COMUNICAÇÃO
MÍDIA
E CONSUMO

Comunicação, mídia e consumo

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COMUNICAÇÃO E PRÁTICAS DE CONSUMO

Foreword

Consumption culture, in their inter relationships with media outlets, are crossed by political dimensions. That can be seen in mechanisms of publicization of governance of organized societies and in forms of visibilization of social groups in media outlets; in the processes of production and control of discourses and in cultural engendering that cross forms of media reception; in the articulations of visualities of identity constructions and in the possibilities of access to media. Politics, consumption and communication, therefore, have different points of contact and these are some of the themes that will be discussed in the current issue of *Comunicação, Mídia* e *Consumo*.

The political dimension of telenovela consumption is discussed by Libertad Borda in the article "Telenovela, política y redes sociales: lecturas de *La Leona*". Through the analysis of posts from viewers of an Argentinian production on social media, the author discusses the different political interpretations that surfaced from the conflict between businessmen and workers in the story, from gender issues to the understanding about the allegory of social-political situations. The participation of older people in the universe of online consumption, understood as one of the gateways to citizenship, is studied in the article "Los retos de las personas mayores ante el comercio electrónico: el caso de Amazon", by Carmen Llorente Barroso and Carlos Sáez-Díez Rebanal. The authors analyze the existing models of web that are accessible to the senior layer of society and the process of exclusion that happen in them. The article by

Everardo Rocha and Beatriz Beraldo, "Skirts, saddles and sensibilities: feminist movements and consumer goods", investigates the political dimension of objects. The authors consider the bicycle as a consumer good related to the feminist struggle for emancipation and a catalyst for social transformation.

The article "Who talks about dictatorship in the news media? Reflections on the journalistic information sources" by Fernanda Nalon Sanglard and Teresa Cristina da Costa Neves, maps the journalistic coverage on the dictatorship in the period of creation of the National Committee of Truth and analyzes the sources of information most recurrently quoted in the coverage with the objective of identifying if those committees impacted in this process. In turn, Marsiel Pacífico and Luiz Roberto Gomes, in "Propaganda, alienation and seduction: the human-work ontological break off as a foundation of the social protagonism of the images" discuss the relationship between consumption and politics in advertising. According to the authors, there is, in the rupture of the ontological dimension of work, the condition of subjective void that enabled the advance of the image mediated by propaganda as the potency of the contemporary form of the capital. The image is also the theme of the article by Rafael Tassi Teixeira, "From the individual of reference to visual consumption and the gesture of art in identification photography". The author analyses the dialectics of a testimony in Wilhem Brasse's photography through two main axis: the act of imposition of the image of an attempt of subjection to the negative holotype and the photographer's work in extreme conditions.

Finally, the subjective dimensions of consumption politics in communication are approached in the last two articles that compose this issue. Alisson Machado and Sandra Rubia da Silva discuss, in: "What's mine belongs to gypsy!": Transvestite religiosity in digital curimba contexts", the regimens of digital sociability through the study of consumption practices of digital technologies in the composition of afro-Brazilian religious experiences with transvestites of the city of Santa Maria. Lastly, Leticia

Cantarela Matheus studies, in "Hierarchy of spaces on the fanpage "Suburban of Depression", the discursive disputes around the definition of the term suburb. Through the characteristics of the fanpage "Suburban of Depression", the text analyzes the identity dynamics of updating this territory and the semantic networks of construction of practical concepts.

We wish you all a delightful reading.

Mônica Rebecca Ferrari Nunes e Eliza Bachega Casadei
Editors of CMC Magazine

Sumário

Artigos

Telenovela, política y redes sociales: lecturas de *La Leona*

Telenovela, política e redes sociais: leituras de *La Leona*

Libertad Borda[1]

Resumen: *En un panorama adverso para la televisión abierta, la telenovela argentina intenta sobrevivir recurriendo, por una parte, a su raigambre melodramática, y, por otra, a su característica porosidad hacia el contexto social e incluso político. La leona, producida en 2015 pero emitida en 2016, es un ejemplo de cómo el género puede tensionar uno de sus pilares, la historia de amor, para poner en el centro del relato un conflicto entre obreros y empresarios. Este artículo se propone indagar las evaluaciones de La leona que publicaron los y las televidentes en distintas redes sociales durante su emisión, y cómo estas lecturas se diferenciaron en tanto consideraban a la telenovela como un exponente de un género con sus correspondientes reglas o como una alegoría de determinada situación sociopolítica.*

Palabras clave: *fans; telenovela; televisión.*

Abstract: *In an unfavourable scene for broadcast television, Argentinian telenovela struggles to survive by drawing on its melodramatic roots on the one hand, and on its typical permeability to the social or even political context, on the other. La leona, produced in 2015 but broadcast in 2016, is an example of how this genre can marginalize one of its main pillars, the love story, to focus the narrative on a workplace conflict between workers and employers. This article intends to analyze the evaluations of La leona posted by viewers in various social networks*

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during its running period, and how these readings were different insofar as they considered the telenovela either as an exponent of a genre, with its corresponding rules, or as an allegory of a certain sociopolitical situation.

Keywords: *fans; telenovela; televisión.*

Introducción: la telenovela ante un escenario audiovisual cambiante

En sus casi setenta años de existencia, la telenovela latinoamericana ha recibido más de una vez diagnósticos agoreros con distintos argumentos. Entre ellos, surge hoy un dato objetivo: han aparecido rivales insospechados hace dos décadas, como Turquía y sus producciones de gran presupuesto, con un *star system* por descubrir e historias que retrotraen a los personajes femeninos al lugar de vulnerabilidad extrema. Sin embargo, no es la primera vez que este género ha tenido que competir con productos de otras latitudes y siempre pudo resurgir. La diferencia del contexto actual es que la agonía no sólo se le adjudica por un descenso en la calidad de las historias –afirmación que insistía en otros tiempos- o en el presupuesto invertido en comparación con las extranjeras, sino que le llegaría por tratarse de un género de la televisión abierta. Es la televisión abierta la que estaría en jaque según muchos indicios: a las ofertas del cable se suman las nuevas plataformas de *streaming* como Netflix y Hulu, y las propuestas de fuentes no tradicionales como los llamados youtubers.[2]

A pesar de esta situación adversa, para resistir a la muerte anunciada la telenovela recurre a dos de sus pilares más notables: su raigambre melodramática y su porosidad narrativa, que le habilita la incorporación de otros géneros como el policial, el realismo social, la publicidad, o incluso su tramado con discursos como el médico y el periodístico. Entre otras cuestiones es esta porosidad la que le ha permitido, en distintos períodos de la trayectoria del género, tensionar el equilibrio entre el verosímil social y el de género para dar lugar a variaciones estilísticas. Así, en la Argentina de los setenta, el autor Alberto Migré consolidó con *Rolando Rivas, taxista* (1972-1973) una fórmula en la que el verosímil social avanzaba sobre el de género en ciertas zonas de la historia, en las que la telenovela se abría a conflictos de la realidad contemporánea.

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2   Según KantarIbope el share de los cinco canales de televisión abierta argentina descendió un 11% desde 2011 y el rating promedio, que era de 39,1 en 2004, fue de 26,1 en 2016 (RIVERO, 2017).

Este estilo es en gran medida desplazado en la producción argentina de los noventa en favor de un modelo despegado de localismos explícitos en función de la fiebre de exportación de esos años. A fines de esa década resurgen las referencias a la realidad local acompañadas de un remozado costumbrismo, sobre todo de la mano de la productora de contenidos Pol-ka[3], pero es hacia mediados del 2000 donde vuelve a manifestarse mucho más claramente un avance del verosímil social en una reconfiguración del género con textos en los que se destaca el protagonismo masculino, la presencia de villanos cuyos delitos afecten a la sociedad toda, un relegamiento de los conflictos de clase o económicos y la justicia como eje de las acciones (BOURDIEU, 2008). Por ejemplo, *Resistiré* (2003) y *Vidas robadas* (2008) tematizaban respectivamente el tráfico de sangre y la trata de personas. En *Montecristo* (2006) se logró, por primera vez, conectar la tradicional búsqueda de la identidad escamoteada en el melodrama con la problemática del robo de bebés durante la dictadura, en un contexto político que habilitaba esta inclusión narrativa (MAZZIOTTI, 2006a), dado que el gobierno del Presidente Néstor Kirchner, así como el de Cristina Fernández que le sucedió, mantuvieron un diálogo estrecho con los organismos de derechos humanos y apoyaron los así llamados Juicios por la Memoria, la Verdad y la Justicia[4].

En 2016, ya en otro contexto político, se estrenó *La Leona*, una telenovela que marcaba continuidades y quiebres con este nuevo estilo, ya que se hacía cargo de problemas de la realidad social contemporánea y ponía todo el acento en la justicia, pero a la vez se anunciaba como una historia de lucha sindical con una protagonista femenina fuerte.

Las nuevas posibilidades que tienen los televidentes desde hace ya muchos años de comentar lo visto en las redes sociales permiten a la mirada analítica no sólo abordar la textualidad del recorte propuesto sino

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3   Pol-ka produjo títulos que retomaban rasgos costumbristas a la vez que oscilaban entre la telenovela y la telecomedia, como es el caso de *Gasoleros* (1998-99), *El sodero de mi vida* (2001-2002) o Sos mi vida (2006) entre muchas otras.

4   Se llama Procesos por la Memoria, la Verdad y la Justicia a los juicios llevados a cabo contra los responsables de violaciones a los derechos humanos acaecidos durante la dictadura cívico--militar en Argentina en el período 1976-1983.

también las interpretaciones y posturas de los miembros de la audiencia que glosan sus consumos en las plataformas digitales. La pregunta que guía este trabajo, entonces, se aboca a indagar cómo fue interpretada esta labilidad del género telenovela en el caso de *La Leona*, y cómo la porosidad incluso abarcó el contexto de producción previo al estreno.

La leona: en el principio fue el boicot

La leona. De pasión, amor y lucha, reúne varios elementos que la hacen si no única, por lo menos destacable: el contexto político peculiar que rodeó su estreno, un guion que emprendió caminos insospechados para el género y un público que aprovechó a fondo las posibilidades que dan las redes sociales para vocear su adhesión o su rechazo.

A diferencia de lo habitual según el modelo de producción del género, *La leona*, tercera telenovela producida por El árbol[5] –en este caso conjuntamente con Telefe contenidos– fue escrita y grabada casi en su totalidad durante 2015, pero recién comenzó a emitirse, por la pantalla del canal argentino de televisión abierta Telefe a las 22, el 18 de enero de 2016, en la que permaneció hasta el 14 de julio de ese año.

Pero una peculiaridad más prominente aún es la polémica que se desencadenó antes de la emisión, a mediados de diciembre de 2015, cuando desde las redes sociales –es decir, sin una autoría claramente identificable– se lanzó una campaña de boicot contra la telenovela. Esto permite anticipar una de las lecturas posibles del texto, que excedía incluso su trama: el consumo de la telenovela fue representado como coherente con el alineamiento con la línea política de sus protagonistas, los actores Pablo Echarri –también socio productor- y Nancy Dupláa, ambos identificados públicamente con el kirchnerismo, es decir, con la política llevada a cabo por los gobiernos de Néstor Kirchner y Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (2003-2007 y 2007-2015, respectivamente). Desde esta óptica simplista, si no se era "K" –es decir, kirchnerista-, no sólo no se podía mirar la telenovela sino que se alentaba a boicotearla.

5   La productora El Árbol fue creada en 2010 por Pablo Echarri, Martín Seefeld y RonnieAmendolara. En mayo de este año Echarri anunció la disolución de la sociedad.

La virulencia de los mensajes de aquellos que apoyaron la campaña adhiriendo a los hashtags #DecileNoALaNovelaLaLeona, #DecileNoA-LaLeona y #NoaLaLeona, así como la intensa productividad textual que desplegaron los detractores en las redes, permiten pensar a esta corriente contraria al estreno como una verdadera práctica antifan.[6] Sin embargo, a diferencia de otros casos en los que el desprecio o el odio está sustentado en la supuesta inferioridad estética de la figura en cuestión, en éste –aunque la "mala calidad" era también un argumento esgrimido– el mayor acento se colocaba en las acusaciones de "robar dinero público" gracias a la proximidad con la gestión estatal saliente:

> @telefe_com váyanse a cagar!!! Novela paga con MIS IMPUESTOS!! #burros #NoALaLeona (19/01/16).

> Esa gentuza NO merecen respeto xq en década K se cagaron en todos (18/01/16).

A tal punto llegó la intensidad de la campaña que el mismo día en que se estrenaba *La leona* el propio presidente de la Nación, Mauricio Macri, intervino con un tuit en el que intentaba calmar las aguas: "Suerte a Pablo Echarri y al equipo de #LaLeona en su estreno. No creo en boicots a ninguna expresión cultural. Unamos a la Argentina". No obstante, los tuits boicoteadores siguieron publicándose durante toda la emisión, aunque con menor intensidad que en esas primeras semanas.

Por un tiempo, el programa intentó dar la pelea por el primer lugar en el rating del *prime time*, rivalizando con *Los ricos no piden permiso*, de la productora local Pol-ka, emitida por Canal 13. Sin embargo, ante el rating mucho mayor obtenido por producciones de otros países, como la turca *¿Qué culpa tiene Fatmagül?*,o, al finalizar aquella en marzo, la brasileña *Moisés y los diez mandamientos*. ambos por Telefe, la obsesión de este canal por obedecer el mandato de las mediciones llevó a desplazar a *La leona* sucesivamente a las 22.15, a las 22.30, a

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6   Los así llamados antifans son algo así como el espejo invertido de los fans en tanto no los motiva la afinidad sino el disgusto o incluso el odio (Johnson, 2007).

las 23 y a las 23.30 horas. Los últimos capítulos, para desesperación de los fans que voceaban su queja en Twitter y Facebook, se emitieron casi a las 23.50. A pesar de tantos cambios, la telenovela logró retener un promedio de entre 10 y 12 puntos de rating, lejos de los picos de 17 en su debut, pero notable para un horario ingrato. Y es que, en el transcurso de los seis meses que duró la emisión de *La leona*, el insistente rumor en las redes venía dando evidencias de que "la novela de Echarri y Dupláa" iba consolidando un público fiel, que la seguía a pesar de los cambios de horario, o que optaba directamente por verla online a través de la página web de Telefe o bien de los videos subidos por fans en Youtube. Es evidente que, más allá del contexto polémico que rodeó su estreno, *La leona* tenía en su factura misma componentes que explicaban el fervor de sus fans.

Una historia diferente

La leona cuenta la historia de María Leone, una obrera de la Textil Liberman, que vive en una casa del barrio La Hilada, creado para los trabajadores de la fábrica, junto con sus padres y hermana, y su marido Fabián, padre biológico de su segundo hijo y de crianza del primero. Salvo algún resentimiento fugaz, se pinta a los obreros como trabajadores dedicados, que eligen celebrar todo lo que consideran un pequeño o gran triunfo: el cobro del sueldo después de un retraso patronal, uno de los obreros se recibe de abogado tras años de esfuerzo, o festejar el cumpleaños de la hija del delegado en la fábrica porque no se pudo llegar a pagar el salón.

En la vereda de enfrente, y en contraste con los luminosos Leone, la complicada familia Miller-Liberman: Diana Liberman (Esther Goris), nieta del fundador, casada con Klaus Miller (Miguel Ángel Solá), hoy el dueño de la textil, y sus hijos, Gabriel (Rodrigo Gil Navarro), enamorado eterno de María que paulatinamente se irá mostrando como una persona violenta y capaz de matar, y Brian (Peter Lanzani), adicto y traumatizado por la relación incestuosa con su madre.

Klaus Miller, consciente de que tiene una enfermedad terminal, se propone pasar los últimos meses de vida disfrutando de su dinero con su amante joven, gracias a una quiebra fraudulenta que perjudicará a los obreros y también a su propia familia. Para lograrlo contrata a Franco Uribe (Pablo Echarri) y su equipo, expertos en desguace de empresas. Sin embargo, Franco tiene su propia agenda. Quiere vengarse de su padre, no otro que Klaus, quien tuvo una aventura con su madre, Sofía, y los repudió a ambos. Miller, por supuesto, ignora la identidad real de Uribe. Con el correr de los capítulos la audiencia se entera de que Sofía es en verdad Sara Liberman, hermana gemela de Ruth, la madre biológica de Franco.

Franco quiere recuperar la fábrica sobre la que tiene derechos como hijo de Miller, pero su plan de venganza se dificulta al conocer a María y enamorarse de ella. Una vez más, la vieja historia del amor imposible: él viene a vaciar la fábrica y hacerles la vida muy difícil a los obreros, aunque no deja de desear a María y admirar su valentía; ella sabe que Franco está en el bando contrario y eso le genera desconfianza, pero también se siente fuertemente atraída hacia él. La postura ambigua de este galán atípico lo lleva, por ejemplo, a comunicar al respetado patriarca, Pedro Leone, que está despedido, lo cual le produce la muerte por un ataque cardíaco.

Como terceros en discordia: Gabriel Miller y Julieta Irigoyen, socia de Uribe. Ambos tratarán de separar a la pareja central, pero las diferencias que alejan a María y Franco son, antes que nada, posiciones opuestas en la lucha que enfrenta a obreros y patronal.

A pesar de la postura tibia del sindicato involucrado, los trabajadores se van organizan, ocupan la textil y, ante la declaración final de quiebra, deciden intentar constituir una "fábrica recuperada", expresión que en Argentina refiere a las empresas gestionadas por sus trabajadores mediante cooperativas de trabajo luego de una quiebra.

Mientras tanto, Franco ha revelado su verdadera identidad y ha conocido aquellos datos que ignoraba: que la que creía su madre es su tía, y que su padre intentó matarlo al nacer por una promesa hecha a Diana,

la hermana Liberman que siempre lo amó y le prometió la fábrica a cambio de estar a su lado.

Luego de muchos avatares, los obreros, ahora miembros de la Cooperativa "Trabajo Argentino", logran que el proyecto de expropiación de la textil sea debatido y aprobado en la legislatura. Franco, ya redimido de su odio, facilita como heredero que el proceso sea más fluido, pero cuando María se entera de esta intervención, ya es tarde, él se ha ido.

Durante un año, ella se dedica a viajar por el país enseñando a otros trabajadores el proyecto de la cooperativa Trabajo Argentino. En medio de un festejo de carnaval en Purmamarca (Provincia de Jujuy), se reencuentra con Franco-Diego (su verdadero nombre) y reanudan la historia de amor.

¿Qué quedó de la vieja telenovela argentina melodramática y a la vez costumbrista (MAZZIOTTI, 1993) en esta historia atípica? Sin duda, está el sufrimiento excesivo, desbordado, pero ya desplazado de su foco habitual en los desengaños amorosos se apoya en otros tópicos: los despidos injustos, las muertes de los buenos. A María, por más que sufre primero con la actitud de Franco de perjudicar a los obreros y luego con su alejamiento, la vemos llorar más que nunca con la muerte de su padre.

El cortejo fúnebre de Pedro Leone fue un ejemplo paradigmático de melodrama puro y duro, alejado del uso paródico al que tienden algunas producciones de Televisa o Telemundo: el coche que lleva el cuerpo avanza lentamente, acompañado por la tristísima música del cantautor Gabo Ferro: "Frío, hace tanto frío, que no puedo más que arder…". Al mismo tiempo, la policía intenta desalojar la fábrica, tomada por los obreros. María Leone, a la cabeza de la protesta, recibe palos ante la mirada desesperada del galán: él no ordenó el desalojo sino el verdadero villano, Klaus. Pero el cortejo llega ante las puertas de la textil y el sufrimiento de la violencia represiva da lugar al otro pesar, más íntimo, del llanto por la muerte del ser querido. Sin embargo, María elige quedarse en la fábrica y no ir al entierro, con lo cual se subraya, una vez más, el foco de la historia. De todos modos, nadie en la audiencia, por

más cínico y endurecido que sea, queda a salvo de las lágrimas: no hay cómo ver esta escena irónicamente.[7]

En la línea de las continuidades, se insiste en el mundo social bipolar de la tradición del melodrama argentino. Un mundo en el que los ricos son fríos, egoístas y disociados de todo sentimiento nacional, y los pobres son solidarios, espontáneos, sinceros y auténticos, en suma, superiores en términos morales. Los Leone y los Miller-Liberman son continuidad de este universo partido.

