enunciator (mental register of experiences lived or read by who produced the speech), the positions marked, the lies, what was not said, the ideology of the enunciator group, among others.

A wide analysis, following the recommendations of this author, allows us to get closer to the intention that surround the discourses, the meanings that are appended in it. We selected some of these indicators for our research, betting on clues we consider to be more expressive (and revealing) for the analyzed case.

7 Both reports can be consulted in the links available in Nardini (2013) and Souza (2013) at the references.

a) Contradictions in the discourse of the former minister

The voices represented in the command of discourse are those which Van Dijk calls ingroups, therefore, a virtuous polyphony which composes the “knots” of enunciation.

We watch, thus, a strategy of “positive self-presentation and negative presentation of other”, in which our good things and their bad things (outgroups) are reinforced, and our bad things and their good things are secondary (VAN DIJK, 2005, p. 43).

The news report talks about a lecture given by the minister in chief of the General Secretary of the Presidency of Brazil, Gilberto Carvalho, during the seminar “Brazil and the objectives of a sustainable development”, organized by the magazine *Carta Capital*. The text is complimented by a quick interview after the lecture. In the title, Carvalho criticizes the model that links happiness to consumption, but he warns - also with highlight - that “if the car makes the problem, the production of cars creates jobs”.

The ingroup represented in this enunciative scheme involves not only the minister himself, but the Brazilian government in its institutionality, the image of president Dilma Roussef (represented by his advisor), the magazine, the journalist that produced the text, the Party of Workers, many instances of power. In a certain moment, Carvalho tries to attract to the ingroup the Brazilian middle class, when he says “who are we from the middle class”, putting himself in the same level of this worker class. But the same sentence ends proposing the distancing of the minister from that same category of citizens: “... to restrain the consumption of these people”, when he report his position through his lexical choice of demonstrative pronoun. According to Van Dijk (2005, p. 254), “pronouns and demonstratives can be used selectively to reinforce social distance”; in this case, it evidences the “consumerist” middle class as forming the outgroup, also composed by the “opposition” and “previous governments”.

The semantic construction of the former minister's sentence is very interesting: "It is up to the government the role of promote propositions" in which he himself (a representative of the government) avoids the proximity of a "it is up to us". We can infer, by his lexical subtleties, that occurs an attempt of exemption of responsibility, which stops being "ours" and becomes "government", something distant of the subject of speech, building an ambivalent world in meanings.

The main quality of the ingroup highlighted in the statement is the promotion of social inclusion of millions of Brazilians. We produce a process of democratization of access of goods that takes, contradictory, to this depletion" (NARDINI, 2013). To the outgroup is reserved the use of irony, figure of speech that marks the intention of vilify the other's image: "In previous governments, there wasn't any problems in airports and collective transportation due to a huge exclusion. Life was too easy" (NARDINI, 2013). This enunciative game happens within particular relations and fights of power, historically located; Fairclough (2016, p. 93) defends that the discursive constitutions are not decurrent "from a game of ideas in people's heads, but a social practice that is firmly rooted in material social structures, concrete, being guided by them".

We analyze some lexical choices for the effect that provoke in the text and for being deliberately registered in quotes by the enunciators. "Impossible", referring to life in big centers of the country, "definitive cry" as the minister says they must be faced with protests occurred in Brazil in June and July 2013⁸, and "cultural revolution" to reduce the "exacerbated consumerism". There are words and expressions purposefully selected to impact the interlocutor and make them imagine that action is being taken to solve the problem. However, the only suggestion presented by Carvalho in the statement is "promoting proposals"; in this path, Van Dijk (2005, p. 154) suggests that: "It is important to reinforce that the selection of meanings of words - made through lexicalization

8 During these months, Brazil lived a wave of protest against corruption, the bad quality of public services and the sport megaevents that would occur in the following years (2014's World Cup and 2016's Olympics).

- is, probably, the primordial dimension of a discourse controlled by ideologies”.⁹

More than persuading, *Carta Capital's* speech seeks to mark the positions of the ingroup (we want to dialogue, we include, we create social mobility) and the outgroup (they are consumerists, they excluded), creating in the discourse the dichotomy “us x them”. The ideologic mark that surrounds the text explores an adaptation of the model “I am happy when I buy” to “I am included when I buy”.