El tópico melodramático del "drama del reconocimiento", por otro lado, se verá en su costado más tradicional en la identidad escamoteada de Franco, mientras que en el caso de María se juega de un modo innovador: no hay dudas sobre quién es su padre, pero también se observa un proceso de reconocimiento. Ella será confirmada como líder con su nombramiento como presidenta de la cooperativa, no por inteligencia ni formación universitaria sino por su compañerismo, lealtad y coraje.

Justamente es en la construcción de la heroína donde existe una ruptura mayor: María pertenece al mundo de las heroínas fuertes que en los noventa en Argentina comenzaron a delinear Andrea del Boca y Luisa Kulliok y quedaron relegadas en las telenovelas de protagonismo masculino mencionadas. Pero a diferencia de aquellas, no se la verá devastada por el abandono de un hombre. En una escena reveladora dice, mirando una foto de Uribe en una de las oficinas de la fábrica tomada: "Me hubiera animado a tanto con vos… y bueno, ¡fuiste!", al tiempo que suena el verso "ojalá pase algo que te borre de pronto" de la canción de Silvio Rodríguez. Por más que el sufrimiento atroz es ley del melodrama, todos los espectadores advierten que María no va a enfermarse de amor, hay demasiado para hacer. Aquí el texto se acerca riesgosamente al límite del género y, como se verá más adelante, éste tal vez fue el punto más polémico de *La leona*: ¿es posible una telenovela en la que el amor no sea lo más importante?

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7   "Tiemblo y lloro por la muerte de Pedro Leone (La Leona) como si me hubiera sucedido a mí", dice un comentario en el sitio Resistiendo con Aguante (ver Corpus). La escena puede verse en https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zV-zdqhE0As.

En efecto, una de las pocas críticas negativas que se realizaron en la prensa de espectáculos, en general muy elogiosa con *La leona*, tuvo que ver con la relativa marginalidad de la historia de amor respecto de la trama sindical. Aunque con más precisión podría decirse que se plantearon dudas respecto de la eficacia de este camino. En cambio, la construcción del personaje de María fue lo que más destacaron dichas críticas, que en muchos casos sostenían que, sin dejar de ser una telenovela, *La leona* era un producto transgresor en muchos sentidos, al punto de que en algunos casos fue saludado con frases que fueron desde "una gran novela" o "una de las ficciones más interesantes"[8], hasta "la *Rolando Rivas* del siglo XXI"[9].

Otra zona de la crítica especializada, en lugar de indagar las continuidades y rupturas respecto del género más bien subrayó el aspecto realista del relato, es decir, su mayor o menor adecuación a la realidad extratelevisiva: el barrio de La Hilada fue, en esta interpretación, la realidad de muchos barrios obreros argentinos en el pasado y el vaciamiento empresarial y los despidos vuelven a ser noticia en el presente[10]. Esta mirada, que se encuentra en diarios opositores al gobierno del Presidente Macri, como *Página12*, *Tiempo Argentino*, o *La Izquierda Diario*, ubican a *La leona* en una serie más ideológica que genérica, lo cual será dicho explícitamente desde el título de otra crítica de *Página12*: "Un culebrón nacional y popular".[11]

En el siguiente apartado se analiza cómo estas dos tendencias identificadas en la crítica especializada se manifiestan también en el discurso de los y las televidentes.

8   "*La leona*: balance de una gran novela". *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, 15 de julio de 2016.
9   "Una leona que le puso el cuerpo a un género difícil". Ámbito financiero, Buenos Aires, 18 de julio de 2016
10   "Una historia de amor y luchas sociales". *Tiempo Argentino*, Buenos Aires, 24 de enero de 2016.
11   La calificación de "nacional y popular" en Argentina tiende a asociarse con el movimiento peronista, que se configura inicialmente en torno a Juan Domingo Perón en 1945, y continúa con enormes transformaciones hasta hoy. Explicar el alcance de esta expresión llevaría muchas páginas, y debería incluir antecedentes ineludibles como los gobiernos populares de Hipólito Yrigoyen (1916-1922; 1928-1930) pero en general refiere, entre otras cosas, a un modelo político que reivindica la justicia social, la soberanía política y la independencia económica.

Los ojos de los televidentes

El análisis de los discursos de los espectadores que circularon en las redes sociales se basa en un corpus compuesto por publicaciones en los siguientes sitios o plataformas digitales:

1. Facebook:

    Perfil personal del autor Pablo Lago.[12]

    Grupo cerrado de fans: *La leona*

    Grupo cerrado Resistiendo con Aguante

    Fan Page *La leona* (oficial)

2. Twitter

    Publicaciones con el hashtag #LaLeona, #DecileNoALaNovelaLa-Leona, #DecileNoALaLeona y #NoaLaLeona

3. Foro AR-telenovelas (al que solo acceden los miembros): subforo de *La leona*

4. Youtube (comentarios a capítulos o partes de capítulos)

5. Comentarios a críticas en publicaciones online (*La Nación*, *La Izquierda Diario*, etc.)

En la transcripción de los posteos se respeta la ortografía y sintaxis original, pero para preservar la privacidad de los involucrados, no se publicará el nombre de usuario de los participantes.

Al igual que en los posicionamientos de la crítica de espectáculos ya señalados, un primer análisis de los discursos de televidentes permite observar que las miradas sobre el texto se realizan desde dos ángulos diferentes: algunos sitios o plataformas alojan lecturas realizadas desde el lugar de conocedores del género telenovela, mientras que otros, en cambio, disfrutan el texto exclusivamente por su perspectiva gremial o política.

En primer lugar, nos referiremos a las lecturas del texto dentro del marco genérico. Son las que podemos encontrar en sitios que los o las fans del género suelen frecuentar, como AR-telenovelas, un sitio de foros

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12   Se cuenta con la autorización del autor para la cita de los posteos sin indicar la identidad de los comentaristas.

que crea subforos de discusión para todos los títulos argentinos y algunos extranjeros particularmente exitosos.[13] Si bien ya no concitan una gran cantidad de miembros o publicaciones debido a la dispersión en otras modalidades de comunicación digital que anteriormente no se hallaban disponibles, como Facebook o Twitter, los foros de fans mantienen ciertas características en los modos de comunicación e interpretación de los textos:

a. Muchos de los seguidores deciden el consumo de una telenovela en función de consumos anteriores: son fans de un actor o actriz, de una productora, de un autor, etc. Por ejemplo, en el caso de AR-telenovelas, uno de los moderadores es ostensiblemente un/a[14] fan de Juan Gil Navarro, puesto que ostenta avatar y banner con la figura del actor.

b. Dicho conocimiento ayuda a evaluar o interpretar determinadas escenas o a imaginar posibles escenarios para los actores: "[la actriz Mónica] Antonópulos es ideal para este tipo de personajes", se señala en un posteo, mientras que en otro alguien comenta que Dolores Fonzi "hubiera sido una excelente opción para una remake de Rubí", en referencia a una telenovela mexicana de 2004, a lo que recibe como respuesta:

A mi Eugenia Leone me recuerda no solo a la ambiciosa Rubi sino a Rosario Moreno, personaje de Resistire interpretado por Romina Ricci. (19/2/16)

c. Dado que son fans del género telenovela, y ésta se caracteriza por contar una historia de amores difíciles (MAZZIOTTI, 1996), reclaman un lugar importante para la historia romántica, criterio central en su evaluación.

Fue una historia distinta, por eso el amor de los protagonistas quedó en… segundo plano??? 😊 como en Vidas robadas, no? (15/7/16)

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13 Para mayor información sobre el surgimiento de AR-telenovelas, véase BORDA, 2012.
14 El nickname (nombre del usuario) alude a una afición futbolística y no permite determinar el sexo.

> A mí me gusta asi como esta la novela centrada en el conflicto laboral
> y esa lucha. Porque disfruto de cada dialogo y esas grandes actuaciones.
> Pero reconozco que le esta faltando activar las historias de amor, sobre
> todo de los Maria y Franco - aunque en lo personal me atraparía la de
> Rodrigo y Eugenia-, porque es lo que pretende ver la mayoria del publico.
> (24/2/16)

> Entiendo que es una novela centrada en conflictos sociales y lo respeto,
> pero hay mas escenas de Pedro y Sofía, Miller y su novia, Brian y Abril (
> estos últimos dos me aburren mucho) que de Maria y Franco / Rodrigo y
> Eugenia(24/2/16)

El caso del grupo cerrado de Facebook[15] y la fan page oficial presen-
tan similitudes en las modalidades de recepción[16]: las y los miembros
recuerdan actuaciones pasadas de la pareja central o de otros actores
y hasta incluso discuten la pericia de Echarri respecto de otro galán
del género como Facundo Arana en lo que respecta al arte de besar en
cámara:

> A mi pablo me caliente con sólo verlo besar, me parece q cumple bien
> el rol de galán, además yo lo veo como un pibe de barrio y eso me gusta.
> Facundo no me transmite nada (17/7/16).

En segundo lugar me referiré a aquellas lecturas que tienden a reali-
zarse desde fuera del marco genérico, y que en este caso pueden incluso
preceder a la decodificación del texto en sí y situarse en la polémica
-que antecedió a su emisión pero luego persistió con el correr de los
capítulos- acerca de la filiación política de los actores protagónicos y en
particular de Echarri, por ser uno de los socios de la productora de *La
leona*.

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15 En realidad existe por lo menos otro grupo en Facebook, en este caso público: Fanáticos de *La
    leona*. Elegimos el grupo *La leona* debido a que tanto la membrecía (alrededor de mil miem-
    bros frente a unos 200 en el otro caso) como la participación era mayor.
16 Si bien no es el objetivo entrar en detalle sobre las diferencias específicas entre cada uno de
    estos grupos, al menos se debe resaltar que en las fanpages los seguidores no pueden publicar
    mensajes salvo en la modalidad comentario, a diferencia de lo que sucede en los grupos, donde
    todos los mensajes tienen idéntica jerarquía.

Estas lecturas políticas del texto abarcaron tanto el aliento a la pareja Dupláa/Echarri ("cumpas", "compañeros", "compañerazos") a través de la publicación de fotos que recogían dichos de éstos relativos a la coyuntura política actual, como el elogio a la telenovela por poner en escena un conflicto sindical. Es el caso, sobre todo, de posteos en Resistiendo con aguante, un grupo cerrado de Facebook creado después de la derrota del kirchnerismo en las últimas elecciones con el lema "En este espacio resistimos contra el neoliberalismo", que en noviembre de 2017 contaba con más de medio millón de miembros.

La lucha representada en la ficción se interpretó en este grupo por lo general en forma alegórica, como si *La leona* no sólo hablara de un conflicto laboral sino, indirectamente, de uno más amplio, que implica enfrentamientos de largo alcance:

> Gracias Leona por esta hermosa historia y este hermoso final, que nos define como argentinos...Gracias a todos los actores de la gran hostia que acompañaron mis noches de desvelo...

> Trabajo, cultura, paisajes made in Argentina... Aguante la Industria Nacional, carajo! Los voy a extrañar!

> "Tú no puedes comprar la lluvia, tú no puedes comprar el sol, tú no puedes comprar mi alegría, tú no puedes comprar mi ilusión..."[17]Macri vende patria y lpmqtp!!! (15/7/16)

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17 La cita remite a "Latinoamérica", la canción del grupo Calle 13 que fue uno de los temas que musicalizaron el último capítulo de la telenovela.

Figura 1. Scena de La Leona

Fuente: la autora

> El puño, los labios apretados, los ojos decididos: se respira determinación aunque la persona que mire la imagen no sepa de *La leona* y su historia. No es una musculatura trabajada. No es necesario un brazo de gimnasio. Tus brazos y tu mirada, tus labios y tus piernas, son capaces de decir la convicción que puedas construir en tu cabeza. Venceremos. Con decisión e inteligencia para aislar a los avaros. Claro que venceremos. (15/7/16)[18]

En algunos posteos el consumo de la telenovela llegó a equipararse con un ritual militante "[a *La leona*] la milité toda", dice un integrante de Resistiendo… que confiesa no haber visto ninguna desde *Rolando Rivas, taxista*, o sea, hace más de cuarenta años.

El hecho de que la telenovela ya estuviera escrita en su totalidad antes de la emisión y no obstante pudiera encontrarse en su guion lo que parecía una alusión constante a la actualidad hizo que se le adjudicara un carácter premonitorio, que fue destacado tanto en el grupo

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18 En la telenovela, con el fin de recaudar fondos, los obreros deciden publicar un calendario con fotos de ellos mismos desnudos, en algunos casos con consignas político-sindicales escritas en la piel o en carteles.

Resistiendo… como en el perfil de Pablo Lago, uno de los guionistas, o en publicaciones independientes de espectadores en Twitter:

> #LaLeona qué triste el remate,[19] triste y actual, cada capítulo parece escrito un día antes de pasarlo. (12/7/16)

Esta mirada hacia el texto en clave política también puede leerse en los comentarios publicados en respuesta a publicaciones de Pablo Lago:

> Lunes. Vuelvo a ver a emocionarme y llorar con La leona. Ese último capítulo. Una y mil veces gracias. También digo Gracias a la vida. La lucha y la esperanza van de la mano. No hay otra. Los extraño. Y una vez más. Gracias por el aprendizaje. (18/7/16)

En este último mensaje también puede leerse otro aspecto que estos lectores "políticos" de *La leona* destacaron en el texto: se lo piensa como portador de un mensaje que puede "aprenderse", sea cuál sea la interpretación que se le dé. Para el grupo Resistiendo.., la enseñanza es cómo enfrentar la lucha general contra el neoliberalismo, encarnado en el gobierno de Mauricio Macri. En el caso de los comentarios de los lectores de *La Izquierda Diario*, se destaca que la telenovela "enseñó" cuestiones puntuales de la lucha sindical: cómo enfrentarse a la patronal, los pasos que deben seguir los que quieren crear una cooperativa, cómo acercar un proyecto a un legislador, etc.[20]

Por último, es preciso remarcar que las distinciones que se trazaron en el presente análisis entre el peso mayor o menor del marco genérico o bien de las posiciones ideológico-políticas en las evaluaciones publicadas en diferentes plataformas simplemente marcan tendencias generales. Por ejemplo, contradiciendo esta predominancia, en el grupo

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19   Con lo del "remate", el posteo se refiere al capítulo emitido el 11/7/16, en el que los trabajadores, ya constituidos en cooperativa, se encuentran con que la fábrica va a ser sorpresivamente rematada, antes de que se trate la expropiación en la legislatura. Un capítulo después, la audiencia se entera de que el remate no tendrá lugar.

20   En este sentido, el mensaje se acercó por momentos al llamado merchandising social en las telenovelas brasileñas, sobre todo de Rede Globo, recurso que consiste en insertar mensajes sociales (por ejemplo sobre donación de órganos) en las tramas. Sobre este punto véase Mazziotti, 2006b.

cerrado de fans o en los comentarios a la fan page pueden encontrarse también afirmaciones políticas:

> [en referencia a la toma de la fábrica Cinpal] La leona ...cualquier simili-tud con hechos reales es pura coincidencia...Cinpal...ayer me acorde mas q nunca de vos Leona (Fan Page La leona, 27/7/16)

> Lamentablemente recién ahora los descubro... y pensar que no tenía a nadie con quien comentar la novela... sin contar con que en este país la grieta nos enfrenta demasiado, y he leído tanta crítica destructiva...

> Creo que la novela ha sido un gran mensaje para los que amamos nuestra patria y trabajamos día a día para salir adelante... A mí me ha dejado ganas de empezar algo nuevo en mi vida, algo que sirva a otros, con la convic-ción de que la honestidad, la pasión y la lucha pueden lograrlo, aunque uno sea un poco débil y las circunstancias no ayuden...

> Me encantó y me identificó el mensaje de la Antonópulos diciendo Leo-neras y Leoneros germinando... Ojala así sea por el bien de todos! (Grupo cerrado de Facebook La leona, 19/7/16)

En este último mensaje, la dimensión didáctica antes menciona-da resurge enaltecida ya como inspiradora de una nueva vocación de compromiso.

A modo de conclusión

El caso de *La leona* y su circulación fuera de la pantalla televisiva a través de posteos a favor o en contra permitió comprobar una vez más que la telenovela es un género que integra diferentes niveles de lectura o apropiación. Por un lado, estuvieron aquellos que siempre lo habían consumido y por lo tanto estaban al tanto de sus detalles de factura, de su evolución, de las modalidades de actuación. En la memoria de este sector, *La leona* tomaba su lugar en el conjunto "telenovela", ya integra-do por títulos, actores y actrices, autores, escenas inolvidables atesoradas en sus trayectorias de fans. El texto, desde esta posición, se evaluaba en tanto exponente de un género amado.

En otra zona de la platea, estaban aquellos para los que *La leona* era o bien un texto de denuncia o bien una alegoría de la lucha contra el neoliberalismo salvaje. El lugar que ocupaba en este caso lo ubicaba en compañía de discursos diversos, pero sobre todo de naturaleza política o sindical.

Ambos sectores consideraban *a La leona* tanto en su carácter de texto como de producto, pero en un caso pesaba la trayectoria de los productores *en* el género, mientras que en el segundo la mirada recaía sobre su trayectoria política.

Sin embargo, a pesar de que las interpretaciones manifestaron notorias diferencias, puede arriesgarse como hipótesis que lo que tal vez mancomune ambas miradas es la socialización, en todos los casos, en lo que algunos consideran la matriz cultural más importante en América latina: el melodrama. El melodrama, como han señalado ya tantos, excede los géneros para convertirse en una verdadera matriz cultural[21]: la lógica bipolar y excesiva del melodrama no sólo atraviesa géneros que tradicionalmente han sido asociados con su desmesura, como la telenovela, el bolero, el corrido, sino también zonas que suelen olvidarse como el discurso religioso, el periodístico o el político.

El melodrama no sólo sobrevive en la ironía de los memes, puede aún resurgir desde las entrañas de telenovelas como *La leona* para activar en la memoria de los espectadores argentinos recuerdos de innumerables tramas en las que los pobres mostraban su estatura moral superior frente a los fríos y desalmados ricos y poderosos, y podían así derrotarlos. Tal vez sea más necesario que nunca, en los tiempos en que vivimos, soñar con que esto es posible.

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21 Jesús Martín-Barbero ha sido quien más desarrolló el concepto de matriz cultural, con el melodrama como matriz latinoamericana por excelencia, pero como él mismo ha señalado, los estudios de Carlos Monsiváis (1988, 2006 entre otros) han sido pioneros en este sentido. Para un análisis específico del concepto: Cruces (2008).

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Los retos de las personas mayores ante el comercio electrónico: El caso de Amazon

Challenges of the Elderly in E-Commerce: Case Study on Amazon

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Resumen: *En un mundo cada vez más volcado en la red, el uso de Internet por parte de las personas mayores para realizar compras en plataformas o tiendas online no ha sido suficientemente estudiado. La consecuencia es que muchas empresas excluyen de su mercado a este sector de la población. A pesar de ser uno de los públicos que más beneficios puede obtener del uso del comercio electrónico, las páginas web no están siendo adaptadas desde el punto de vista de la accesibilidad. Este trabajo estudia los modelos existentes en web accesible para el colectivo senior y los aplica al caso de la plataforma de e-commerce Amazon.*

Palabras clave: *Amazon; comercio electrónico; personas mayores; internet; procedimientos online; inclusión digital; envejecimiento activo; brecha digital.*

Abstract: *In an increasingly networked world, the use of the Internet by older people to shop on online platforms or stores has not been sufficiently studied. The consequence is that many companies exclude this segment of the population from their market. Despite of being one of the groups that most benefits can obtain of the use of the electronic commerce, the web pages are not being adapted from the point of view of the accessibility. This work studies the existing models*

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about accessible web to senior people and applies them to the case of the Amazon e-commerce platform.

Keywords: *Amazon; e-commerce; elderly; Internet; online tasks; online procedures; digital inclusion; active aging; digital divide.*

Introducción

En el contexto de desarrollo y consolidación de la sociedad de la información y la comunicación, las posibilidades materiales de acceso a las TIC y las habilidades digitales para su aprovechamiento se han convertido en factores de desigualdad y exclusión social (CES, 2016). Uno de los colectivos más afectados por esta ruptura en las sociedades desarrolladas es el de la tercera edad. Si bien, la integración de este segmento de la población en el mercado supondría, por una parte, un importante incremento en las ventas para determinadas empresas, y por otra, una simplificación del día a día de los mayores que experimentan dificultades para llevar a cabo ciertas gestiones comerciales.

Pero, pese a las ventajas de una mayor inclusión electrónica de los mayores de 65 años, en España, continúa existiendo una considerable brecha digital, ya que únicamente el 46,5% de los españoles de entre 65 y 74 años han utilizado alguna vez Internet; y solo un 17,4% de ellos han comprado *online* en los últimos tres meses (INE, 2017).

En este trabajo, se estudia el caso concreto de Amazon[3] por considerarse una de las plataformas de *e-commerce* más importantes; en 2016, ya contaba con más de 70 millones de referencias en 26 categorías y era líder en el mercado electrónico español (PRIETO-MADRID, 2016). Pese a ello, los mayores no parecen totalmente incorporados a la dinámica de esta plataforma.

Ante este escenario, se plantea la hipótesis (H) de que el diseño de Amazon no cumple con los parámetros de accesibilidad, navegabilidad y usabilidad recogidos en las principales guías de diseño *senior friendly*, lo que intensifica algunas de sus limitaciones respecto al *e-commerce*.

Mencionada hipótesis determina la necesidad de delinear tres objetivos:

1. Establecer un modelo de registro analítico que permita analizar el diseño de las plataformas de comercio *online* desde la perspectiva de su accesibilidad para los mayores.

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3   Se analizarán los sitios https://www.amazon.com/ y https://www.amazon.es/, pues el resultado que devuelven las dos rutas en España es prácticamente idéntico en lo que respecta al diseño.

2. Identificar los elementos que están suponiendo barreras para que este segmento realice compras *online*.

3. Señalar recomendaciones aplicables al diseño de plataformas de *e-commerce* a partir del análisis de un caso.

Marco teórico y revisión de literatura previa

Actualmente, existe una brecha digital de carácter generacional (ABAD-ALCALÁ, 2016) motivada, en parte, por factores impeditivos como la pérdida de movilidad, el deterioro de la coordinación, los problemas visuales y -en menor medida- los auditivos (CURRAN *et al.*, 2008). En este sentido, Campbell (2015) o Lunn *et al.* (2009) relacionan el proceso de envejecimiento con una pérdida progresiva de habilidades que dificulta un adecuado manejo de las nuevas tecnologías. Si bien, como señala Fuente-Cobo (2017) el concepto de exclusión se amplía a carencias más allá de las económicas o relacionadas con el envejecimiento en sí, que tienen que ver con las posibilidades educativas, relacionales y de oportunidad de los individuos, y suponen limitaciones en sus derechos sociales.

El uso de la tecnología se complica en la vejez por (SALCEDO-MALDONADO *et al.*, 2013):

1. El deterioro de la visión y la audición. A partir de los 40 años gran parte de la población comienza a experimentar degeneración de la vista (LUNN *et al.*, 2009), lo que dificulta la lectura en cuerpos de letra pequeños y la diferenciación de colores similares (WEBAIM. ORG, 2016).

2. Un peor control psicomotor. Como señalan Curran *et al.* (2008), la coordinación psicomotriz empeora con la edad, lo que complica el uso de la mayoría de los dispositivos tecnológicos.

3. Una motivación relacional. La tecnología puede ayudar a los mayores a establecer conexiones con grupos que permitan paliar el problema de la soledad de muchos de ellos (CURTIS, 2014).

4. El cambio cognitivo. La edad cambia la capacidad cognitiva de manera variable; hay sujetos que experimentan deterioro con 60 años

mientras que otros no tienen problemas de este tipo hasta pasados los 80. Pero habitualmente, la memoria de procedimientos no se ve afectada por el envejecimiento, por lo que los mayores pueden adquirir habilidades y reproducirlas sin problemas (GLISKY, 2007). Además, son un colectivo que sobresale por su persistencia y minuciosidad (NIELSEN, 2013); rechazan dividir su atención entre varias tareas simultáneas (CAMPBELL, 2015) y son tan metódicos en sus comportamientos que desarrollan un tipo de navegación más predecible (NIELSEN, 2013).

Existe el problema añadido de que la tecnología suele estar diseñada por gente joven para gente joven (HARDY, 2013). En general, las personas mayores suelen considerar que los beneficios asociados al uso de la tecnología no compensan el esfuerzo que requiere su adaptación, pero no dejan de utilizarla cuando ven un claro beneficio; de hecho, son el segmento que más *tablets* utiliza (CURTIS, 2014).

En la búsqueda de una mayor aceptación de los diseños web, el modelo *TAM* (*Technology Acceptance Model*) (Figura 1) prevé dos parámetros clave que influyen en la decisión del usuario sobre cómo y cuándo utilizará un dispositivo (BAGOZZI *et al.*, 1992, p. 659):

1. La utilidad percibida (grado de mejora en el rendimiento de una tarea que el usuario asocia al uso de un dispositivo).
2. La facilidad percibida de uso (grado de ahorro de esfuerzo que el usuario asocia al uso de un dispositivo).

Figura 1: Modelo de Aceptación de la Tecnología.
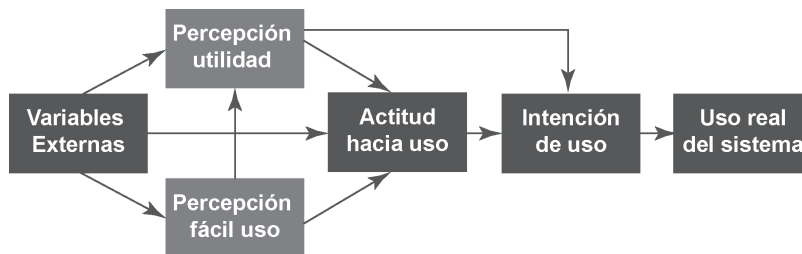
Fuente: Smith, 2008.

Smith (2008) aplicó el *TAM* al *e-commerce*, determinando que los mayores manifiestan una predisposición positiva a usar las plataformas de *e-commerce* si perciben el sitio como útil.

Por otro lado, pese a esta exclusión tecnológica de los mayores, son un colectivo con más recursos económicos que otros segmentos demográficos (KPMG, 2017), por lo que la idea de ignorar este nicho de mercado porque no es representativo en Internet parece equivocada. De hecho, este grupo compra *online* con la misma frecuencia que los *millenials* y gastan más en cada transacción (KPMG, 2017).

En España, las cifras de penetración del *e-commerce* presentan una media inferior a la europea (con una diferencia de 45 puntos porcentuales respecto a Dinamarca y Reino Unido en 2013) y decaen progresivamente pasados los 35 años (Figura 2); uno se los motivos que ha lastrado el progreso del comercio electrónico entre los mayores españoles es la desconfianza respecto a los procesos de pago (ABAD-ALCALÁ *et al.*, 2017).

Figura 2. Personas que han comprado a través de Internet en España, por edad y sexo, en % sobre el total de población de cada estrato.
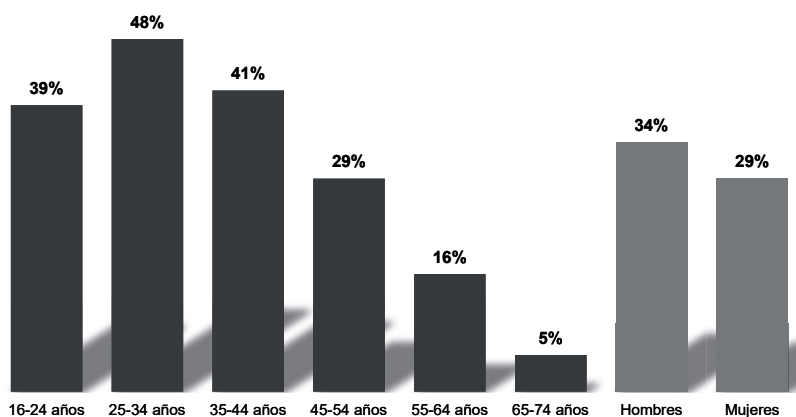
Fuente: Fundación Orange, 2014.

Metodología

Para contrastar la hipótesis y alcanzar los objetivos se plantea un análisis de la accesibilidad para mayores en Amazon. El criterio esencial en la elección de este caso responde a que Amazon se ha consolidado como la primera plataforma de *e-commerce*:

1. A nivel internacional, en 2016, fue líder en 59 países del mundo (AMAZON: EL LÍDER DEL E-COMMERCE MUNDIAL…, 2017) y, en 2017, sus ventas globales crecieron más del 50% (ALLEN, 2018).

2. A nivel nacional, fue la plataforma que más facturó en 2017 (EURO-PA PRESS, 2018) y la *e-shop* con más tráfico del año en el mercado español (AMAZON FUE EL LÍDER…, 2018).

Para garantizar un análisis riguroso se ha elaborado un modelo de registro por categorías, construido a partir de las siguientes guías de diseño web *senior friendly*:

1. *Making your Website Senior Friendly* (NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON AGING, 2009); "A" (Cuadro 1).

2. *Developing Websites for Older People: How Web Content Accessibility Guidelines (WCAG) 2.0 Applies* (WEB ACCESSIBILITY INITIA-TIVE, 2010); "B" (Cuadro 1).

3. *Universal Usability Web Design Guidelines for the Elderly (Age 65 and Older)* (UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, 2001); "C" (Cuadro 1).

4. *Barriers Faced by Older Users on Static Web Pages. Criteria Used in The Barrier Walkthrough Method* (LUNN *et al.*, 2009); "D" (Cuadro 1).

Algunos de los ítems considerados por estas guías se han desestimado en el modelo, bien por responder a criterios subjetivos o difíciles de medir, bien por no proceder en el caso específico del *e-commerce*.

Cuadro 1. Todos los aspectos contemplados por las cuatro guías.

A	B	C	D
Organizar información en secciones breves	Mapa web	Evitar uso excesivo de mayúsculas	Espacio hipervínculos/ botones
Instrucciones claras	Evitar justificación completa	Uso de colores complementarios	Botones grandes (180x22)
Numerar cada paso en las tareas	Evitar usar distintos estilos	Evitar colores fluorescentes	Puntos calientes ampliados
Minimizar jerga y términos técnicos	Diferenciación entre columnas	Evitar mezclar varias fuentes	Enlaces con etiquetas verbo-acción
Único *click* con el ratón	Botones de *zoom*	Fuente "legible, básica y común"	Evitar menús en cascada/ dinámicos
Espacio suficiente alrededor de los botones	Resaltar enlaces	No emplear jerarquía profunda	Usar "hilo de Ariadna"
Cuerpo de letra superior a 12 puntos	Cuerpo de letra 12-14 puntos	Cuerpo de letra 12 puntos o superior	Encabezados descriptivos
Poder aumentar texto	Texto aumentable en un 200%	Evitar uso excesivo de mayúsculas	Explicación de *pop ups*, avisos
Combinaciones de alto contraste	Contraste mínimo de 4.4:1	Contraste entre contenido y fondo	Evitar *scrolling*
Función *TTS*	Función *TTS*	Desactivar *scrolling* automático	Emplear todo el espacio
Minimizar *scrolling*	Cajas adaptables	Blancos entre bloques	
Motor de búsqueda	Información en color y en texto	Equivalentes visuales del texto	
	Subtítulos en contenido multimedia	Información en color y en texto	
	Guión en contenido multimedia	Enlaces subrayados	
	Supresión CAPTCHA	Texto equivalente al contenido multimedia	
	Breadcrumb trail	Justificar texto a la izquierda	
	Enlace a la *home* visible	Educación: ayuda *online*/ FAQ	
	Evitar "movimiento excesivo"	Minimizar información no relevante	
	Evitar *pop ups*	Proporción en el tamaño de los elementos	
	Revisión en formularios	Evitar sombras	
	Confirmación de acción irreversible	Recomienda TNR o Curier	

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de National Institute on Aging (2009), Web Accessibility Initiative (2010), University of Maryland (2001) y Lunn et al. (2009).

Tras comprobar los aspectos reseñados de estas guías, se ha elaborado el modelo de registro analítico (Cuadro 2), incluyendo tres categorías de ítems que vertebran el patrón de estudio para el caso seleccionado.

Cuadro 2. Categorías de ítems de análisis.

Ítems de diseño y estilo	Ítems de acceso y navegabilidad	Ítems de usabilidad
Estructura y composición	Mapa y estructura web	Cantidad de información
Interface	Operatividad de botones	Contenido adecuado (tipo)
Color	Accesibilidad a enlaces	Claridad de contenidos
Fuente	Conexión entre pestañas	Distribución de información
	Buscador	Pertinencia de botones
	Scrolling	Oportunidad de enlaces
	Menús	Formularios
	Señales de orientación	Acciones con el ratón

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de National Institute on Aging (2009), Web Accessibility Initiative (2010), University of Maryland (2001) y Lunn et al. (2009).

Resultados

Ítems de diseño y estilo

Cuadro 3. Ítems de diseño y estilo analizados.

Ítems de diseño y estilo	Descripción de ítems de diseño y estilo
Estructura y composición	Análisis de la distribución de los elementos y su jerarquización; identificación de herramientas (*zoom*, botones, enlaces o buscador)
Interface	Estudio de elementos de la plataforma que permiten al usuario el desarrollo de acciones a su servicio
Color	Análisis de la pertinencia en la elección de los colores
Fuente	Estimación de la pertinencia en la elección de tipografías y cuerpos

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de National Institute on Aging (2009), Web Accessibility Initiative (2010), University of Maryland (2001) y Lunn et al. (2009).

1. Estructura y composición: La página principal (Figura 3) presenta elementos distintos y desconectados, sin una ubicación lógica, además de *banners*, y un *slider* que pueden provocar confusión. Su diseño no sigue, por tanto, los patrones de simplicidad recomendados para mayores.

Figura 3. *Home* de Amazon.com.
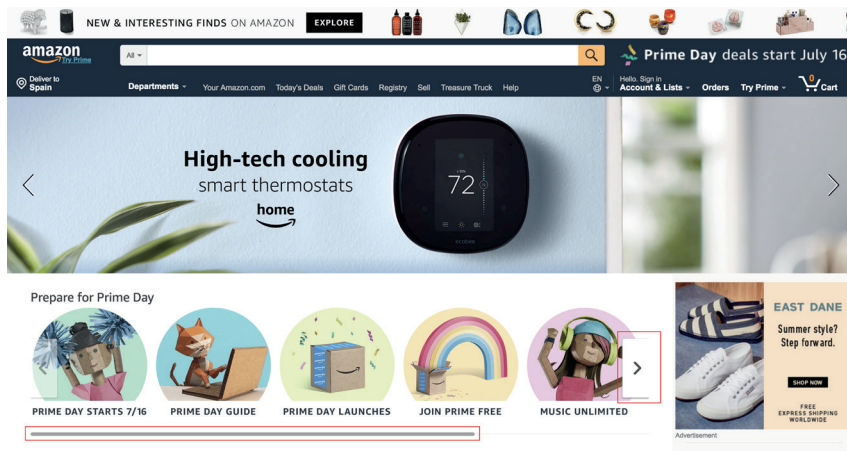
Fuente: Amazon.com, 2018.

Por otra parte, la barra de búsqueda ocupa un lugar visible y accesible mediante teclado.

Si se analiza el "recorrido de compra" de un usuario para analizar su usabilidad desde el punto de vista del diseño pensado para la tercera edad, no se cumple la máxima de ser directo. La jerarquía es amplia y profunda. Por ejemplo: Kindle Store > Kindle eBooks > Reference > Writing, Research & Publishing Guides > **Journalism**.

2. *Interface*: La complejidad estructural que presenta el recorrido de compra puede dificultar al usuario el desarrollo de algunas acciones. En la página de producto, el usuario lo encuentra englobado en una serie de categorías anteriores. Esta clasificación, con alto grado de precisión, dificulta la navegación, al ser complicado memorizar en qué sección se encuentra.

3. Color: En la página de inicio (Figura 3) se observan aspectos mejorables respecto al contraste en el menú inicial (entre botones, desplegables y *links*). Si bien, en términos generales, haciendo referencia al cromatismo, la

plataforma hace un buen uso del mismo. Los tonos principales son el fondo oscuro sobre blanco o gris muy claro, invertido en los desplegables del menú superior de navegación de la página (Figura 4). Esta predominancia de los contrastes altos facilita la identificación de los textos.

Figura 4. Menú despegable de la *Home* de Amazon.com.
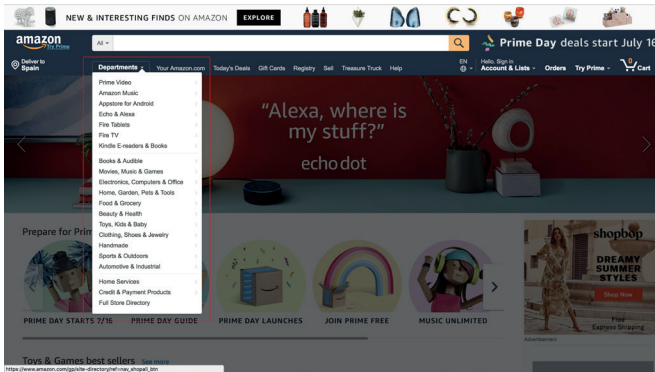
Fuente: Amazon.com, 2018.

En páginas internas no se sigue un código de color más allá de los tradicionales *links* en azul, que cambian a naranja (unas veces subrayados y otras no) al situar el cursor sobre ellos (Figura 5).

Figura 5. Página interna de Amazon.com.
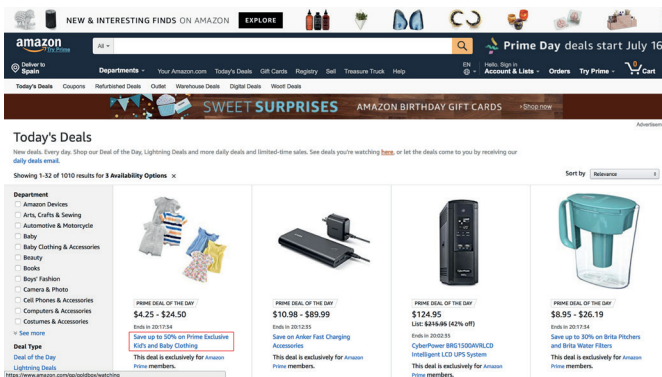
Fuente: Amazon.com, 2018.

4. Fuente: La *home* (Figura 3) también plantea problemas de legibili-
    dad. Atendiendo al programa WhatFont, predomina el texto negro
    sobre un fondo blanco con los encabezados en cuerpos de 34 píxeles
    (Figura 6).

Figura 6. Referencia del programa WhatFont para los encabezados.
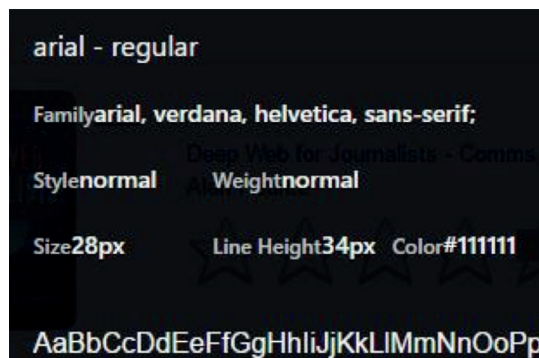
Fuente: WhatFont, 2018.

El texto base de la página ofrece más dificultades. Los 13 píxeles
que presenta en una configuración de navegador por defecto no son
suficientes para una lectura cómoda, en general, entorpeciendo todavía
más la experiencia de navegación de los mayores (Figura 7).

Figura 7. Referencia del programa WhatFont en el texto base.
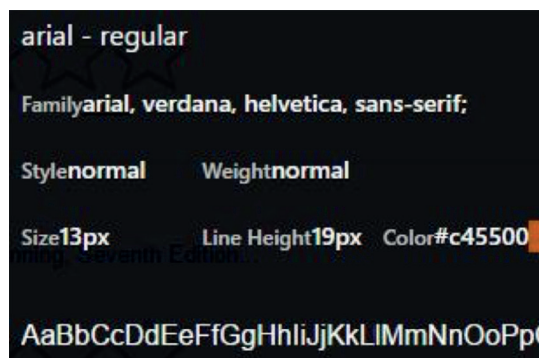
Fuente: WhatFont, 2018.

La alineación del texto es la recomendada (a la izquierda), pero no se recurre a grandes bloques (Figura 8).

Figura 8. Organización del texto en página interna de Amazon.com.

Fuente: Amazon.com, 2018.