Such ideologic position of the enunciator characterizes an effort for not assuming his role regarding consumption in Brazil; the subsidies offered by the federal government, such as the liberation of easy credit and the suspension of taxes over items as fridges and stoves, created a boomerang effect. Along with Bauman (2008, p. 20), we believe that the world sustained and formed by the society of consumers is divided into the “things to be chosen and the ones who choose”. However, inclusion means, necessarily, power of choice and conscious belonging?

Bauman (2008, p. 21) notices that “the task of consumers, and the main reason that stimulates them to engage in uninterrupted consumption activity, is to get out of this grey and monotonous invisibility and immateriality, highlighting from the mass of indistinguishable objects [...]”. The enunciator slips away from contradictions created by a system that, supposedly, takes citizens into a “new” social class and put them into the claws of consumerism: it is an exchange of favors. Middle class? The society of consumers act precisely on the blurring and the elimination of divisions of class so fetichized by the governmental discourse, therefore, the criticism regarding being happy with consumption changes to being included to consume.

b) Society asphyxiated in/of the speech of Revista da Cultura

The choice of title “Divã contemporâneo” (Contemporary Freud) to topicalize the news report in *Revista da Cultura* brings us to the idea

9 We see that ideology is a *conditio sine qua non* for the discourse to exist; there is no discourse without ideology and no ideology that is manifested outside discourse.

of an inviting speech, with potential to tranquilize and enable comfort to the receptors, bringing oxymorons linked to the current technologic society. The news report presents some of the problems that affect the human behavior in post-modernity such as the excess of velocity, the consumption, the boredom and the ephemerid of relations.

The topic - item of highlight in the text, according to Van Dijk (2005) - invites the following statement: "Today's world imposes new rules that impact existential issues. Contemporaneity brings the characteristic malaise of an asphyxiated society. Being self-centered, insecure and superficial seems to be the only option. But it isn't" (SOUZA, 2013, p. 32), already indicating the path of meaning the enunciator wants to follow. The lexical choice "asphyxiated" reinforces not only the idea of malaise and choking but induces a perception that the absence of perspective of change will cause a collapse over the lack of oxygenation. Therefore, society, if it follows this rhythm, would be doomed.

The news report concentrates in a series of interviews with specialists in psychology, philosophy and communication analyzing existential voids typical of the current society and indicating less narcotizing ways. Beyond the author of the text, Kelly de Souza, and the illustrator, Veridiana Scarpelli, the magazine itself belongs to the ingroup, Livraria Cultura, interviewees, which is put in the statement in first person (I or we), psychoanalysts in general, the image of the woman apparently critic that observes the cellphone users in one of the illustrations (Image 1) and the Movimento Devagar¹⁰ - therefore, such discourse is polyphonically built. The main quality proclaimed by the ingroup it is the capacity of discernment regarding hodiern problems: we are aware of the causes that make humanity sick and the medicine that can cure it.

The outgroup is constituted by cellphone users of the same image previously quoted, by cyclers that appear in the other illustration (cycling without going anywhere), by psychopatologic beings, by bored and overprotected children, by users of digital social media, by elderly

10 According to the report, it is a movement that proposes the "individual conscience of the search for a well-balanced life, with more time for leisure, work, study and a better use of free time" (SOUZA, 2013, p. 35).

people that do not accept their condition, by consumerists in general and by *workaholics*. The speech let us detect the idea that “the others”, probably alienated, are submitted to the rollercoaster of the post-modern world and are sick, lethargic, frail and uncapable.

The counter-position between good and evil, created by ACD in Van Dijk (2005), it is also outlined in this statement from the extremes of velocity (bad), associated to the outgroup, and deceleration (good), linked to the ingroup. The ambivalence becomes transparent if we increment the analysis over the degree of conceptual descriptions of the statement. Out of the four pages of news report, only the two final paragraphs detail the advantages of slow living: “Balanced, with more time for pleasure”. Quantitatively, there is more highlight to the description of quick and fast life, which legitimate the thinking of Van Dijk (2005, p. 174): “generally, we tend to describe people, places and events with more detail and in a more concrete level from the moment they become more relevant and important”. In this case, a contradiction between content and form is created: in an attempt of criticizing a supposedly wrong way of life, the statement ends up valuing it when it specifies its description.