Como se puede apreciar en la *home* (Figura 3), los textos suelen dividirse en secciones, con gran diversidad de estilos (regular, negrita, subrayada, mayúscula, minúscula), colores (blanco, negro, gris, azul) y tamaños, lo que puede perjudicar la identificación de cada elemento.

Ítems de acceso y navegabilidad

Cuadro 4. Ítems de diseño y estilo analizados.

Ítems de acceso y navegabilidad	Descripción de ítems de acceso y navegabilidad
Mapa y estructura web	Análisis de la adecuada estructuración de la plataforma para facilitar la navegación y el acceso a secciones
Operatividad de botones	Estudio de la oportunidad de los botones, su identificación y su facilidad de uso
Accesibilidad a enlaces	Análisis de la pertinencia de los enlaces, su identificación y su funcionamiento

Conexión entre elementos	Estudio de la vinculación entre elementos de accesibilidad y navegación
Buscador	Análisis de identificación, ubicación y funcionamiento del buscador
Scrolling	Estudio del *scroll* de la plataforma y su posible abuso
Menús	Análisis de la oportunidad y operatividad de los menús
Señales de orientación	Localización y adecuación de señales que orienten la navegabilidad en la plataforma

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de National Institute on Aging (2009), Web Accessibility Initiative (2010), University of Maryland (2001) y Lunn, Yesilada y Harper (2009).

1. Mapa web: El mapa web no aparece claramente identificado, aunque se descubre al final de todas las diferentes páginas de la plataforma que se van abriendo en su navegación hasta la tramitación de los pedidos (Figura 9). No obstante, este menú inferior no refleja las diferentes secciones en las que se estructura la compleja plataforma.

Figura 9. Mapa web de Amazon.com.
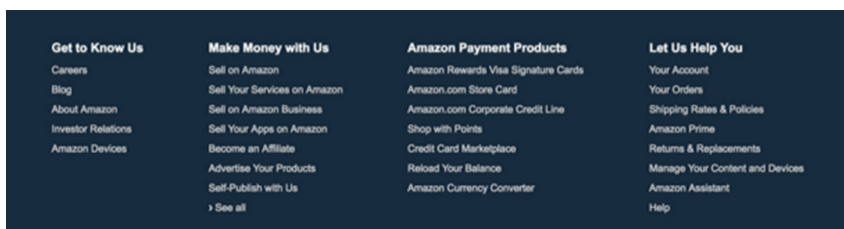
Fuente: Amazon.com, 2018.

Respecto a la estructura general del sitio, la función *Text to Speech* (*TTS*), mencionada en las guías "A" y "B", no se encuentra disponible; además, la página, con varios focos de interés, no se presenta como el mejor escenario para su correcto funcionamiento.

2. Operatividad de botones: No se guarda un espacio suficiente entre los botones, lo que complica su identificación. El botón pulsado (naranja) se diferencia del resto (gris) por cromática. Resultan

problemáticos ciertos botones respecto a las posibles opciones de algunos productos, pues al posicionar el ratón sobre el botón, se ofrece una previsualización que puede confundir al usuario y hacerle entender que han seleccionado unas características del producto, cuando no es así (Figura 10).

Figura 10. Confusión con los botones de opciones de producto en Amazon. com.

Fuente: Amazon.com, 2018.

3. Accesibilidad a enlaces: La página sigue la tendencia predominante en la expresión de los enlaces; de color azul, pasan a color naranja (a veces, se subrayan) al situar el cursor sobre ellos. Esto hace que sean sencillos de identificar, aunque no suelen incorporar etiquetas con verbos de acción, como señala la guía "A".
4. Conexión entre elementos: El uso del ratón se hace imprescindible en una navegación ágil; a través del teclado, se requiere seguir una jerarquía con muchos usos del tabulador. Por ejemplo, para acceder al tercer producto destacado en la sección "Libros" ("Últimas novedades de Amazon" en "Libros") fueron necesarios 30 usos del tabulador.

5. Buscador: La barra de búsqueda aparece claramente identificada en el encabezado de todas las páginas de la plataforma durante la navegación, lo que beneficia también a la usabilidad de la plataforma. Si bien, los resultados de búsqueda ofrecen destacados que, a veces, no corresponden exactamente con el tipo de producto requerido, lo que podría confundir al usuario (Figura 11).

Figura 11. Barra de búsqueda y resultados de un ejemplo en Amazon.es.
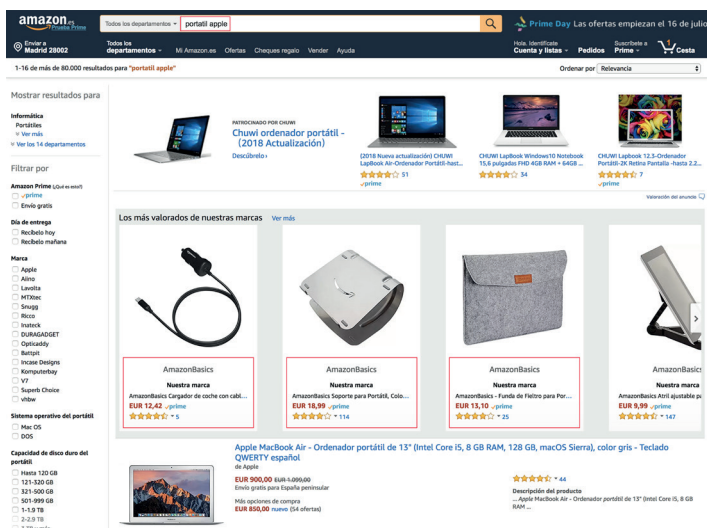
Fuente: Amazon.es, 2018.

6. *Scrolling:* Aunque se recomienda minimizar el uso del *scrolling*, en Amazon es obligatorio en todas las páginas, incluso en la inicial, en la que hay que desplazarse verticalmente para poder ver los botones con las diferentes secciones destacadas. Esto empeora dentro de cada sección, al incluir, habitualmente, mucha información en cada página. Un elemento que favorece la navegación respecto a los problemas que presenta el *scrolling* -y que no es mencionado por las guías- es el botón "volver arriba" que agiliza el retorno a la parte

inicial de la página. Este botón aparece en todas las páginas durante la navegación, pero no se identifica con claridad (Figura 12).

Figura 12. Mala identificación del botón "Vuelta arriba" o *Back to top* en Amazon.com.
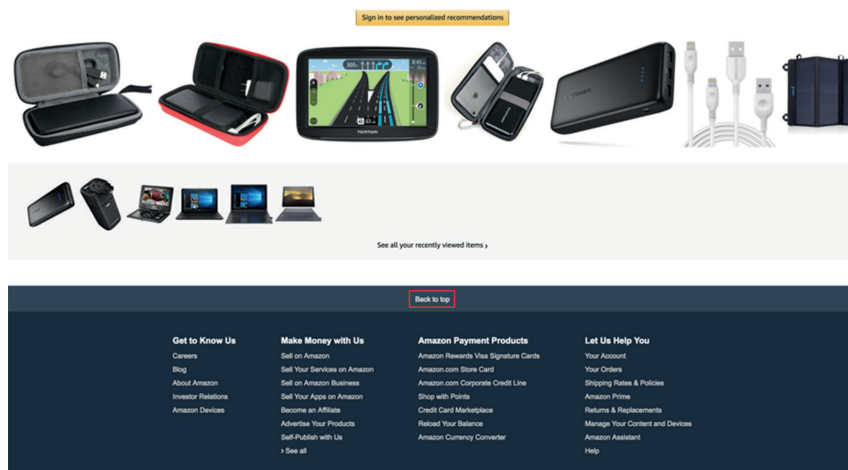
Fuente: Amazon.com, 2018.

7. Menús: Son una variante en cascada horizontal (*flyout menu*), que la guía "D" recomienda evitar para un público *senior*, porque cuando se despliegan exigen seguir un recorrido preciso con el ratón que logre mantenerlos desplegados y seleccionar la sección deseada. Es cierto que no son desplegables con mucha profundidad y que la opción "Todos los Departamentos" permite al usuario acceder, durante la navegación, a un menú complejo pero completo y estructurado.

8. Señales de orientación: No existen señales claras que orienten al usuario; la información de los resultados de los productos buscados es muy homogénea respetando siempre idénticos formatos. Además, en los destacados se incorporan productos relacionados con los buscados, pero según la selección de la propia plataforma y sin ajustarse exactamente a la búsqueda (Figura 11). Dentro de las señales de orientación, se puede mencionar que la visualización del producto

está simplificada, de manera que, al desplazar el ratón sobre la imagen, aumenta y permite al usuario apreciar más detalles del producto. Si bien, esta función se indica mediante el mensaje de forma demasiado sutil bajo la imagen del producto (Figura 13).

Figura 13. Compleja legibilidad del botón "Pasa el ratón por encima de la imagen para ampliarla".
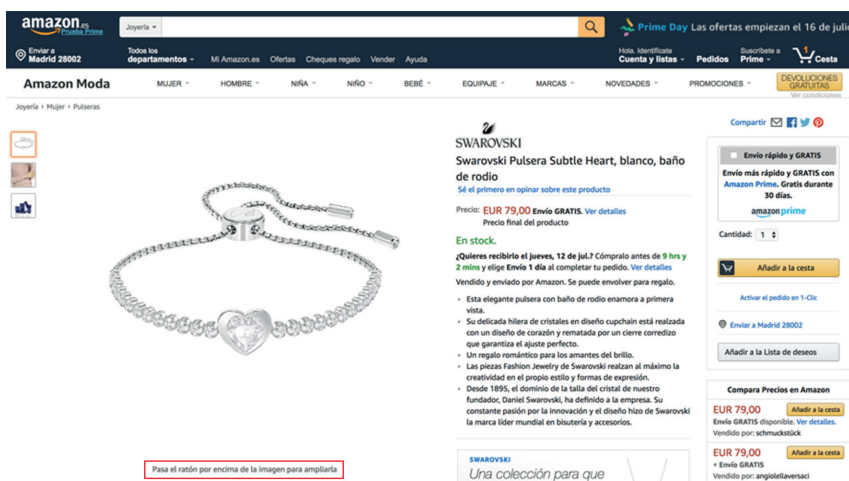
Fuente: Amazon.es, 2018.

En lo que respecta al proceso de compra en sí, como indica la guía "A", aparece debidamente estructurado en pasos que se van indicando visualmente con claridad según se va avanzando en el mismo (Figura 14).

Figura 14. Progreso del proceso de compra en Amazon.es.

Fuente: Amazon.es, 2018.

Ítems de usabilidad

Cuadro 5. Ítems de diseño y estilo analizados.

Ítems de usabilidad	Descripción de ítems de usabilidad
Cantidad de información	Análisis de la cantidad de información y su influencia en la usabilidad de la plataforma
Contenido adecuado	Estudio de los tipos de contenidos (sonoros, multimedia, verbales, visuales) y su oportunidad
Claridad de contenidos	Análisis de los textos descriptivos, su fácil comprensión y la calidad de las imágenes
Distribución de la información	Estudio de la adecuada distribución y jerarquización de los datos
Oportunidad de botones	Estimación de la pertinencia de los botones y su fácil uso
Pertinencia de enlaces	Análisis de la adecuación de los enlaces y su fácil uso
Formularios	Estudio de la estructura y adecuación de los formularios
Acciones con el ratón	Análisis de las necesarias acciones con el ratón para el desarrollo de acciones en la plataforma

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de National Institute on Aging (2009), Web Accessibility Initiative (2010), University of Maryland (2001) y Lunn *et al.* (2009).

1. Cantidad de información: La principal barrera que presenta el uso de Amazon para los mayores es la cantidad de información que incluye en todas sus secciones, que puede conducir fácilmente a error o a no encontrar lo que se busca. Al respecto, su buscador supone una ayuda para localizar con rapidez el producto deseado, si bien, suele devolver como resultado otros productos correlacionados que no son exactamente el requerido (Figura 11), lo que puede llegar a confundir a un público *senior*, menos familiarizado con el uso de la plataforma. Además, al seleccionar un producto, la cantidad de información también resulta excesiva. Por ejemplo, en la Figura 15, la página de producto incluye siete precios distintos a un cuerpo de texto similar. Uno corresponde al precio del producto en sí, otro al del ahorro, y otros a diversas posibilidades de compra por comparativa;

incluso se hace referencia a otro producto diferente, del que también se refiere el precio.

Figura 15. Siete mensajes que señalan precios diferentes en Amazon.es.

Fuente: Amazon.es, 2018.

2. Contenidos adecuados: Respecto al tipo de contenidos, de forma general, el patrón del producto seleccionado destaca información visual y verbal para permitir al usuario ver su aspecto y leer sus características. No existen contenidos sonoros y/o audiovisuales que aporten información más detallada sobre los productos, pero sí elementos multimedia explicativos sobre el uso de la plataforma que pueden ser de gran utilidad para los mayores (Figura 16).

Figura 16. Sección de ayuda en Amazon.es.

Fuente: Amazon.es, 2018.

3. Calidad de los contenidos: El problema principal reside en el con-
    tenido verbal; no resaltan palabras clave que podrían facilitar la
    identificación de las características más reseñables del producto.
    Además, a veces, se detectan problemas de comprensión por una
    inadecuada traducción del texto (Figura 17).

Figura 17. Mala traducción en la etiqueta principal de descripción del producto en Amazon.es.
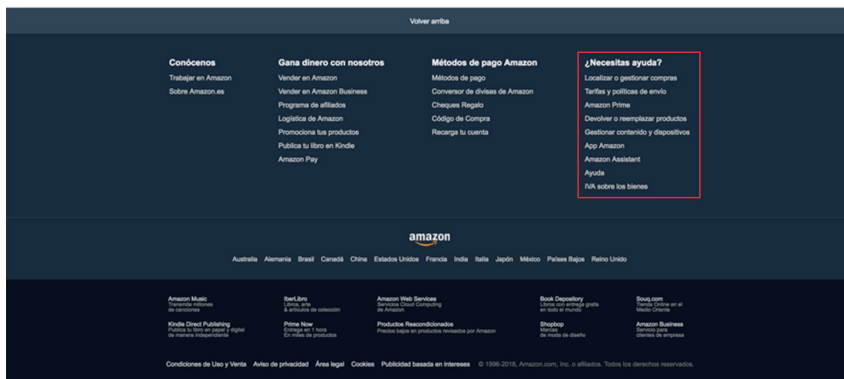
Fuente: Amazon.es, 2018.

4. Distribución de la información: Como se ha mencionado, la información no siempre aparece debidamente jerarquizada para facilitar la identificación de los datos relevantes sobre los productos seleccionados, tanto en lo que se refiere a características de los productos como a las señalizaciones del precio.

5. Oportunidad de botones: Los botones no siempre se identifican con facilidad ni su uso queda claramente identificado en las acciones (Figuras 10 y 12).

6. Pertinencia de enlaces: El uso de los enlaces tampoco es el más sencillo. Se identifican cromáticamente, pero existen varias posibilidades para un mismo producto y todos aparecen siguiendo el mismo criterio expresivo.

7. Formularios: No incluyen señales de advertencia de acción irreversible ni fase de corrección de errores, funciones que facilitarían el proceso de compra. Si bien, no se recurre al uso de segundas ventanas ni *pop-ups*, elementos que rompen la navegabilidad y dificultan el uso coherente de la plataforma. Además, hay que reseñar que la plataforma incluye una sección de ayuda que cubre los problemas más comunes mediante contenidos explicativos de diverso tipo; el

problema es que se localiza en el menú inferior de las páginas y no está debidamente identificada (Figura 18).

Figura 18. Difícil acceso e identificación de la sección "Ayuda" en Amazon.es.
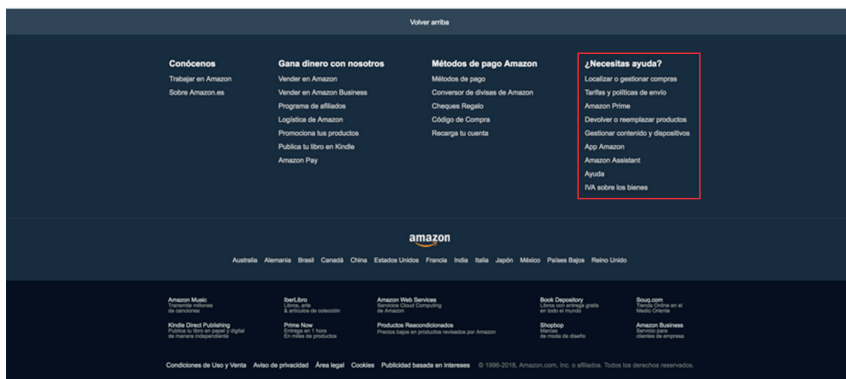
Fuente: Amazon.es, 2018.

8. Acciones con el ratón: El uso del ratón es imprescindible en el ágil uso de la plataforma; además, la obligación de hacer *scrolling*, dificulta el acceso y la navegación a personas menos familiarizadas con los dispositivos portátiles.

Conclusiones y discusión

Amazon presenta dificultades de accesibilidad y usabilidad para los mayores, motivadas por un diseño complejo, una estructura confusa y una legibilidad cuestionable. De los 64 aspectos que consideran las guías de diseño accesible en las que se fundamenta este estudio, Amazon se ajusta a 21, lo que ofrece una adhesión de un 32% a las pautas de un diseño web *senior friendly*. Probablemente, estos resultados respondan a que la plataforma no considera al público *senior* como parte de su *core target*.

Los resultados del análisis permiten, pues, verificar la hipótesis planteada al comienzo de esta investigación. La accesibilidad, navegabilidad y usabilidad de Amazon como plataforma de *e-commerce* se ven comprometidas por un diseño excesivamente complejo en forma y contenido.

Este hecho merece una reflexión sobre el diseño web y su adaptación a las necesidades físicas de los mayores (CHADWICK-DIAS *et al.*, 2007), pues en la medida en la que la movilidad se reduce con la edad, tener bienes y servicios contratados que lleguen a la puerta de casa tiene grandes ventajas (CAMPBELL, 2015). Estos beneficios son todavía más palpables para aquellas personas mayores que padecen discapacidades físicas que obstaculizan su desplazamiento a tiendas en lugares específicos; al respecto, Internet se convierte en un espacio cómodo para la compra (CURRAN *et al.*, 2008).

Respecto al alcance de los objetivos, el estudio permite, en primer lugar, establecer un modelo de análisis por categorías de ítems que profundizan en los diferentes elementos esenciales para un diseño *senior friendly*, algo que se esboza de forma particular en el Cuadro 2. En segundo lugar, los parámetros de accesibilidad, navegabilidad y usabilidad son los más determinantes para romper las principales barreras de este colectivo frente al comercio electrónico; Holzinger *et al.* (2008) ya advirtieron que un diseño amigable con los mayores debe adaptarse a sus limitaciones físicas, apostando por una *interface* que les resulte familiar y un equilibrio entre el uso intuitivo del dispositivo y el aprendizaje necesario para su aprovechamiento. En tercer lugar, como medida para paliar estas dificultades, se recomienda un diseño web que considere los parámetros planteados en guías de diseño *senior friendly* e incorpore fórmulas como los mensajes de advertencia en formularios o la función *TTS* (NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON AGING, 2009; WEB ACCESSIBILITY INITIATIVE, 2010).

Las personas mayores merecen la atención de los actores económicos y sociales para poder adaptarse a las nuevas tecnologías y poder superar el reto que les plantean en su propio beneficio vital (LLORENTE-BARROSO *et al.*, 2018). En general, Internet ha contribuido a un envejecimiento activo (LLORENTE-BARROSO *et al.*, 2015), pero la perfecta integración de los mayores en el comercio electrónico pasa por una serie de cambios en los diseños de las plataformas hacia una mayor

transparencia, capaz de motivarles y de reducir el estrés que el uso de los dispositivos puede suponerles (HAWTHORN, 2000).

La realidad refleja que, en España, los mayores no suelen utilizar el *e-commerce* (SÁNCHEZ-VALLE *et al.*, 2017); tienden a percibir la compra *online* como compleja e innecesaria, si bien, se observa que una experiencia de compra simplificada podría incrementar el *e-commerce* entre este colectivo (MUÑOZ-GALLEGO *et al.*, 2015).

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Saias, selins e sensibilidades: movimentos feministas e bens de consumo

Skirts, saddles and sensibilities: feminist movements and consumer goods

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Resumo: *Este artigo tem como objetivo apresentar, em perspectiva histórica, momentos de estreita vinculação entre a atuação política do feminismo e as práticas de consumo modernas. O enfoque central será a análise do surgimento da bicicleta como bem de consumo. Ainda que pensada para homens, foi – nos Estados Unidos e em vários países europeus – apropriada pelas mulheres, que rapidamente se transformaram nas suas principais consumidoras. A chegada desse bem de consumo foi relacionada às lutas feministas por emancipação, provocando uma onda de transformações sociais.*

Palavras-chave: *consumo; comunicação; feminismo; bicicleta.*

Abstract: *This article aims to show, in historical perspective, moments of close linkage between the political action of feminism and the modern consumer practices. The main focus will be the analysis of the emergence of the bicycle as a consumer good. Although it was thought for men, bicycle was – in the United States and in several European countries – appropriated by women, who quickly became its main consumers. The arrival of this good of consumption was related to the feminist struggles for emancipation, provoking a wave of social transformations.*

Key-words: *consumption; communication; feminism; bicycle.*

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Introduction

The goal of this study is to examine the historical relationships and partnerships established between social movements – especially feminism[3] – and the representations and practices of consumption. In this bibliographic and documental investigation, we've analyzed mainly the emergency of a certain good – the bicycle – and its appropriations for the libertarian struggles of women, both in regards to their possibilities of locomotion and the expansion of spaces of transit and the redefinition of the borders of their bodies.

Through textual analysis (BAUER; GASKELL, 2002; DUARTE; BARROS, 2009) grounded in the meaningful presence of images and texts of North American advertisement and news from the end of the 19th century, the research reinforces that the phenomenon of consumption, generally perceived through a moralistic point-of-view and bias that locates it as politically reactionary, became, in certain historical circumstances, an ally of the movement for women emancipation (ROCHA; FRID; CORBO, 2015). The case of the bicycle is an example in this sense, justifying its choice as an object of analysis, because this consumer good articulated female struggle in the public sphere – for freedom of transportation – and private sphere – regarding the control of sexual desire.

Academics and lawyers

The criticism to consumption through a moralistic point of view that, at times, even sees it as a "disease" is something normal in the common sense, in media discourses and even in part of the intelligentsia as a counterpart to the hedonistic point of view about the phenomenon (ROCHA, 2005). In fact, it is an old tension that ends up marking many of the interpretations about the meanings and impacts of social phenomena.

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3   A more careful revision of the uncountable texts and multiple positions of the complex universe of feminist studies would surpass the limits of this study.

In the case of those related to the universe of communication – consumption, television, advertisement, cellphones, videogames, among others – this tension goes back to the term *Kulturindustrie, created by Adorno and* Horkheimer in the classic Dialectics of enlightenment (1947). Twenty years after the first publication of the expression "cultural industry", Adorno (1968), in a new essay called *Résumé* über *Kulturindustrie*,[4] said that the preference for the expression "cultural industry" as a replacement for "mass culture" happened aiming "[…] To exclude beforehand the interpretation that pleases the lawyers[5] of the thing […]" (ADORNO, 1971, p. 287). Thus, the idea of cultural industry aims to comprise the process of massification of communication before the accelerated production of media content in highly industrialized societies. However, this vision presents a subtle redundancy that ends up relativizing the own perspective it aims to accomplish. If human beings have the capacity to transform nature through symbolic systems that elaborate languages, techniques, artifacts, machines, industries, etc., it would be possible to say that every industry is a cultural industry, because it is always necessarily linked to a symbolical level. Therefore, the idea of "cultural industry" in Adorno, less than trying to distinguish a type of "industry" that would produce material goods and other, the cultural industry, that would produce symbolical goods, indicates that the latter is submitted to the same economic interests than the others. Frankfurtian thinkers, that aimed to distance themselves from the supposed protectors of mass culture, reveal, in fact, another intention: the conscious choice of affirm their moral and political position facing the consequences of mass communication for the modern-contemporary society. In this sense, the choice of expression "cultural industry" implies an accusatory perspective – something pertaining to lawyers (*anwälten*) and courts of law – facing the media products and the themes of communication.

It is important to remember that the tendency of positioning oneself morally, choosing "one side" in the mass communication debate, is the

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4   Translated for the English language as "Dialectic of Enlightenment" (1941).
5   *Anwälten, in German, means lawyer or jurist.*

central issue of the essay Apocalyptic and integrated, from Umberto Eco (1964). Through this tension between "good" and "evil" – the integrated and apocalyptic from Eco – academics of communication positioned themselves as defenders or accusers in front of a defendant, and, due to this reason, would weave ideas that, in fact, would appear to be more minutes of acquittal or condemnation that, by the own limit of their places of speech, left aside a more detailed examination of fundamental dimensions of these complex phenomena. This "court paradigm" polarized and may have been one of the reasons to leave consumption aside of academic reflections and debates for so long (ROCHA, 1995). Not fortuitously, even if the phenomenon have named the experience that we live in – consumer society –, it is a theme with few studies in the social sciences and it is often filled by ideology and/or emotional involvements that may tend to a strong accusation, or treat it as a futility that would not deserve the same academic credit of those so-called "serious" issues:

> This "moralistic view" of consumption is manifested both in simplistic and naïve discourses and in intellectually sophisticated analyses. However, to treat consumption as a banality or accusing it for the problems we face get in the way of analyses that seek to understand it as a central phenomenon of the modern-contemporary society (ROCHA; FRID; CORBO, 2016, p. 14).

Thus, it is with a certain frequency that investigators of social phenomena face the difficulty of the polarization contained in their themes, which leads them to the risk of turning into the "lawyers of the thing" or choleric inquisitors. Our study, therefore, while it investigates consumption through a historical perspective, contributes, due to the distance that temporality can bring, to perceive historic events in which women's struggle established partnerships with the modern practices of consumption.

Therefore, we will begin listing some transformations that consumption provoked in the established powers, as it was the case for significant contributions of the department store *Selfridge*'s for the struggle of suffragettes in London in the beginning of the 20th century (ROCHA;

FRID; CORBO, 2015) or the alliance between North American feminists and the habit of smoking in the end of the 1920's (LEAL; FREIRE FILHO; ROCHA, 2016). This study, however, intends to reveal that other specific consumer good – the bicycle – motivated change in the cultural and political level, contributing decisively in the struggles, experiences, sensibilities and the existence itself of women more free from the traditions of domination.

Women and consumption

The Industrial Revolution is conventionally taken as a starting point for the formation of modern society. The productivism, the notion of self, the consolidation of the powers of the State, the prevalence of the perception of time as history (ROCHA, 1995), in addition to the mass media and consumption – all characteristics easily recognized in the contemporary society – were managed in the complex transformation of forces that amalgamated forms of production, new cultural values, social re-organizations, political transits and sensibilities around the project that ended up configuring what we call, in a wide sense, of modernity.

It is in this context, already relatively consolidated, that a new model of commercial businesses arrives: department stores, also known as grands magasins, created in France, England and United States of America in the second half of the 19th century which fill a fundamental role in the incentive of sales, in the pecuniary dispendium and, especially, in consumption like we know today:

> In the popular level, this period was marked by the democratization of leisure and fashion and by the arrival of department stores […] like Macy's (1858) in New York, Bon Marche (1869), La Samaritaine (1870) and Galeries Lafayette (1895) in Paris, Wakamaker's in Filadelfia (1877) and Selfridge's in London (1909). They represented what was called "revolution in sales" […] (BURKE, 2008, p. 32).

The way people acquire goods is transformed and consumption begins, until then, to be experienced as a pleasurable activity. Because of

that, in the environment of these big stores, "[…] Customers were asked to consider shopping not as an economic act, but as a social and cultural event" (RAPPAPORT, 2004, p. 159). In addition to that, the use of media and advertisement in favor of shopping activities are some of the aspects of consolidation of a culture that begins to have in consumption one of the most common practices and one of the most shared representations. Advertisements and posters that announced grands magasins used multiple visual stimuli reproduced in their windows[6] and shopping experiences in the space of department stores.

In this new concept, women began to lead the scene of consumption: because they were the main customers and because they acted as hired employees of these big department stores. The female frequency in grands magasins was extremely meaningful, because it became one of the first public spaces where women could go unaccompanied: "[…] The department store became interesting to the media not only due to the merchandise they sold, but for its definition as a social and cultural institution for women" (RAPPAPORT, 2004, p. 164). As a work space, around 1900, for example, an impressive number of 250 thousand women were employed in British retail – an area with an ongoing development that filled over a third of the total workforce of that country (COX, 2017).

More than that, the relationship between women and consumption enabled by department stores is also marked by a political alliance. In an uncommon partnership, first wave feminists, which also were known all over the world as suffragettes, were articulated in big magazines to advance their political projects:

> […] In London, Paris and different cities in the USA, department stores hosted suffragettes meetings at the same time they invested in advertisement in magazines of the movement. The activists wanted to evidence their features and female elegance with long gowns and accessories, always in the colors purple, white and green […]. With that, they had a

6   The techniques of seduction also appear in the windows of stores allowing visibility to the products offered – since, previously, consumers had to go to the store already knowing what they wished to acquire (ROCHA, FRID and CORBO, 2016).

two-way street, they were customers of the same department stores that protected them (ROCHA; FRID; CORBO, 2015).

The case of Selfridge's is emblematic. The department store located in the West End, in London, was the meeting place of women who fought for the right to vote. It is known that Gordon Selfridge, the owner, had a favorable opinion on the female suffrage and, "[…] In an almost feminist tone, without any apparent political message, he [Selfridge] portrayed the store as a female 'rendez-vous', or as the ideal meeting spot" (RAPPAPORT, 2004, p. 172). Thus, he embraced the cause of the suffragettes which, not by chance, were also his customers. Selfridge did not only allow meetings in the store's café, but he also made special showcases with colors that honored the movement. In addition to that, he published ads in newspapers pro suffrage produced by women, which meant a financial incentive to the movement (NAVA, 2007). Also in the documentary *Secrets* of Selfridge's (United Kingdom, 2014) and in the TV series Mr. *Selfridge (United Kingdom, 2013), both from the PBS channel, we see the close bond between the image of Gordon Selfridge*[7] *and the leadership characters of the suffragette movement in London in the 1910's.*

The socio-cultural arrangements, in addition to the business model itself, which made the consumption in department stores an essentially feminine activity also worked to signal and reinforce a gender division of tasks in two basic poles of the capitalist system – production and consumption. The production, sphere of the political struggle, something that requires strength, energy and vigor, is dominantly perceived as male; the consumption, sphere of the pleasurable experience of the appeal to emotions, magic and fantasy, is dominantly perceived as female.[8] The perception of these two spheres – the first, male, the second, female – did not stop the political struggle to be processed in the spaces

7   Gordon Selfridge became an inspiration for the playwright Harvey Granville-Barker to write one of the main characters of the post-suffragette play Madras House, from 1911 (NAVA, 2007).
8   To expand the discussion about the differences between production as male and consumption as female, see Stephen Brown (2000)'s text.

of consumption, in a certain way being capable of controlling female activity. In these spheres, whose main reason was to offer leisure and pleasure to women,[9] the political action, paradoxically, prospered. The suffragettes exploited the possibilities within their control exactly to escape from it, establishing the beginning of a fruitful partnership between feminism and consumption that has repeated itself in other events registered in the history of their struggles.

This was also the case of the partnership developed between the cigarette market and female freedom, more precisely concretized in the actions that happened in the US around the brand *Lucky Strike* in the beginning of the 20th century. The event, advertising on one hand, libertarian on the other, was a march that became wordly renowned as the Toches of Freedom, which gathered feminists in the famous Fifth Avenue, in New York, so they could all together, in an act of rebellion, light their cigarettes, showing that the woman could take part of the public space, and cultivate habits that are similar to the male perspective. It is important to reinforce that, until then, smoking was not allowed for women and it worked to strongly mark the differences between what men and women could do:

> [...] The moment of smoking would separate men and women, promoting an organization of space that both reflected and engendered social roles of each gender: after a dinner, while the women would go to the kitchen to prepare the dessert, the men would smoke in their libraries [....] (LEAL; FREIRE FILHO; ROCHA, 2016, p. 53).

North American women already had conquered the right to vote and were taking part of public spaces in a more meaningful way in the late 1920's, due to the use of the bicycle. For them, the cigarette was an important symbol in their process of emancipation. *And, in the conjuncture that gathered the rise of consumer culture and the American way of life, the tobacco companies and feminist movements aligned their interests:*

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9   Not fortuitously, the choice of the title Au Bonheur des Dames (the paradise of dames) for Émile Zola's novel that has a department store in Paris as setting.

one, motivated by the immense market potential, other by the political expressivity that the act of smoking in public would entail.

Thus, a sales action was organized in 1929 for the Easter Sunday Parade which articulated female freedom and the opening of the tobacco industry for women that paraded with their "freedom torches" (*Lucky Strike cigarettes*) lit. The event had a wide journalistic coverage and provoked a nationwide debate.

The march, of course, presents the particularity of being orchestrated by Edward Bernays,[10] a professional in communication and sales that worked for a brand of cigarettes. But that may also have been the case of the business savvy Gordon Selfridge in his stores. However, these sale strategies, if they ever existed, were only possible due to the power of a partnership – consumption and women's movement – because endorsing the female presence buying in stores or smoking in the streets were a mutual interest.[11] Thus, either because of the forces that move consumption or those who move feminist battles, the analysis of certain consumption phenomena must go through a perspective free of reductionisms that does not necessarily oppose political and market practices. In fact, profitable and reciprocal points of contact meant historical opportunity for both of them – both in shopping in department stores and smoking cigarettes in the streets. What we see next is how another consumer good – now, the politically correct bicycle – was also capable of gathering market interests with female freedom of movement and autonomy over the body.

Bicycles and freedom

Concrete consumer goods or even the phenomenon as a whole may, in certain historical moments, seem articulated to the forces that fought for political freedom – the right to vote – or disputed cultural habits – the

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10 Nephew of Freud and a pioneer in public relations that had written the first book and taught the first university course on the theme (CESCA, 2012).

11 The producer's motivations, either sustained only by their market interests, or sustained by the effective commitment with the female cause, will be object of analysis in a future research.

possibility of smoking in public. Therefore, consumption is not a mere reflection of production, nor a simple support for social differentiation and power exercises. In fact, when a product or service resulting from the game of market and productive forces begins to make part of the cultural order, a complex array of meanings are opened and a multiplicity of readings becomes possible by the social actors. It is evident that these readings are conditioned by the function of the good itself, once it would be hard to support a reading that would make a soap, for instance, be part of a meal. These readings are also conditioned by the advertisement narrative that is given both the name and the identity of the consumption good (BAUDRILLARD, 1991; BARTHES, 2003; ROCHA, 1985). However, a product or service can acquire unforeseen meanings for its "function" nor for the advertisement narrative. That was the bicycle's case, whose evident "function" was to transport and it was shaped that way by the advertisement industry.

The point is that the bicycle went far beyond as a support for meanings and allowed more complex and polemic readings than her uncountable possibilities as a vehicle. The bicycle, no pun intended, carried a lot more than it was foreseen and provoked meaningful transformation in the public and political life of women. More than a vehicle, fun or something beneficial to health, it became a support of a real socio-cultural transformation and, in some decades, it was transformed into an active agent of the feminist movement. Not fortuitously the suffragette Susan Anthony[12] expressed, in an emblematic manner, the link between the bicycle and the suffragette movement: "Let me tell you what I think about the bicycle. I think it had done much more for women's independence than any other thing in the world. I stop and marvel every time I see a woman riding a bicycle" (ANTHONY, 1896, p. 10, our translation).

Before heading in that direction, it is important to know some historical milestones to better understand the impact of the invention of

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12 Susan Anthony is recognized, along with Elizabeth Staton, as the pioneer of the feminist political action in the United States of America. She organized the 1st Convention for Women's Rights in 1848 and participated in the creation of the *National Womam Suffrage Association* in 1869 (HARPER, 1906).

the bicycle. As it happens with every other relevant invention, the attributions of authorship of the first models of bicycle are very diverse. However, it is common to recognize at least three "classic models", per se, of antecessors of the modern bicycle. The first would be a draft from Leonardo da Vinci, and, even though, as far as we know, it never got out of paper, it is sufficient for the bicycle to have a noble and heroic genealogy (SCHETINO, 2007). Another equally famous prototype was named *Laufmaschine*,[13] but it got popular as *Draisiana*. Invented in 1817 by the baron of Drassler, in Germany, the model came to be produced, but it differs a lot from "our" bicycle, because it was an article whose use was restricted to slopes, since it consisted in rigid structures of wood tied in two wheels, with a fixed axis of direction and with no pedals (VERDÚ, 2017)

Only in 1861 the brothers Pierre and Ernest Michaux developed a new model of two-wheeled vehicle that looked more similar to the bicycle: when inserting pedals in the rim of the front wheel, and above it, fixating a handlebar, the creators of the Veló Michaux allowed the driver some control over the vehicle (SCHETINO, 2007). A little over a decade after the invention of the brothers Michaux, a new English model of bicycle stands out – running against Graham Bell's telephone and Heinz' ketchup – to the visitors of the Universal Exposition of 1876, which took place in Philadelphia, United States (MACY, 2011). It was the high wheelers, more known in Great Britain as penny farthings due to its shape, which referred to two coins: the farthing – the smaller wheel – and the penny – the bigger wheel, where the pedals, the saddle and the handle were installed. The model was visually appealing, but hard to ride up and dangerous, since the possibility of falling was imminent (STRANGE; BROWN, 2002).

Among the many visitors of the Universal Expo, Albert Pope gets specially interested by this new form of transportation in two wheels. However, he only decides to invest in the product when, the next fall, he was surprised, during a horse ride, he was outpaced by someone riding high wheelers (MACY, 2011). Pope realizes the power of the invention – the

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13   "Running machine" in German.

potential contained in this future consumer good – and manufactures the first North American version of the model shown in the Universal Expo. His project, however, hit a bump in the patent issue, which already ruled inventions and names, brands, and releases at the time. The solution was to invest in the purchase of patents, founding, in 1878, the Columbia, the first brand of bicycles of the United States of America (MACY, 2011). This is the moment where the audience gets in touch with the consumer good whose impact reverberated in the political sphere when it became one of the symbols of the feminist movement. The horseless carriage, as it was called in the United States, or cheval de fer, as it was known in France, would become an arena of struggle for rights, for the use of bodies, sensitivities and an object of power disputes with unforeseen impacts (STRANGE; BROWN, 2002).

Speaking of horse, an important aspect about the interdiction to the use of female bodies – opening the legs and riding the horse[14] – was extended to the bicycle, and, confirming the law in force, the first female models of high wheelers had both pedals fixated in the same side of the wheel, which would resultd in a precarious balance. However, despite this "moral adjustment", North American women faced the challenge and rode anyway (MACY, 2011).

Beyond the laws of physics, women faced many other difficulties, because every type of argument tried to distance them from the new consumer good. Even between them, the bicycle was a scandal and created heavy criticism, as Charlotte Smith's, one of the founders of the Women's Rescue League, when she says: "[…] The bicycle was an agent of devil's advance morally and physically in different levels" (SMITH, 1896a, p. 1, our translation). However, the most consistent and respected criticism was the "scientific" one, coming from the medical speech, which, in general lines, would condemn the use of the new consumer good for bringing physical and health prejudice, including infertility or, even worse, for creating forms of sexual arousal (MELO and SCHETINO, 2009).

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14 The practice of riding a horse wasn't recommended for women. However, when it was unavoidable, they shouldn't be seating with their legs spread over the horse, having to mount "sideways" in the animal. (PONTES e PEREIRA, 2014).

The medical discourse about the bicycle did not reflect health issues, but the ideology of control over female bodies and behaviors:

> The medical warnings around the bicycle were essentially an extension of the concern regarding women. The need of a thorough supervision of the female cycling habits , frequently repeated by doctors of both genders, came in as a response to the threat that female freedom represented for the conventional authority. […] In addition, the level of interest expressed in the impact of cycling in the female reproductive capacity reflects the expectation of the role of women at the time. As cycling had the potential to avoid them to fulfill their primary roles as wives and mothers, it was deemed inappropriate and dangerous (FLEMING, 2015, p. 15, our translation).

The relationship between the female audience and the bicycle was complex. In the turn of the 19th to the 20th century, a new consumer good was capable to question a set of practices and ideologies of social control of the woman. The bicycle allowed the woman to move between spaces without surveillance or predetermined destinations, which ended up giving way to a freedom of choice deemed undesirable for people in power. It also threatened social control over their bodies and desires, which would no longer be properly domesticated, because opening the legs, having a saddle between them and riding was something beyond the limit of admissible, something that, as the doctors would say, could create uncontrollable sexual excitements and significant prejudice to the confined space of wife and mother. The bicycle threatened many things, but it was part of the process of industrialization and its counterpart, consumption. It implied, therefore, a clash in which the set of cultural arrangements which gave way to the movement for female freedom had in consumption a compatible element.