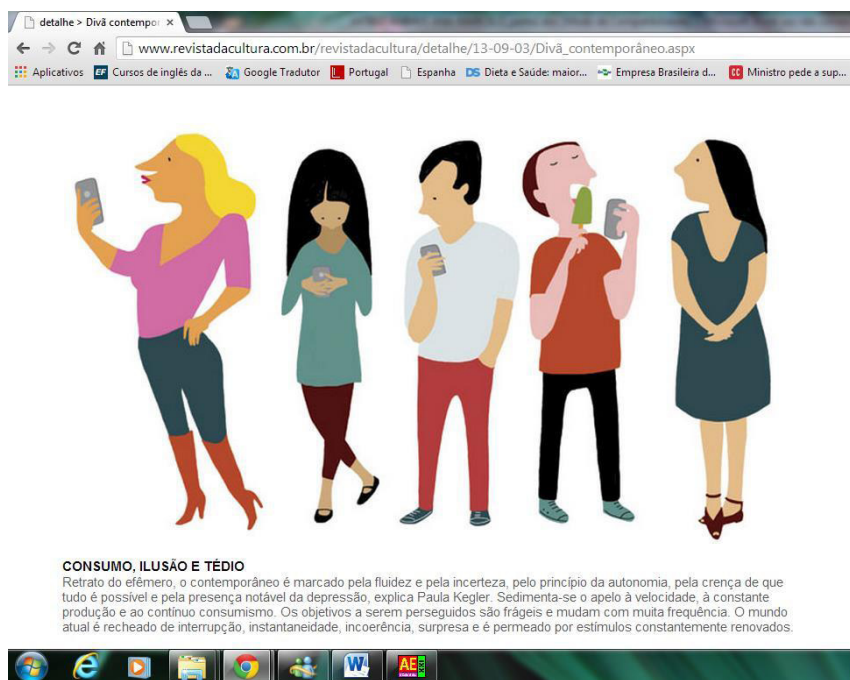
The lexicalizations (FAIRCLOUGH, 2016) that compose the enunciated are associated to psychoanalysis (and the chaise longue) as the “evil of psyche”, “tension”, “makes people bothered, impatient and disoriented”, “pains”, “boredom”, among others; they favor the uniformity of the journalistic text, creating a condition of semantic coherence: the title and the text, in their forms and contents, sound as harmonic lines, consonants, worthy of credibility.

The enunciator works towards sharing products sold by the bookshop, compatible with the market strategy of organizational communication. In the language used, it presents contents of five books and a television series, all signaled in bold and italic as a form of highlighting the products, typifying a type of literary merchandising.

Even accomplishing the task of exposing the works, the enunciator mixes in his discourse the ideology of interesting the organization with a critical view over that asphyxiated society. For that, he also uses irony

when comparing the angst of a Dostoevsky with the distress of a Brazilian poet that would have given up suicide after a food binge: “What personal crisis is that that does not resist to salami?”. The critical tone to contemporary life with the presentation of products commercialized by the bookshop evidences a focus on instability of discourse and meanings of ambivalence: it is criticized to sell, therefore, the wheel of consumption, despite the pleasure from reading, keeps on turning.

Image 1 - Illustration of the report “Contemporary Freud”.



Fonte: Revista da Cultura, edição 74, setembro de 2013.

The irony appended to the enunciator’s speech casts a light, according to Silva (2007, p. 98), to the necessity of seduction in which the “irony producer finds ways of calling attention to the enunciation of the discourse, and through this procedure, counting with their adhesion. Without this mechanism of interpellation-adhesion, the irony would

not be achieved”; in addition to irony, the discourse uses rhetoric figures, such as metaphor, repetition and antithesis.

To Van Dijk (2005, p. 39), some structures of the text are inflexible, as forms of words and many sentence structures, considered “grammatically mandatory and contextually invariant”. The conception of style, which includes the use of figures of speech, allows the control of the speaker and its ideologic use, since the “semantic operations of rhetoric, such as hyperbole, irony and metaphor, among others, can have a closer relation of subjacent models and social beliefs” (VAN DIJK, 2005, p. 130).