But, in this sense, it is possible to go even further. The objects and consumer goods exist in a system and are part of a language which the terms should be compatible, as Baudrillard (1968) taught a long time ago. The bicycle was a strong term and implied in the rearrangement or creation of other consumer goods in the formation of an own set that would began to harmonize the multiple goods that were instituted

around it. When a consumer good finds place in the social life, it entails both the reordination of others when the appearance of others that should add in a grammar where the terms are interdependent and everyone wished by the audience. In the women's specific case, the new goods added aim to overcome the numberless difficulties created by the use of the bicycle, especially those related to clothing. Women's clothing available then – uncomfortable corsets, numberless petticoats or long skirts – would make the activity practically unfeasible and weren't coherent with the use of the new good.

As a part of this dynamic of creation or rearrangement of consumer goods, an unusual piece of garment created in the 1850's came back to fashion in full force: the *Turkish trousers, a type of "long johns" for women, in other words, pants that would be held in the ankles and should be used under skirts (Turkish skirts)* that were *slightly shorter than the traditional.* As the name indicates, it was popularly used by Turkish women and, in the United States, became popular as bloomers, honoring one of their biggest fans, the journalist and feminist Amelia Bloomer (MACY, 2011).

The bicycle opened up a system of consumer goods where bloomers became justifiably demanded and gained popularity. The arrival of bloomers in the daily life of North American women, however, was not easy, because seeing women wearing pants and shorter dresses would scandalize society. The limits imposed by the garment would contribute for the burgeouis woman to remain restricted to domestic environments and very different from anything that came before to masculine activities. The work for these women were few, and with the exception of teaching, they would be restricted to subordinate activities (STRANGE; BROWN, 2002). Many teachers, for example, were forbidden of riding a bike, because the bloomers would "confuse" the head of the students. As a school principal to the New York Times, "[…] We were determined to stop our teacher in time before they went too far" (REIMER, 1895, p. 1, our translation).

Bloomer pants, because they fit into a new system of consumer goods, received a strong support of the brand of bicycles Columbia, which began to insert women wearing bloomers in the advertisement pieces and released, still, a series of paper dolls[15] which would include bicycles and bloomers (MACY, 2011). With the "marketing action" avant la lettre, Columbia sought the children's audience, future consumers of bicycles and other goods of the system it activated. Therefore, consumption and the women's movement (which fought for leaving the condition of subordination) found in the clothing industry common interests. The bicycle forced important cultural transformations for women's lives in the turn of the 19th to the 20th century, and, in addition to bloomer pants, other pieces of garment – "[…] Panties, […] Simple hats and skirts with slits" (DEMPSEY, 1977, p. 29, our translation) – were adapted by the power of the bike as a consumer good.

However, the most important aspect of this transformation of values is in the fact that the bike allowed women to establish a new relationship with the public space, after all "[…] The bicycle represented a challenge for the doctrine of separate spheres [between public and private] because it offered women a way to escape the confinement of home" (STRANGE; BROWN, 2002, p. 616, our translation). Not fortuitously, different researchers (MACY, 2011; STRANGE; BROWN, 2002; MELO; SCHETINO, 2009) emphasize this consumer good as a agent of transformation in the feminine condition in the beginning of the last century, ultimately favoring political participation, translated into the right to vote and to academic formation.

The bicycle was defended, used and praised by big names of the first feminist wave in the USA, as Elizabeth Staton and Susan Anthony, who said this vehicle was a women emancipator (STRANGE; BROWN, 2002). Similar consecration could be observed among the French suffragette movement in the beginning of the 20th century (MELO; SCHETINO, 2009). In Great Britain, the 1897 ad asking the definitive

15 Girls toys which consist in a feminine character cut out in cardboard with pieces of clothing, also made of paper, that could be dressed and changed by the child.

arrival of women in Cambridge University was promoted through pamphlets with the illustration of a woman riding a bike (MACY, 2011).

Final considerations

When approaching the feminist theme of studies about representations and consumer practices, illuminating their unusual partnerships, we sought to realize a historical and critical reading which, therefore, is proposed to distance the "court paradigm" (ROCHA, 1995), which, as we saw, is frequent in communication studies.

That way, it was possible to identify in some situations consolidated in our recent history signs that the feminine and the consumption practices orchestrated alliances which would translate in a reciprocal spread of their ideologies. When relativizing moralism in face of this association of poles, frequently treated as incompatible, we can find very different things – the transformation of the female condition also went through the path of consumption. The conquest of the public space and the bigger political participation is consolidated in facts that speak for themselves: women in their bikes engendered modifications in the powers of their time, in clothing, habits, sensitivities. Department stores, cigarettes lit on the streets, adjusted pants and bicycles weaved a complex web of values that, in the same gesture, gathered consumption and political struggle; purchase and suffrage; goods and people.

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Quem fala sobre a ditadura nos jornais? Reflexões sobre as fontes de informação jornalísticas

Who talks about dictatorship in the news media? Reflections on the journalistic information sources

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Resumo: *O artigo analisa a cobertura jornalística sobre a ditadura no período de funcionamento da Comissão Nacional da Verdade e de outras comissões de âmbito regional. O principal objetivo é verificar quais fontes de informação tiveram espaço na cobertura e identificar se as comissões da verdade impactaram nesse processo. São analisadas as citações entre aspas veiculadas em conteúdos noticiosos por sete veículos de mídia – Folha de S. Paulo, O Estado de S. Paulo, O Globo, Carta Capital, rádio CBN, TV Globo e G1 – entre julho de 2012 e dezembro de 2014.*

Palavras-chave: *ditadura; jornalismo; fontes de informação; comissões da verdade.*

Abstract: *This paper analyzes journalistic coverage of the Brazilian dictatorship during the term of National Truth Commission and other local truth commissions. The main goal is to verify which journalistic information sources have had presence in the media coverage and to identify the impact of truth commissions in that process. The quotations of sources published by seven Brazilian media outlets (Folha de S. Paulo, O Estado de S. Paulo, O Globo, Carta Capital; CBN, TV Globo and G1) between July 2012 and December 2014 are analyzed.*

Keywords: *dictatorship; journalism; journalistic information sources; truth commissions.*

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Introduction

The Comissão Nacional da Verdade (CNV - National Commission of truth) was established between 2012 and 2014 in Brazil with the purpose of investigating the crimes committed by agents in the military dictatorship (1964-1985). Its attributes were to gather documents, find material proof, collect testimonies, perform hearsays and create a final report with the conclusions of works and the recommendations to mitigate damages and prevent new violations.

In order to do that, CNV needed to develop a work of social mobilization, both for ensuring the support of human rights activists and family members of the political dead and missing and to reach other parts of society that ignored or barely knew the investigated period. This job comprised the task of communicating with society both by direct means (making use of social media, government advertisement, public audiences) and by the mediation of journalism. Knowing that the journalistic narratives are not built only from textual choices and imagery, being also elaborated through the selection of information sources and editing speeches to be used, this study intends to understand which sources were privileged on the news about the dictatorship during the CNV. We assume that the choice of sources and what they tell is always a political decision. We will test the hypothesis that, during the CNV and other commissions in regional and local fields, the discourse produced by them was privileged by the main journalistic outlets as the official narrative around the period of Dictatorship.

Sources as a political instrument

In the process of choosing the testimonies of interviews to be incorporated in the journalistic material, there is something at stake that goes beyond ordinary justifications based on the idea of public interest and journalistic ethos. According to Flávio Agnelli (2008), the choice of sources (and also the content they are saying) pre-announces the orientation that the narrative will follow.

Such selection involves a series of issues, as Gaye Tuchman (1978) demonstrated, to who the news are narrations of possible realities, and, therefore, a picked and edited construction. When approaching the structural aspects that involve the ideologies and routines of production of journalists, the author gives clues on how those choices are made, showing that the professionals of media are subject to practical constraints - of time, resources and access to sources - and ideological - editorial policy and political position of the media outlet and the professional.

Manuel Pinto (2000) says to be necessary to analyze the relation with the sources in a vast and complex landscape that indicate internal dynamics to the journalistic field and also the convergences and conflicts decurring from the interaction in the social system.

> The sources are people, groups, social institutions or traces - in short, the sources that the journalists recur to or who look for the journalists are interested entities, in other words, they are implied and develop their activity through well determined strategies and tactics. And, if there is news, that is, to a great extent, due to the fact there is someone interested that certain facts become public (PINTO, 2000, p. 278).

However, Herbert Gans (1979) mentions the tendency of journalism of ensuring preference to official sources in opposition of ordinary people. Traquina (2008) reinforces that some sources are favored in the process of producing news: the higher the position of the source, the bigger the tendency to be considered a good source of information. This logic indicates that there are people authorized to talk about certain themes and others not.

Considering the interdependence between journalists and formers of opinion, as well as the fact that not all sources are equal in its capacity of having access of media. Traquina (2008) understands media as a "socially stratified" good. According to him, it was the understanding about the dependence of "routine channels" that took Michael Schudson to describe the process of production of news as an issue of representatives of

a bureaucracy using pre-fabricaded news by representatives of another bureaucracy.

Methodological Procedure

In this study, we refer to the analysis of content[3] as an analytical methodological procedure. The newslike clipping produced by CNV's office with news on the dictatorship was used to have access to the material to be analyzed: 8,422 journalistic narratives about dictatorship released between July 2012 and December 2014 in more than 60 media outlets.

We selected the narratives shared by the mainstream media that covered the theme the most in the period analyzed, choosing to include three newspaper, one weekly magazine, a radio station, a TV channel and an internet portal: Folha de S. Paulo, O Estado de S. Paulo and O Globo, the magazine *Carta Capital*, the radio station CBN, TV Globo and the G1 Portal.

This measure, along with the method of composed week,[4] allowed to build a sample with 404 journalistic narratives referring to those outlets. The articles of opinion and editorial pieces were excluded from this analysis, since the proposition is to identify the sources acted by the media professionals and used in their journalistic texts. The unit of register analyzed was not the news, but the direct quotation (between quotation marks) of the sources. We identified, then, a total of 807 quotations between quotation marks of sources of information referred by the reporters, among which 226 published by O Globo, 191, by Folha de S. Paulo, 169 by O Estado de S. Paulo, 87 by TV Globo, 82 by G1, 44 by Carta Capital and 8 by CBN.

These 807 speeches also were classified according to the type of the source. Among the different classifications of journalistic sources, we picked for the goals of this study, these three natures, according to Nilson Lage (2003): official, testimonial and experts.

The firsts were "maintained by the State: by institutions thar preserve some power of state [...]; and by companies and organizations, like

3   See Krippendorff (1990), Hansen et al. (1998) and Bardin (2008).
4   See Hansen et al. (1998).

unions, associations, foundations, etc." (LAGE, 2003, p. 62-63). The testimonial sources ("characters" in the journalistic jargon) is distinguished by the emotional character and perspective of these stories, that reveal some experience capable of contributing to illustrate what is told by the reporter. The experts or specialists , in turn, work to supply points of view and analysis of facts and its repercussions based on knowledge and professional experience (LAGE, 2003).

Among the official sources, were identified in the analysis the CNV, the organs of the Executive, Legislative and Judiciary powers, as well as other public institutions or of public interest and its representatives. We considered testimonials the victims (or resistents) of the authoritative regimen and and their family members, the people who experienced the period and the perpetrators. Among the experts, we included historians, journalists, economists and other professionals specialized in the dictatorship period and in related themes, as well as lawyers of the victims of the dictatorship and the perpetrators, non-governmental organizations[5] and social movements geared towards the defense of human rights.

The voices that echo

The verification of each quotation contained in the journalistic registers allows us to affirm that the most valued sources are the official ones. Out of the 807 quotations, 395 are official sources, which represents 49% of the total analysed. Among them, the commissions of truth are the ones who stand out, having their voice pronounced 173 times (21.5% of the total of quotations) in 106 of the 404 news about dictatorship.

There are different types of reference to the commissions, that involve excerpts of official notes and interviews with commissaries, speeches from its researchers or official responses of the journalistic office. One of the quotations, extracted from the portal G1, is referred to the speech

5   NGOs are considered by Nilson Lage (2003) as independent sources. However, we believe, along with Traquina (2008), that there is no disinterest sources and for considering, in this case, that NGOs and other social movements that act in the field of human rights have expertise in the subject, we chose to work with them as specialized sources, since they are called to position oneself in reason of the knowledge of cause they detain.

of the police officer Daniel Lerner, who worked as an advisor at CNV. About the investigations for the identification of the body of Epaminondas Gomes de Oliveira, missing in Maranhão, he explains: "We made an exhumation in Brasília and now we come to the region to continue the work".[6]

Another example of official quotation happens in the news of Estadão where the president Dilma Rousseff replies the Brazilian diplomat Eduardo Saboia, who compared the situation lived by a political asiled in the embassy of Brazil in La Paz, Bolívia, in 2013 with the experience of being a political prisoner at the time of the dictatorship. The speech is emblematic: "There is no similarity. And I've been to DOI-Codi. I know what is DOI-Codi. And I assure you: DOI-Codi is as distant from the Brazilian embassy in La Paz as heaven is far from hell. Literally".[7]

Despite being used as an official source, authorized to speak on subjects of external politics, in this specific quotation and in other circumstances, the image of the president brings ambiguity, since she was a victim of the dictatorship and is basing her personal experience to speak in a matter of state. In this case, she is both an official and a testimonial source.

Dilma Rousseff was the fourth most mentioned official source by the media outlets we've researched (see Board 1), in a total of 26 times (3.2%) in the sample analyzed. Even though she did not recurrently refer to her personal experience, in significant dates, as the installation and closing of CNV and the 50 years of the coup of 1964, we observe that her life experience was valued.

6   Available at: http://g1.globo.com/ma/maranhao/noticia/2013/10/comissao-da-verdade-realiza-audiencias-em-porto-franco-ma.html. Accessed in: Jan 8th. 2017.
7   Available at: http://internacional.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,doi-codi-e-tao-distante-da-embaixada-quanto-o-ceu-do-inferno-diz-dilma,1068368. Acesso em: Jan 8th 2017.

Board 1 - Detail of sources according to the frequency of quotations

	Sources	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Official	CNV	120	14,9
	Other commissions of truth	53	6,6
	Ministry/ministers	27	3,3
	Dilma Rousseff	26	3,2
	Federal State Prosecution	23	2,9
	Judiciary	19	2,4
	Military Club	16	2,0
	International entities (UN, embassies, etc.)	16	2,0
	Deputies	11	1,4
	Municipal and state governments	7	0,9
	Armed forces	7	0,9
	OAB	7	0,9
	Police	7	0,9
	Senators	6	0,7
	Commissions and official organs in defense of human rights	4	0,5
	Other official sources	46	5,7
Specialized	Historian	34	4,2
	Journalist	30	3,7
	Lawyer/legal expert	21	2,6
	Economist	21	2,6
	Researcher/intellectual of other areas	20	2,4
	NGOs and social movements	13	1,6
	Member of the Armed Forces (speaking personally)	3	0,4
	Other specialized sources	51	6,3
Characters	Victim/Survivor	80	9,9
	Family member of a victim	42	5,2
	Witness	32	4,0
	Perpetrator/suspect of violation	28	3,5
	Demonstrator	7	0,9
	Military reserve (pronouncing in- . . dividually) .	5	0,6
	Other characters	17	2,1
	Other sources	8	1,0
	Total	807	100,0

Source: Own elaboration.

We observe that the commissions of truth and their members assumed the posture of authorized voice to pronounce themselves about the theme dictatorship, being more frequently acted by journalists than other official sources. CNV's members with most quotation between quotation marks published were Pedro Dallari (26 times), José Carlos Dias (23) and Rosa Cardoso (20). Other sources from CNV were acted, but not always had speeches quoted between quotation marks. In total, we counted 120 quotations from members of CNV and their advisors (15% out of the total). In turn, the state commissions or local commissions of truth were pronounced 53 times (6.6%).

In the case of commission circumscribed to states or municipalities, the main sources were Wadih Damous, from the State Commission of Truth in Rio de Janeiro (CEV-Rio), and Gilberto Natalini, from the Municipal Commission of Truth Vladimir Herzog in São Paulo. The Commission of Truth of the State of São Paulo "Rubens Paiva" was also referenced, however, the sources varied between the state deputy Adriano Diogo (PT) and the former political prisoner Ivan Seixas, who presided the collegiate.

The results allow to confirm that the voices acted by the journalism in the coverage of the dictatorship between July 2012 and December 2014, period where CNV was functioning, privileged the official discourse. However, there were a dislocation of the type of official source that gained more voice, since in other moments the official narrative focused on the Armed Forces or in representatives of the three powers and the police. At least three reasons allow to evaluate such variation as positive: (1) those commissions are considered organs of State, with autonomy of proposing recommendations and investigate the violations practiced by the same state; (2) commissions of truth usually have, among their members, people who resisted the repression and, therefore, witnessed the authoritative process, which attributes to the official sources the authority of testimony; (3) the investigations of commissions involve works of researchers that subsidized the official narrative through data extracted

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from their studies, which introduces the story of official sources specialized content.

It is important to reinforce that, because it integrated a series of politics by memory and truth inaugurated at the time by the federal government and being created as an organ of State, CNV could speak in its behalf, diffusing a discourse in sync with the politics of human rights of the government at that time.

Board 2 - Frequency of quotations between quotation marks by type of source

Source	Frequency	Percentage*
Official	395	49%
Testimonial	211	26%
Expert	193	24%
Others	8	1%

Source: own creation

*Rounded values

Despite most quotations between quotation marks come from official sources, if we consider separately the mentions to those who speak on the behalf of commissions, it is possible to see that the coverage was quantitatively balanced in this aspect (27.5% of quotations are from traditional official sources; 26% of testimonials; 24% of specialized sources; and 21.5% of representatives of the commissions of truth).

It is pertinent to observe that, while analyzing separately the types of official and testimonial sources, the number of quotations referring to CNV (15% of the total) was even bigger than the number of victims that had their stories published (10%). That shows that the commissions of truth began to take on, at least at that moment, the role of the main narrator of the authoritative period, being authorized to speak on the behalf of the State and who witnessed that historic period, manifesting itself as an authority on the theme. Therefore, it is up for evaluation that the commissions, more than assuming the space conventionally exercised by politicians and high-level public servants in media outlets, have

also expressed in different situations "in the name of" the victims and as specialized sources (when the Researchers of the commissions had a voice). Even if many other voices had been acted in the coverage, they did not predominate as much as the commissions.

Among the official sources, the Legislative power (2% of quotations) did not stand out in relation to the quotations of the Executive (7.5%) and Judiciary (5.5%) powers. Even if some commissions had been created in the field of legislative houses - as the "Rubens Paiva" house - and, because of that, members of the parliament that compose it had been heard by journalists, they were acted because they integrated a commission of truth - that differs in objective and action of the traditional parliamentary commissions.

Among the official sources, the least reccurring were militaries, probably due to the posture of the Armed Forces of avoiding to speak up about the work of commissions, of not collaborating with investigation and not formally assuming that their installations worked for abusive practices and violations of rights in the dictatorship period.

Together, the statements of the Armed Forces and the Military Club (association of private right without lucrative goals constituted by the Association of Military of the Navy, the Army, the Air Force and its dependents) represented 3% of the total of quotations. The discourses of militaries in action or from reserve in an individual and independent manner of corporations happened in 1% of the material.[8] It is a symptom that the members military reserve (Through the Military Club or independently) had come forward more than the Armed Forces officially, always adopting a critic posture in relation to commissions and in defense of the institution, with emphasis in the justification of the acts of the corporation and its members. The violations are seen as "excess" and not as a systematic practice of the authoritative period by these military that chose to "attack" the commissions.

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8   The low incidence does not necessarily mean the silence of these voices in the journalistic outlets. It is admissible the hypothesis that, deliberately, these manifestations had dislocated to spaces of opinion in the press, which remained more guarded from the direct confrontation with diverging opinions.

In one of the moments of coverage, journalistic registers approached the confrontation of these groups and commissions. The consideration of the president of the Aeronautics Club, brigadier Ivan Frota, who considered CNV as an "insult to truth"[9], published by the Estado de S. Paulo, is an example of that.