In the analyzed discourse, the figures of speech become tools to reinforce the critical tone of the author - a not very common procedure in organizational communication - regarding losing the meaning of life. An example is in the confirmation that existential problems gained importance in last moments: “The fact is that the psychoanalysis *ended up in prime-time TV*” (SOUZA, 2013, p. 34, highlighted by us) Another can be observed in the following construction: “Possibly, because they have too much stuff, doing too much stuff and having too much orientation, the kid is not satisfied and does not take any responsibility in their own life in any aspect, lacking autonomy” (SOUZA, 2013, p. 35, highlighted by us)

In this discursive universe, we consider that post-modernity has as base the constant modification of the individual, which, many times, has more criticism with less desire for change. With that, the contemporary institutions expose different forms of presentation of their dynamism in a way of interfering, according to Giddens (2002), in habits and costumes of individuals and modifying the context of globalization and consumption. About this, Lipovetsky and Serroy (2011, p. 31) say that the current disorientation

[...] Do not result only from depreciation of superior values and ruin of fundamental metaphysical of knowing, of the law and the power, but the disintegration of the most common social point of reference, more “basic”, provoked by the new organization of the world.

The issues of happiness is also present in the speech of *Revista da Cultura*, linked to the use and consumption of symbolic goods through digital social networks: “A big part of the users on social media is less worried about the interaction than appearing in their group in a certain way, signaling they are happy without necessarily being happy [...]” (SOUZA, 2013, p. 35), casting a light over the normalization of the “being happy” so characteristic of - and in - the post-modern discourse. Happiness is always the horizon to be achieved by the subject. However:

The material well-being raises, the consumption rises, but the *joie de vivre* does not follow the same rhythm, because the hypermodern individual loses in relaxation of what it wins in operational velocity, in comfort, in extension of time in life (LIPOVETSKY and CHARLES, 2004, p. 123)

Lipovetsky and Charles (2004) defend the consumption more for satisfaction of ego than gaining other’s recognition, while Bauman (2008) believes that the consumer effort is in the refusal of invisibility that the non-consumption produces: one of the secrets of consumption capitalism resides in the maintenance of the subject always in a lack of, having as ideologic function the justification of their contradictions, slipping away from their lacerating absence of ethics. Along this thought, Baudrillard (2008, p. 21) says: “the miracle of consumption works with a device of simulated objects and characteristic signs of happiness”, which, supposedly, minimize the tensions of social life.

Thus, the critical analysis of discourse allows us to understand the position marked by the speaker: The enunciator defends that people must have more free time (necessary, obviously, for the exercise of reading) and resisting the accelerated rhythm imposed by the contemporary technologies. The group ideology that dominates this discourse evokes that velocity and consumerism sicken the individuals, but, at the same time, offers as lenitive the consumption of book that the enunciators - the bookshop - commercialize; this speech protects the ambivalence that surrounds and guides the consumption society.

Some considerations - Empirical and theoretical reflections

The discursive position of the first discourse slips away some distortions and perversions of the nature of the consumerist revolution that arises in the path of industrial society, as social debt, the fetish of having, the unconscious and inconsequent consumption, the hyper valorization of status, the acriticism before what you want and what you desire, diminishing the issue of needs and giving vent to impulse of desire. The non-satisfaction of needs of the subject is lined with the intensity and the volume of their crescent desires: new brands, products, promises, new miracles.

Consumption and consumerism characterize the contemporary society, to the point where they confuse themselves with the subject's identities. We are recognized for what we purchase. The link with consumption and happiness is also seen in the philosophical studies of Barros Filho and Meucci (2013, p. 75), that said:

Our society proposes the consumption of many things. Through this consumption, a new identity and position. Almost every consumption is artificial, and, therefore, necessary. And, thus, we have more possessions, more things we want to gloat, but we will remain sad. Or do you really think your life will be happier with a new cellphone? And another, now with more resources? And another, even more technologic, that speaks on your behalf when you are not feeling like talking... And if even then, happiness does not show up, you buy a computer top of the line to talk with the cellphone. And then another one...

In consumption society, the invisibility of the subject - that one who refuses to dress the contemporary fashion of "purchasing to be" - becomes rejected, put aside or suspected of some type of crime; Bauman (2008, p. 9), quoting Eugène Enriquez, says that "the physical, social and psychic nudity is today's agenda" That allows us to infer that the individuals equipped with electronic diaries - daily in their hands - are apprentice training and trained in the art of living in a society created in a confessional model of ephemeral and unstable happiness.

The journalistic discourse has a very important role in relation to power accumulation. According to Van Dijk (2005, p. 22), “groups have (more or less) power if they are capable of controlling (more or less) their acts and the minds of (members) of the other groups”. Even though more recent communication theories reject the persuasive character of communication, recognizing their limits and discarding the passivity of the receptors, “we should not forget that the majority of our beliefs over the world is acquired through discourse” (VAN DIJK, 2005, p. 26), since it constitutes and builds the world in meanings (FAIRCLOUGH, 2016)

It seems that the practices of the market, in an impetus of selling and encouraging consumption, have made the impalpable and unmeasurable something we can measure by the size and depth of our pockets: there is the feeling of crescent dissatisfaction in a consumption society characterized by the planned obsolescence of signs-objects. This kaleidoscopic arrangement creates the feeling that we are all in a babel tower where subjectivities become merchandise to be sold and bought under the form of “beauty, cleanliness, sincerity and autonomy” (BAUMAN, 2013, p. 65). All things are converted into a product in the consumption society; the archetype of happiness fills the organizational speech and the happy world builds its own imaginary, which, supposedly, everyone can visit and enjoy.

Final considerations

Our analysis does not intend to have an end in itself; this article is inserted into a dialectic perspective that understands science as “the house of the temporary”. We can say that a man’s life only has meaning when it is inserted into a anthropo-cultural system able to translate his expressions, needs and idiosyncrasies into social interactions. The speech is a place in which meanings as emerged and characterize certain modes of seeing the world and how we can dive and bring up dialogues and disputes that translate the contemporary zeitgeist: the ambivalence.

In this universe, we verify an estrangement in the second news report: an institutional communication that uses a speech contrary to the

current consumerist tendency and warns to the frailty of the links in times of virtual social networks. The polyphony exposes characteristics of contemporary days and the consumerist society, in which happiness becomes possible only in the practice of consumption, many times linked more to desires to needs of the subject; as Lipovetsky and Charles (2004) says, the seek for well-being grows in a vertiginous way, raising the weaves of consumption, however life happiness does not follow the same rhythm, This estrangement is weighted, the discourse in analysis does not run away from the ambivalence that surround the social fabric.

The individual's desire for safety and dreams of definitive stability do not fit into a consumption society. What about happiness? So present in the organizational speech - as we have analyzed -, it is diffused and omnipresent, filling the company discourse and its world of promise, that must be, according to Bauman (2008), deceiving, or at least, exaggerated.

Purchasing happiness and well-being creates the existence of consumers in an "Agorist"¹¹ and "presenteist"¹² culture like ours, which renegotiates the meaning of time, because enjoying is necessary, but for now, *carpe diem*. The pursuit of happiness has been displaced: in ancient class societies, its consumption was anchored in the benefit of others. Today, it gave place to consumption for oneself.

The enjoyment of happiness must be measurable and manifest through someone else's eyes and our own, because it arises, primarily, as an imperative of equality and it needs to be restricted to visible criteria, therefore, it is founded in individualistic principles reinforced by the Declaration of Rights of the Men and the Citizen, which recognizes the right to happiness to every individual.

In a first analysis, the subject assumes a critical position in the title, but in the subtitle and throughout the text, lets come to light the antinomies of our connected and consumerist society, but unhappy,

11 Term invented by Stephen Bertman and quoted by Bauman in the book *Life for consumption: the transformation of people in merchandise*.

12 Term invented by Lipovetsky that portrays the composition of hypermodern Society investigated by the French sociologist.

disoriented and in debt. In this sense, we question if journalism exists to reinforce the status quo and the social structures that are already settled or take the receptors to a process of reflection around the human condition.