In the same news, it is written that, during the ceremony that marked the 50 years of civil-military coup, performed behind "closed doors" and far from downtown Rio de Janeiro to avoid calling attention of critics, the president of the Navy Club, admiral Paulo Frederico Dobbin, said to have "almost a massacre of an episode of history that was the participation of military […].Our power of communication is minimal in front of the media, but it will be the fight between David and Goliath. Counteradvertising is what is left for us".

In one of the rare official speeches of the Armed Forces, which appeared in different newspapers due to the end of the CNV, in December 2014, the Commander of the Navy, admiral Júlio Soares de Moura Neto, said that CNV "fulfilled its goal. It made a report which we still haven't had the chance of reading".[10] After the episode and in sufficient time to study the document, nothing else was said.

Dobbin's perception - that the media outlets began to share other interpretations of historic episodes and that the version defended by the Armed Forces does not have the social resonance desired - contradicts the official posture of the corporation of "being silent". However, it also shows that the strategy of not coming forward or conceiving shallow responses is, in fact, an act of protest. Facing the demands of commissions and journalists about the investigated episodes, the Armed Forces chose to establish a "diplomatic" relationship", without, however, contributing.

The prohibition of the commander of the Army, General Enzo Peri, that the headquarters collaborated with investigations about the violence practiced

9   Available   at: http://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,para-evitar-protestos-militares-
-celebram-golpe-longe-do-centro-do-rio,1147415. Accessed in: Jan. 9th, 2017.
10   Available   at: http://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/comandante-da-marinha-comissao-da–verdade-
cumpriu-papel-dela-14817117 and at: http://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/ geral,cnv-cumpriu-
papel-e-relatorio-sera-analisado-diz-comandante-da-marinha,1606074. Accessed in: Jan. 9th, 2017.

in its location during the dictatorship gained proportions when CNV and the Federal Public Ministry (MPF) realized the act. The Federal Attorney Sérgio Suiama considered "unfortunate that the current command of the Army of a Democratic State is so eager to conceal evidence and protect authors of kidnapping, torture, homicide and concealment of bodies".[11]

Testimonials

The detail of quotation through type of source shows that even though they received less space than official sources, victims and survivors of the dictatorship, as well as their family members, fill the second position if we consider each type of source separately.

The victims and their family members are represented in 122 quotations between quotation marks, which means approximately 15% of the analyzed sample. The number is only preceded by que quotations of the commissions of truth, which occur, according to what we shown, 173 times (21% of the cases).

The testimonials focusing the victims, in general, seek to show the pain and suffering they've experienced and also the struggle of family members seeking rights and justice. Even though the priority framing of some of these stories has been thematic, focusing on the actions and investigations of the commissions or the historical context, they verbalize the testimonial of the victims.

That was the case of the article from G1 focused on the historical context and published in the 50 year anniversary of the 1964 coup. When rescuing the memories of women victim of the dictatorship that found in the activism a way of helping preserve the memory of this period, the reporter Janara Nicoletti highlights the speech of a character, Derlei Catarina de Luca, which narrates how her torture was made: "The first night was indescribable. They ripped my clothes. I was hung in the parrot perch, received electrical shocks in the fingers, vagina, in

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11   Available at: http://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/anos-de-chumbo-comandante-impoe-silencio-
-ao-exercito-13690198. Accessed in: Jan 9th, 2017.

the ear. They break my teeth. The pain is unbearable. So intense I can't even scream […]" (NICOLETTI, 2014).

In addition to dramatic stories, the testimonial quotation have also mentioned episodes where the survivors got to escape the persecution, as shown in the speech by José Maria Rabelo - owner of the newspaper Binômio at the time of the coup - in an article[12] of the newscast Bom dia Brasil, from TV Globo. "They detained me at the 29th, 11AM. […] While they got up through one of the elevators of the building, I would go down through the other. The doorman said: "Zé Maria, get out because the men are looking for you". That was the wisest advice I've ever received in my life".

When the frequency of the use of quotation of victims and family members is observed month by month (Graph 1), it gets clear the biggest concentration in March, 2014, month where most special series about the 50 year anniversary of the coup was edited.

Graph 1: Variation of the amount of quotations of victims and family members per month.

Frequency of quotations from victims and family members
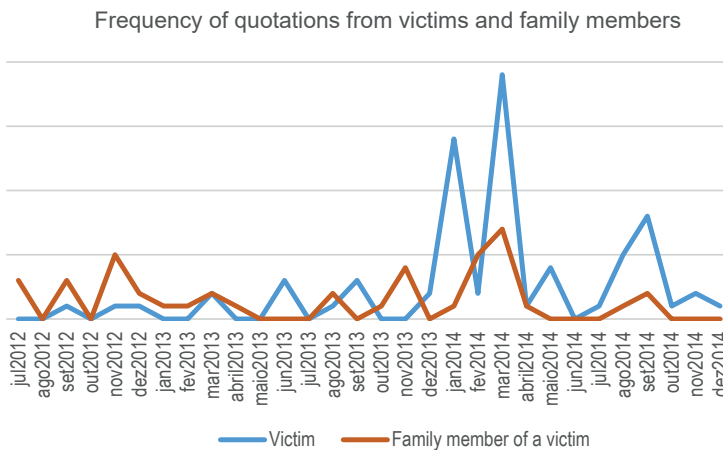
Source: own elaboration.

12 Available at: http://g1.globo.com/bom-dia-brasil/noticia/2014/03/nova-geracao-de-brasileiros-conhece-ditadura-pelas-historias-de-familia.html. Accessed in: Jan. 9th, 2017.

Due to this ephemerid, all media outlets analyzed privileged, in different circumstances, the voices of those who experienced the dictatorship suffered their consequences. O Globo newspaper, for example, published a series of testimonials of artists who survived the authoritative regime.

One of the goals of exploring the testimonial sources of an episode with such timely distance is to allow them to revisit their memories and narrate details that, in other moments, could be avoided to mention. We notice that, in the 50 year anniversary of the coup, the aspect of human suffering was valued in the coverage.

To give voice to artists was the option of the article[13] by Monica Sanches released on *Jornal Hoje*, by TV Globo, where the experience under censorship was the main theme and the resource of protesting between the lines, what was unsaid.

In addition to the victims of physical violence, persecution and censorship, the family members of people who were killed or missing also deserved a space in the coverage as testimonial sources. Their speeches represented more than 5% of the total. However, precisely those who would be the main reason to persist the investigation on the period received proportionally less space than some modalities of official sources. That doesn't mean they were overlooked, but it can indicate other possibilities, like the difficulty of some in talking about the suffering, the lack of investigative journalistic pieces that find these sources or the fact that many family member are equally direct victims of authoritarianism, as it is the case of Ivan Seixas. He was arrested with 16 years of age at DOI-Codi at São Paulo along with his family members and heard from a nearby room the screams of his father in torture sessions that would kill him. Source frequently brought by journalists, Seixas became a militant of the cause, collaborated with the works of commissions of truth, and, because of that, he is an example of a testimonial and official source: he was quoted both as a victim and a family member of people killed or missing

13 Available at: http://g1.globo.com/jornal-hoje/noticia/2014/03/artistas-relembram-repressao-
-e-censura-na-epoca-da-ditadura-militar.html. Accessed in: Dec. 15th, 2016.

in the regime and as a coordinator of the commission "Rubens Paiva" in São Paulo.

The same happened with Maria Amélia Teles, known as Amelinha. In 1972, while she was an activist at the Partido Comunista do Brasil (PC-doB - Brazil's Communist Party), she was arrested, with her husband, at Operação Bandeirante (Oban). Her children, Edson and Janaína, with four and five years at that time, were kidnapped and taken to watch their parents' torture sessions. All her family has a history of activism in defense of human rights, and Amelinha integrates the Commission of Family Members of Political dead and missing and was an advisor at the Commission of Truth in the state of São Paulo "Rubens Paiva".

Because of her history of suffering and political engagement, Amelinha was heard in some situations as victim, as in the article[14] from *O Globo* where she indicates one of the names of those who tortured her: "[Aparecido Laertes] Calandra had the alias of Capitão Ubirajara, tortured me physically and psychologically […]." As an activist or official source, Amelinha was heard for having a deep knowledge of the system of repression and the openness, where she didn't spare criticism to the function of CNV, as shown in this quotation in a G1 article:[15]

"We were also concerned with the fact that [CNV's] audiences were confidential. We understood that the principle of transparency demands advertisement from all audiences because the construction of truth is collective".

In the specific case of family members, the most common people called were the family members of victims in emblematic cases, as the grandchildren of João Goulart, the children of Rubens Paiva and the wife and child of Vladimir Herzog.

While G1, Folha de S. Paulo and O Estado de S. Paulo were the media outlets that most published quotations from official

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14 Available at: http://g1.globo.com/sao-paulo/noticia/2013/06/ex-ministro-reconhece-falhas-em-comissao-nacional-da-verdade.html. Accessed in: Jan 20th, 2017.

15 "Other sources" are, in fact, information extracted from documents of the dictatorship (processes, inquiries, reports and official letters), in addition of excerpts of newspapers of the period.

sources (approximately 50% of quotations in the three cases), TV Globo's newscast gave more voice to the testimonials of characters. O Globo newspaper, in turn, despite also having valued the official sources more, they better distributed the space destined to them, having published almost 30% of quotations between quotation marks coming from specialized sources and approximately the same percentage coming from testimonial sources.

Board 3 - Crossing of quantity of quotation per type of source and out

Total	Percentage of quotation per outlet						
Sources	Carta Capital	Rádio CBN	O Estado de S.Paulo	Folha de S. Paulo	G1	O Globo	TV Globo
Official sources	40,9%	25%	50,9%	52,9%	53,7%	38,5%	32,2%
Specialized sources	18,2%	50%	16,6%	26,2%	26,8%	27,9%	20,7%
Testimonial sources	22,7%	25%	21,3%	16,2%	19,5%	29,6%	56,3%
Others[16]	18,2%	0	11,2%	4,7%	0	4%	0

Source: Own elaboration.

The surprise, in this case, was *Carta Capital* magazine. As it is self-affirmed a left-wing media outlet, which would tend to value the voice of survivors in relation to the official discourse, we imagined the victims and their relatives would have more space in their narratives, which didn't happen in the analyzed material. In this case, the space conceived to the official sources can be justified by the fact that the magazine is aligned with the agenda of PT governments.

In turn, the number of quotations at radio CBN was considered, but it represents an inexpressive result (only eight quotations) facing a corpus of 807 mentions between quotation marks. That is justified with the already mentioned fact of having a smaller quantity of material referring

16 "Other sources" are, in fact, information extracted from documents of the dictatorship (processes, inquiries, reports and official letters), in addition of excerpts of newspapers of the period.

to the radio than other media and also the characteristic perceived, in the CBN coverage, тhat the subject is, generally, presented and discussed by commentators, not as much in news and reports.

Specialized sources

The coverage has also used specialized sources - especially historians, journalists, economists and lawyers - to discuss the theme. Their quotations were used 193 times or 23.9% of the cases. Among the historians that helped the construction of journalistic narratives about the dictatorship are the professors of the Universidade Federal Fluminense Daniel Aarão Reis and Jorge Ferreira and the professor of the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro Carlos Fico. They are experts in the subject and their interviews were used as authority reports to analyze facts and consequences in reports of historical context: "[…]There was a military operation of a coup, but there was also a coup in the Legislative power when they deposed João Goulart from presidency, being in national territory. Soon after, [senator] Áureo Moura Andrade gives presidency to the [deputy] Ranieri Mazzilli […]", says, for instance, Jorge Ferreira in a news story in Jornal Nacional.[17]

In other circumstances, historians were called to compare the Brazilian historical processes with the operation of CNV. In an inverview to Estadão,[18] American historian Kenneth Serbin affirms that "the commissions of truth arrived too late (to Brazil). They should've been made in the 90's. Over time, people begin to forget what the military regimen was". The historian and professor of UFRJ Maria Paula Araújo evaluated, at Folha, that "the justice of transition in Brazil gave emphasis to the issue of compensation, rather than other aspects, like truth and justice" (BRITTO, 2013).

17 Available at: http://g1.globo.com/jornal-nacional/noticia/2014/03/golpe-militar-de-1964--completa-50-anos-relembre.html. Accessed in: Jan 20th, 2017.
18 Available at: http://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,oficio-indica-que-reitoria-da-usp--ajudava-a-repressao,1077031. Accessed in: Jan 20th, 2017.

In its majority, historians quotations strengthen the understanding through which is necessary to revise some of the socially fixed versions about historical facts and question the remaining narratives that still valued authoritarianism or minimize its impact. It is possible to consider that the journalistic narrative that privileged these sources contribute to propose other gazes on dictatorship, which, beside testimonial discourses, enriches the repertoire and motivates a more critical posture, even if this aspect cannot be observed in daily coverage.

These more analytical gazes are also stimulated by the "wave" of activities and discussions by the civil society, and, specially, by the social movements on the heels of the operations in the commissions. In the already quoted article from O Globo,[19] historian Pilar Lacerda, professor at UFMG, recognized this web of new interpretations and realizations around traumatic memories: "This moment that Brazil is living of revising dictatorship thrilled us […].We think a festival has the obligation of bringing new approaches […].We want more of what is unheard of, of what is silenced'.

Pilar's quotation, related to the choice of theme of the Festival de História de Diamantina in 2013, strengthen the idea that, when there are political politics of memory, they motivate cultural practices about specific themes, like the dictatorship. In CNV's period of operation, members of social movements, NGOs, cinematographers and other artists were called by journalists as specialized sources to speak about cultural manifestations organized in this sense.

News show that we had plenty of protests, film exhibitions, plays and books to debate the theme of authoritarianism. It is the case of the news story[20] of the fashion section Ela, published by O Globo, *in which fashion historians, stylists and family members of victims are called as sources to speak of an exposition released in 2014* about the artistic and political journey of Zuzu Angel, victim of the dictatorship who died in the

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19   Disponível em: http://oglobo.globo.com/sociedade/historia/festival-de-diamantina-mostrara-
-otica-dos-derrotados-8103237. Acesso em: Dec. 8th 2016.
20   Available at: http://oglobo.globo.com/ela/moda/trabalho-de-zuzu-angel-estilista-do-desfile-
-protesto-volta-cena-nos-50-anos-do-golpe-militar-16951260. Accessed in: Jan 20th, 2017.

70's and mother of the political missing Stuart Angel. However, despite many journalistic registrations about manifests in favor of remembering the dictatorship, generally, these themes are dealt as an episode in the coverage. When framed in a thematic way, they privilege the use of quotations of official and specialized sources rather than members of independent social movements, non-governmental organizations in defense of human rights and activists, whose identified quotations correspond to only 2.5% of the total.

Conclusion

The study proved the hypothesis that official sources were privileged in media outlets, except for TV Globo, who preferred testimonial narratives. However, even majorly recurring to the official discourse, those media outlets shared, during the operation of CNV, narratives carrying new approaching angles about the dictatorship period, having the commissions of truth and their members as main sources of journalists at the time.

The analysis allowed to verify a certain plurality of points of view in information gathered with commissions of truth, revealing them as non-strictly official sources, although they would be essentially considered official by the journalistic coverage. In addition to coming forward in the name of the federal governments, the members of commissions expressed themselves, not rarely, also as someone who witnessed the period or as experts. That happened due to the composition of commissions, which had amongst their members people that resisted repression and witnessed the authoritarian process, as well as researchers specialized in the theme dictatorship. Therefore, in this case, non-official voices gained the status of official sources.

This interaction of different modalities of sources in the Brazilian press during the operation of CNV opened horizons of meaning about the dictatorial period. The officialization of sources (often original from non-official environments and roles) which acted in a commission with

status of a "federal policy" authorized and stimulated other voices of testimonial and specialized sources till then despised by the news outlets.

The exposure and confrontation of these information coming from varied sources about its relation with the theme, but majorly converging in the way of composing a narrative of abuse, transgression and impunity, made silent some of the voices that traditionally had preponderance in the narration of one of the harshest moments of Brazilian history in the 20th century. The spokespeople of Brazilian Armed Forces practically rejected the prerogative of coming forward as an official source in the coverage when they preferred the strategy of voluntary privation of word to the discursive dispute with other sources, official and non-official, which only not happened in rare occasions.

Even though their circumstantial character made them a type of unconventional official source, commissions of truth effectively represented the insertion of a new voice in the narratives. As much as it valued the official discourse, it opened space, at least during the operation of the investigation, of the dissemination of variants in the production of journalistic content about dictatorship.

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Propagandas, alienação e sedução: o rompimento ontológico homem-trabalho como fundamento do protagonismo social das imagens

Propagandas, alienation and seduction: the human-work ontological break off as a foundation of the social protagonism of the images

Marsiel Pacífico[1]
Luiz Roberto Gomes[2]

Resumo: *A análise do capitalismo feita por Marx constituiu ferramentas fundamentais para o diagnóstico da estrutura e do funcionamento do capital. Todavia, pertencente a seu tempo histórico, tal análise suscita a atualização para um sistema fortemente determinado pela sua dimensão subjetiva. Para compreender esse movimento, por meio de uma revisão bibliográfica, apontaremos na ruptura da dimensão ontológica do trabalho propiciada pelo trabalho alienado típico do capitalismo a condicionante de esvaziamento subjetivo que possibilitou o avançar da imagem, mediada pelas propagandas, como potência da forma contemporânea do capital.*

Palavras-chave: *propagandas; capital; imagem; alienação; ontologia.*

Abstract: *The analysis of capitalism, made by Marx, constituted fundamental tools for the diagnosis of the structure and functioning of capital. However, belonging to its historical time, this analysis raises the update to a system strongly determined by its subjective dimension. To understand this movement, through a bibliographical review, we will point out the rupture of the ontological dimension of work, propitiated by the alienated work typical of capitalism, the condition*

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of subjective emptying that allowed the advancement of the image, mediated by advertisements, as a power of the contemporary form of capital.

Keywords: *propagandas; capital; image; alienation; ontology.*

Introduction

Advertising flooded our daily lives through image. The means of this process has its social and historical conditions rooted in our culture, which determines the almost organic acceptance of the relationship of consumption of images. Not only advertising, but even the way we communicate among subjects tends, contemporarily, to the imagery modality. Such findings must be understood not only through the centrality of them in our symbolic relationships with products, but, especially, in the way and intensity we receive them and bond with them. To understand the centrality of image goes through the observation of the spaces it fills in our subjectivity and, consequently, what is the origin of these spaces. Thus, the observation of the spectacle as the center of social life demands a profound analysis of its paths. If we had to map the conducting wire that guide us historically from the diagnosis of Karl Marx to the actualizations proposed by Guy Debord and Cristoph Türcke, we could say that the images detain the centrality of this process. The centrality of images, which path begins in advertisement as a secondary ornament to the merchandize, by competition pressure of the market itself and a series of historical convergences, as the failure of the Fordist Keynesian model, the technological development and, especially, the popularization of photographic cameras, a vast and productive field to develop itself, to the point of affirming: "This aestheticization adhered to capitalism: it is its skin, not its packaging (TÜRCKE, 2010, p. 11).

Thus, this article aims to present, through the dynamic of historic relations, how advertisement gain power, procedurally, in the cultural field, determining not only the relationship of value of merchandise, but establishing their relationship with the man through an ontological dimension, replacing the broken relation man-work, voided in its symbolic value through the capitalist means of production.

The verification of this historical process of inversion, in which the social spirit detains the priority over its materiality, arrogate subjective characteristics that, in larger or smaller extent, reaches every subject immersed in this historical context.

However, and as already exposed by Debord, the imperative dominion of the aesthetic dimension of capital over its material forms has as fundamental origin the specific configurations of the work relationship imposed by the system itself. As the author explains:

> The worker does not produce itself, it produces an independent force. The success of its production, its abundance, goes back to the producer as abundance of dispossession. With the accumulation of its alienated products, time and space of its world become strange to him. The spectacle is the map to this new world, a map that corresponds exactly its territory. The forces that escaped us show themselves in all their vigor (DEBORD, 1997, p. 24).

The man subjectified by the hypnotic power of his products is a historic stage whose fundamental predecessor is the progressive dismantling of ontological bonds of men with the products of his work. Only by the semiformative forces of alienation the spiritual conditions come about so they could replicate forms of domination, something that, a priori, should be of use of the men, according to his plans.