It seems that the discourses analyzed carry what Wolton (2006, p. 174) considers “communication to sell and make that everything is sold”, because everything is marketable, including the psychic resources of the subjects. These run for a supervalorization of “gods” in the capitalist society, whose ideology penetrate not only the consumption practices, but the form of thinking it, of weaving life and relationships with material and symbolic goods. It also penetrates different discursive practices strongly rooted in social, institutional and individual structures (FAIRCLOUGH, 2016), inquiring about what hits the human soul: the blind passion for money, the uncontrollable desire for power, the exacerbated hedonism and consumerism (HESSEL and MORIN, 2012).

Finally, we understand that, although it is less frequent, there is space for the production of a critical journalism, even in the field of organizational communication. The use of some theoretical-methodological constructs of ACD, as we take into effect in this article, transforms its field of investigation into a mechanism of vigilance of the journalistic discourse and, through scientific divulgation, that can offer support for the instance of journalistic reception starts reflecting from other readings.

The availability of a society less dependent to the consumerist society depends on the proposition of initiatives that can stimulate different passions from the consumer-mania hodiern, as it is appended in meanings that we understand in the discourse of *Revista da Cultura*; however, it is important to emphasize the diminishment of the daily struggle - proposed in/by the discourse of the magazine - has other meanings: “Slow down, buy a book, relax and read it carefully.” It suggests that the subjects distance themselves from consumption by the practice of consuming, evidencing the ambivalence that “sews” the dress in which inhabit subjects, organizations and State-Nations.

The threads that weave the discourse of organizations in a society surrounded and guided by consumerism - as we understand in our analysis - pave the way to be followed for a happiness in a increasingly bigger number of “consumption passers-by” but their weaves were not “over”; the moment we live in is dramatic for the human race, but we have to, according to Hessel and Morin (2012), be aware of the ambivalences of this time, of its risks and dangers, but also its opportunities.

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About the authors

Marcelo Pereira da Silva – Capes intern at the National Program of Post-Doctorate (PNPD) at the Post-Graduate Program in Communication at the Paulista State University (Unesp). PhD in Social Communication at the Methodist University of São Paulo (Umesp). Master in Media Communication at Unesp. Professor of the Public Relations course at the Federal University of Maranhão (UFMA).

Ana Maria Dantas de Maio – PhD in Social Communication at the Methodist University of São Paulo (Umesp). Master in Communication at the Paulista State University (Unesp). Graduated in Journalism at Londrina State University (UEL)

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The happiness industry: how the government and big business sold us well-being.

DAVIES, William.
Londres: Verso, 2015.

Beatriz Braga Bezerra¹

Author of the books *The happiness industry: how the government and big business sold us well-being* (2015) and *The limits of neoliberalism: authority, sovereignty & the logic of competition* (2014) – none of them translated into Portuguese – William–Davies is a political economist with doctorate in Sociology and teaches at the department of Politics and International Relations of the Goldsmiths University of London. His research interests are focused in the interference of economy in the understanding we have about our lives, especially in the political and social spheres. The so-called “science of happiness”, and, especially, its economical dimension work as one of the most recent axes of his studies.

In *The happiness industry*, Davies expresses his concern with the intense promotion of “wellness” in the contemporary world in different fields such as marketing, health and technology. According to the author, the government and market efforts spent in the last years with the intention of bringing happiness to individuals end up propelling economical advances linked to the productionist dynamics of labor. In the foreword of his book, he proposes the reflection about what we should think about happiness, after all: “[...] a measurable, visible, improvable entity, it has now penetrated the citadel of global economic management”. (DAVIES, 2015, p. 13).

1 Escola Superior de Propaganda e Marketing, São Paulo, SP, Brazil. E-mail: beatriz.braga@hotmail.com

ARTICLE

Organized in eight chapters, *The happiness industry* selects some situations to clarify how we are conducted to the current concept of “wellness”, linked, as a requirement, to the premise of capitalist profit. In the first chapter, “Knowing how you feel”, Davies goes back to the 18th century to inform us about the first measurement instruments of the human body, such as the thermometer to measure our temperature. From that, he lists other moments in history in which we try to translate into data abstract aspects of our lives. The debate, in this chapter, is about to what extent this constant search for measurement is relevant, and even bring us to think how effective a measurement of feelings can be.

The second chapter, “The price of pleasure”, presents cases of our daily life in which we are forced to create value to what is abstract, as in the calculation made by insurance companies to refund victims of accidents with physical and/or emotional consequences or the projection of the value to be paid by a company responsible for environmental damages. These and other situations are reinforced by the recurring need to quantify each and everything. Davies (2015, p. 84-85) argues about the “emptiness of money” and the difficult, if not impossible, task of giving “value” to what is commonly defined in terms of “cost-benefit”.

In the following chapter, “In the mood to buy”, as the title anticipates, concentrate its attention in the act of purchase, investigating feelings and mental implications that follow consumers in this process. What makes us want a product? What kind of stimulus wakes our brain up for the act of shopping? How is advertisement using this type of information to make more profit? These and other issues are approached in this chapter using references of psychology, specially intellectuals that work with behaviorism.

In chapter four, “The psychosomatic worker”, the discussion about the pursuit of happiness in the work field continues. Reflecting about the philosophy of companies that aim to engage their workers with benefits, such as relaxing rooms and gyms, Davies thinks about the real condition of the health of extremely productive workers. Healthy and motivated workers are positively seen by companies; apathic and

discouraged workers are a costly burden. Because of that, it is necessary to take care of teams and give them benefits that ensure their satisfaction in the workplace (DAVIES, 2015, p. 135).

“The crisis of authority”, the fifth chapter, talks about the contemporary value of optimism and competition in different dimensions, such as physical performance, the quantification of professional achievements and affectionate bonds. The correlation between depression and competitiveness is reinforced in this part of the book. “Generally, competitions promote an indication of inequality”, says Davies (2015, p. 173). The feeling of inferiority among athletes or competitive professionals is constant and it is statistically associated with depression. It is encouraged, nowadays, to pursue our goals with all the strength and determination possible, and more: it is supported that we do that bringing our advances, so we have conscience of our superiority, “*Very rich, very successful, very healthy firms or people could, and should, become even more so*”. (DAVIES, 2015, p. 214).

The sixth chapter, “Social optimization”, approaches the social dimension of our pursuit of happiness. Acquaintances, close friends, everyone that belongs to our network can be useful to reach personal and professional goals. Not only marketing can monetize our bonds through the use of data we daily produce in interactions of digital environment, but we have the opportunity of benefiting from our connections. The sociability, as indicated in this chapter, can be “healthy” (DAVIES, 2015, p. 227).

In “Living in the lab”, seventh chapter of the book, Davies details how huge amounts of information are filtered in order to measure levels of happiness. Narcissism and consumption habits are some of the aspects that can be observed in individual’s posts and in behaviors on the internet. However, beyond punctual characteristics, it is possible to monitor the oscillation of happiness of people through the sharing of posts. Researcher developed, from a big number of keywords, a “happiness scale” to measure the intensity of posts on Twitter (DAVIES, 2015, p. 268). Again, another strategy to quantify the abstraction of feelings.

In the last chapter of the book, “Critical animals”, the author takes us to our roots, punctuating the benefits of nature to our body and mind. Outdoor tasks, gardening and interaction with animals are examples of contemporary techniques to reduce stress and help in the treatment of many diseases. The possible reasons to our lack of happiness are also discussed in the last part of the book: mental illness, economic inequality, power, unemployment, isolation and loneliness are some of them. Seeking to understand this context, Davies (2015, p. 314) warns us, finally, that we need to “take what people say more seriously”, because that would be the only way to understand what they are feeling.

The book gathers, thus, arguments coming from different areas of knowledge to describe how the contemporary transformed happiness in a tangible, measurable good, possible to be achieved. We could outline terms that gather some of the main ideas discussed in the book, such as economy, monitoring, work, profit, consumption, marketing, internet, and, of course, happiness. The reader might realize, when finishing the book, that multiple forces operate in the construction of this powerful “industry of happiness”; however, the comprehension of this feeling has been distorted and blurred nowadays. The care with the quantitative spectrum founded on the capitalistic competition logic, detailed by Davies, eliminated any residue of lucidity, fantasy and naiveté that could still remain in the adult conception of happiness.

About the author

PhD student in the Communication and Consumption Practices program at the Escola Superior de Propaganda e Marketing – ESPM (CAPES/Prosup scholar) Belongs in the Group CNPq of Research in Subjectivity, Communication and Consumption at PPGCOM/ESPM.

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