Thus, the analysis of subjective strengthening of the imagery of spectacle is circumscribed to subjective depreciation of the identitary dimension of work, in which the man would build signs of value to himself and the thing - when he alienates himself from the thing, he alienated from himself. It is in the historical time of the loss of relation man-work that the image gains strength to impel us to the spectacle that detains the priority over our private lives.

If the premise of priority of images seem to sustain itself through the observations of our time, such inversion occurs on the basis of social infrastructure and objective implications of sophistication of the capitalist way of production. To understand these processes, we have to consider the dialectic relationship between two fields of force: the relation man-work and the relation between concrete and abstract in merchandise. Such conjugation Allow us to establish the bonds of the social dynamics that imposed new parameters on one hand and culminated in the current stage of capital, society, and, especially, culture.

Thus, we observe, in the first section of this article, as the model of typical work of capital, analyzed by Marx, broke the ontological relationship man-work, creating a space in human spirit that began, little by little, to be sublimated by the symbolic relationships of the production of desire of consuming a merchandize in the aestheticization of advertising.

In the second section, we will show how such logic determines a new understanding of relations of value of merchandize, which, beyond the model of quantum proposed by Marx, demands new and urgent subjective factors to the understanding of our days.

Ontology of work and alienation: the production of frailties of subject

As the premise of his analysis of capital, it lies in Marx the understanding that the relationship between man and work has fundamental importance, not only on the way it organizes itself and the development of labor, but also while dialectic process, product and producer of the historical subject. The ontology of work in Marx refer to the capital the primitive stage of our species, in which the man, as an animal, and like any other animal, always had his survival linked to the conditions of physical existence in relationship to the world. Its eternum continuum between the frail extremity of living and dying is, and always will be, inflexible in the constitution of human nature.

Exercising its will over such relationship means to create positive conditions of combat to the adversities for extending its material existence in individual and collective sphere. Thus, our species was created and prospered on Earth in proportion to their capability of intervention over nature. There is, still, in the horizon of historical future, the certainty that the work will always be the way of transforming nature by humans to satisfy their needs and to constantly recreate themselves in the relationship of its material and symbolic production in the world.

Humans establish a deep dialectic relationship with work that, beyond the objective materiality of work and its products, allow them, in the exercise of modifying nature, to establish processes of subjective resignification of themselves. As Marx explains:

> Before everything, work is a process between humans and nature, a process where the man, through his own action, mediates, regulates and controls its metabolism with nature. He himself is confronted with the natural matter as natural force. He puts in motion the natural forces belonging to his corporality, arms and legs, head and hand, in order to appropriate himself of the natural matter in an useful way to his own life. While acting, through this movement, over Nature external to him and while modifying it, he modifies, at the same time, his own nature (MARX, 1996, p. 297).

Beyond the resolution of urgent matters of our existence, observing the genealogy of our species, we can point how related is our social development with our capacity of work. As we got to develop more complex works and tasks, humanity blossomed since its evolutionist transition of our hominid past to what we now consider the modern human. In this sense, we cannot lose track that it was over the cognitive adaptation of our peers to complex activities that we've developed our more dense abstractions and that such relationship was propelled by these symbolic mediations of work exercised by the human being. As Engels demonstrates:

> Thanks to the cooperation of the hand, the language organs and the brain, not only in each individual, but also in society, humans learned to execute operations increasingly more complex, when proposing to -Reach increasingly higher objectives. The work itself was diversified and enhanced from generation to generation, extending itself even further to new activities. After hunting and fishing, came agriculture, and, later, spinning and weaving, the creation of metals, pottery and navigation. Besides trade and the crafts that appeared, finally, the arts and sciences; from tribes, arise nations and states. Appeared the law and politics, and, with them, the fantastic reflection of things in the brain of humans: the religion (ENGELS, 1990, p. 29).

In the beginning of more rudimentary social organizations, the intentional and methodical intervention of nature happened in a way of attending physical and spiritual needs of the man. Food, shelter, garments for rites and cults: everything had a purpose, that was the priority of work as an instrument of satisfaction of personal and group needs. In this sense, we observe work as a modus operandi of humanity to reach their goals and defend themselves from external forces. Thus, the product of human work aimed to fill the immediate or socially constituted needs by cultural productions. Even so, such productions had the goal of equating demands of objective character, as in the spiritual intervention of nature as a form of domination and human defense against processes where he didn't had control over.

In this relation, we also have to consider that the Marxian perspective understand that the work exercises the priority of dialectic movement. Every human labor had an end allocated outside its essence; the work would be a servant of human needs and only as such it would exist. Beyond that, regarding the individual relationship, the product of work was, in general, a direct demand of its worker.

In this primitive configuration of work, there was still the dimension of freedom, included in the abstract exercise of determination of "what" and "how" the final product of the work would be created - determination that is directly linked to will and the technical dimension of the worker.

With the arrival of capitalism, the bond established between men and work is re-signified through new relations. The interventions and mediations over the exercise of will and the creation of the worker over his work enabled the formation of a relationship sickened in its ontological potentiality. If the specific modes of production of its historical time determine the relationships between subject and work, we have to consider the peculiarities of capital, whose system is, in the dialectic historical materialistic analysis, grounded in antagonistic relationships of social classes.

That way, new characteristics were determined in the productive process. Among them, we can highlight the expropriation of the final product of work to the worker, the alienation of the fragmentary work, the control of access and the regimen of work empowered by the capitalist and the transformation of product in merchandise; but, overall, and what concerns our object of analysis, we highlight the dimension of fetish of merchandise and the subjective production of necessity of consumption, inaugurated by historical peculiarities in the process of developing capital.

Contrary to what we observe in the pinnacle of development of capitalism, about which Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels write about, the rescue of the ontologic dimension of work demonstrates that the human essentiality is realized in the extent where the subject is linked to the work. However, the alienation and the subjective expropriation inherent to capital made that precisely the process that turns the self-determined historical subject human into its main agent of historical degradation.

When the relationship between human and the product of its work is ruptured, every subjective bond of creation and expression of self, the load of absolute exteriority starts to determine a character of strangeness in the relationship subject-object. The objective moment that allowed the personal manifestation dissolves in the mode of production of capital, giving way to a model whose work refers solely to its objectivity, to "doing" without "conceiving".

The deterioration of this board happens by the rupture of the bond of belonging that was natural to other work relationships. In the capitalistic model, something that was produced by the worker does not belong to him; it is destined to another subject that will employ another use, completely exterior to the subject who produced the merchandise.

Thus, the practice of domination is voided completely from its original sense. If the intervention of humans in the world allows the domination of this for that, such relationship only unravels itself due to the destination and intention of its final product. However, when the final product of a work is marginalized from this relationship, the

product is absolutized in relation to the subject, giving the product an autonomous character of merchandise in simultaneity with the process of objectification of the subject. Such inversion determines the lack of possession of homo faber, whose products of his work would serve his means. In the context of development of capital, to the subject alienated from its work is left the role of intermediation, a necessary component of the productive step - and as such, it must serve and guide by the paths of merchandise, of stage of social life in which things are, in itself and to itself, external to the man, and, therefore, are alienable" (MARX, 1996, p. 212). This process of inversion promoted by the capital, in which men are objectified and things gain exclusively human characteristics and are absolutized, is explained by Jacob Gorender:

> We unravel the alienated character of a world where things move like people and people are dominated by the own things they created. During the process of production, merchandise is still the matter that the producer dominates and transforms into an useful object. Once taken to sale in the process of circulation, the situation gets inversed: the object dominates the producer. The creator loses control over his creation and his destine becomes dependent from the movement of things, which assume enigmatic powers. As things are animized and personified, the producer is objectified. Men live, then, in a world of merchandise, a world of fetish (GORENDER, 1996, p. 34).

The intervention over nature enabled the man to impress himself subjectively over nature through his product. This process is based on the capital through another logic, as demonstrated by Marx:

> Whoever produces an object for his personal and direct use, to consume it, creates a product, but not a merchandise. As a producer who maintains himself, he has nothing to do with society. But, in order to produce a merchandise, not only have to create an article that satisfies any social necessity, but also the work incorporated in it will present an integrant part of the global sum of work inverted by society. It has to be subordinate to the division of work within society. It is nothing without the other sectors of work, and, in turn, is called to integrate them (MARX, 1996, p. 92).

Such inversion produces a symbolical void of dimension of work, whose new locus will be central in the analysis of transnational capitalism so we could understand the historical core of spectacularization.

Despite the possibility of the contemporary social stage of spectacle demands an update in the ontological analysis of the man, it is popular the advent of the image as a social weave found a prolific field through the alienation of the subject original from the capitalist way of working. Exposed by Marx, this model maintains its basis of alienation and expropriation. Voided, the modern man suffer for having lost his bonds, that would ultimately ground the basis for the constitution of a singularity. If these bases would come from the exercise of autonomy and the critical spirit, they could resist the ample process of spectacular massification we live in.

From materiality to subjectivity: the production of desire of consumption as a determining power of quantum of merchandise

The structure of work in the capital, beyond the ontological ruptures of the relation man-work, provide the historical arrival of an intercepting subject of this relationship: the bourgeois, the one who you sell the productive force. To the extent the productive process is intercrossed with a new historical subject, the determination of the need of the product is not, in any way, linked to its producer, but it is recognized within the economist logic that, in Marx, would conceive the merchandise as a way of satisfying human needs, from body and spirit (MARX, 1996, p. 165). The order of factors exposed by Marx responds to its time. However, we have to notice that, historically, the process of production of subjective necessity of consumption gained a dimension of centrality in the body of contemporary capitalism. In a historical moment where Marx associates, in a direct and unrestricted manner, the value of use of a product to its material properties (MARX, 1996, p. 166) the course of history showed how the virtual dimension of products and human relations reinvented

this logic and reorganized capital in a way the author would not have historic conditions to suppose.

As an observation of this process, we can observe the analysis that the intellectual makes about the relationship of exchange value between merchandise. For Marx, what is left in the end and as a unit of measurement between different objects is the human work employed in the confection of that merchandise. Although Karl Marx considers that, in this moment of merchandise, the exercise of work is in abstract character, yet, such abstraction is, in fact, the loss of the objective footprint of work, which is phantomized in merchandise, but, in its nature, is concrete. The analysis of value of merchandise in these parameters is below the framework necessary so that we could understand how, currently, the companies constitute their market value. Phenomena like big corporations that sell their products to exorbitant profit margins, or big virtual portals, like Facebook and Twitter, which, initially weren't directly related to the production or sale of merchandise, do not find justifiable explanations for their values in anything material; their worth is directly associated to the capacity of producing the symbolic strength of their brand to their customers, and, in these specific cases, the capacity they have to offer strategic spaces to other advertisers to strengthen their brand.

Thus, if the common value that determines the exchange value between merchandise was, in the beginning of the development of capital, associated to the employment of strength in human labor, it seems to us that, historically, such process was reconfigured and would be plausible to say that, currently, this mediation is less related as employment of human work over merchandise. The imperative of merchandise became its image. There is still, under this modern scenario, a new inversion: if the concrete work would be phantomized in the value of merchandise, now, it is the image that objectifies in its value.

Let's see, then, which are the methodological strategies exposed by Marx to understand the mathematic determination of value of

merchandise in his time. Such logic is exposed in its thesis by the concept of quantum:

> It is, therefore, only the quantum of work socially necessary or the time of work socially necessary for the production of a value of use that determines the greatness of his value. The individual merchandise works here only as a medium exemplary of its species. Merchandise that contain the same quantities of work or that may be produced at the same time of work have, therefore, the same greatness of value (MARX, 1996, p. 169).

It seems that the quantum of merchandise will always be, to some extent, linked to the material characteristics of its production, as the average social time of production and its costs, the value of raw materials or the cost of labor, among others. Such peculiarity can be observed, for instance, in the migratory flow of big industries for Asian countries, in which these variables are more favorable to corporations. It is also the composition of these determining factors that explains, to a great extent, the elevated growth rates reached recently by China, whose internal regulations allow big corporations to explore the material aspects of production in inhumane levels.

Still according to Marx, the determination of quantum has as fundamental dimension aspects like the time and the workforce:

> Generically, the bigger the productive workforce, the smaller the time of work demanded for production of an article, and smaller the mass of work crystalized in it, the smaller the value. Inversely, the smaller the productive workforce, the bigger the time of work necessary for the production of an article, the bigger its value. The greatness of value of a merchandise changes in the direct reason of quantum, and in inverse reason of the productive workforce performed in it (MARX, 1996, p. 85).

However, in itself, the handling of this tension does not resolve the equation o*f quantum of contemporary merchandise.*

The physical aspects of production of a merchandise have increasingly less relation with the determination of its value. The production as image assumes such role. As Marcuse (1981, p. 21) illustrates:

> In the process of automation, the value of the social product is deter-
> mined in an increasingly smaller degree for the time of work necessary
> for its production. Consequently, the real social necessity of productive
> labor declines, and the void has to be filled by improductive activities. An
> increasingly large amount of work effectively performed becomes super-
> fluous, dispensable, without meaning. Although these activities may be
> sustained and even multiplied under a total administration, it seems to
> exist a ceiling for its increase. This ceiling, or superior limit, would be at-
> tained when the added value created by the productive work is no longer
> enough to compensate the non-productive labor.

In this sense, we can observe how the products whose brands have
bigger reach are not necessarily what better balance the relationship of
productive workforce and time of work demanded. Brands that have a
bigger index of work mass crystalized in its product and still exercise a
flection of profit that becomes the cheapest product than a second brand
operationalized in an inversely proportional manner tend to be over-
looked by customers if they don't have equal or better image projection
than the second option.

Going back to our analysis of the production of value of a product, it
seems evident that the employment of the same effort and cost for the
manufacture of competing products of the same nature will generate a
different market value, in which the one who will obtain the most profit
will be the brand with bigger expression among their customers. There-
fore, it is necessary to think at the sensorial quantum of a product, in
other words, which ideas, symbols, feelings and social codes are associat-
ed to this product in relation to its consumers. To do so, the competition
pressure impels the imagery ferocity of capital, in which the aesthetic
game of seduction is the engine of profitability.

In the criticism of capitalism, Marx exposes the understanding that
the determination of value of a merchandise is marked by the peculiari-
ties of a specific historic-cultural context:

> The product of labor is in every social situation an object of use, however,
> only in a historically determined time of development - which is present-
> ed in the work spent in the production of an object of use as its "objective"

> property, in other words, as its value - transforms the product of work into merchandise. Then, it follows that the simple form of value of a merchandise is, at the same time, the form of simple merchandise of product of work and that, therefore, also the development of the merchandise coincides with the development of value (MARX, 1996, p. 189)

However, what characterized the social use of merchandise in his time was a different scenario from our contemporaneity, and, therefore, demands a refreshed look. Although every social significance is, to a certain extent, grounded by symbolic forces, like culture, their values and habits, the essentially aesthetic character of capital produces a new set of vectors that will guide the process of social determination for the determined convergence of reification and perpetuation of the current logic. The symbolic reproduction is, thus, the aesthetic sophistication of the travestied relations of social antagonism.

The constant invention of new demands of consumption, the system's strategy of survival, no longer allows the direct association between merchandise and its purpose. In the context of a society excited by imagery stimuli, the need highlighted by Marx for the transformation of product into merchandise, which essentially goes through the creation of a value of social use for a product, demands that such process gets constituted in its aesthetic dimension. It is important to create not only the merchandise, but also the desire of consuming it; in order to do that, the cultural industry spends an arsenal of semiotic arguments that will compose the scenario of necessary irrationality to blossom the compulsion for consumption. The relationship between the capacity of social production of consumption is directly related to the capacity of justifying the profitability of merchandise.

It is here inaugurated the stage in which money, objectified capital, stops being the only and absolute mediator of merchandise. The consubstantiation of being into looking requires, by the competition logics of a predominantly aesthetic capitalism, that the product appears. Establishing a meaning appealing to the audience can, on its own and without any justifiable materiality, lead to consumption.

In its book, For god, country and coca-cola, Mark Pendergrast relates the success of Coca-Cola with their pioneerism in the observancy of this modern aspect of merchandise. According to the author, the big invest-ment in advertisement around 1890 enabled that this product, whose total cost of production was less than ten cents, was sold for a dollar (PENDERGRAST, 1993, p. 28)

Pendergast also observes an important characteristic of the commer-cial phenomenon of Coca-Cola:

> In addition, they knew that without a lot of publicity, few would buy med-icine, that weren't essential products. He had to be a salesman. Because of that, it is not shocking to see that the merchant of panaceas would domi-nate the expenses with publicity, at the Golden Age. The manufacturers of these medicine were the first American businessmen to recognize the power of an eye-catching word of sentence, of identifiable brand and logo, celebrities recommendation, appeal for social stadus, necessity of keep "always using it". Out of necessity, they were the first to sell image, rather than product (PENDERGRAST, 1993, p. 28).

This pioneer spirit reveals the necessity of updating the classic con-cept of quantum of product. With the historic example of Coca-Cola, it is evidenced the imagery that would come to rule the modern capital. At the same time, the observation that a certain product would not attend any objective demand would generate the conclusion that such demand can and must be produced - as Pendergast concludes when quoting the letter of the advertiser William C. D'Arcy, in 1942, where he says: "Co-ca-Cola is not an essential item, as we would like to be. It is an idea - a symbol - a brand inspired by the genius (PENDERGRAST, 1993, p. 8). Therefore, what stands out is the dislocation of advertisement from its place of bad rep for the centrality of constitution of merchandise and its value.

The point of fundamental convergence of this historical process, which will reflect in the determined constitution of a new identity of semi-culture, is the reconfiguration of the relation of value established

by merchandise. Karl Marx analyzed the following way the relationship in its time:

> However, the individual form of value goes through itself to a more complete form. Through it, the value of a merchandise is certainly expressed only by a merchandise of another type. Which one, however, the species of this second merchandise, if it is a coat, an iron, wheat, etc… is totally irrelevant. Thus, as it enters in a relationship of value with this or that other species of merchandise, arrive different simple expressions of value of the same merchandise. The number of possible expressions of value is only limited by the number of species of merchandise unlike them. Its individualized expression of value is converted, therefore, in a series of constant expansion of its different simple expressions of value (MARX, 1996, p. 189).

Thus, the author categorized value through relational mediations expressed in an objective mathematic quantification. However, the composed historical process that originated the current form of transnational capitalism demanded identity and market forms that, beyond the type of product, established values for the brands. Thus, it gradually consolidates the economic process that takes out the value of the nature of product to delegate it to the symbolic power of the brand. Due to that, abstract and general comparisons lose meaning in this context. The dimension of relationship of value stops orbiting one product to another and begins to establish bonds between the spirit of products and consumers. As this process heated its immaterial character, the determination of values will be given by the capacity of reproducing, in an ideological meanings, in the subjectivity of the interlocutor. Gradually, this process impresses in the subject a specific linguistic form and finds, in another extreme of its dialectic relation, a man weakened by the fierce and sparkling apparatus of cultural industry.

You have to consider that the general character of advertisement in the work of Karl Marx is a reflection of how the author understood contemporary capital confronting with the embryonic process of advertisement in his time. Still today, his exercise brings up controversies

amongst intelectuals affiliated to the classic Marxist school, having in mind that, if they point, on one hand, to the importance of the development of advertisement in the constitution of a logic of the productive process and the modern capitalism, as Joan Robinson does, there are analysis like Jacob Gorender's, pointing towards marketing as the one who fills a character of less relevance to merchandise, representing a symbolic device regulated by competition pressure. Scientific research seem to detain a bigger importance in the constitution of merchandise, how it gets determined by differentiation of what was productive work against the unproductive work of advertisement. The exterior dimension of objective demand the production of merchandise is considering advertisement as a form of unproductive work, as it gets evident in the excerpt:

> […] In the advanced capitalism of today it would be wrong to stop qualifying scientific research and the development of projects like productive project, whereas marketing and advertisement get in, without a doubt, in the field of improductive work, because its use is not raised by anything rather than the market and competition nature of the mode of capitalist production (GORENDER, 1996, p. 40, our highlight)

Final considerations

The shattering of the ontological bond of men with work ends up generating not only the alienation in relation to the product of his work, but also the alienation of himself, to the extent in which the self-realization can no longer be effected at work. The technical development of the contemporary work to Debord maintained his power of destitution, even though such process did not destitute the nature of identity of proletariat:

> In this complex and terrible development which led the time of class struggle for new conditions, the proletariat of industrial countries lost all the affirmation of his autonomous perspective and, ultimately, their illusions, but not their being. It was not suppressed. It remains irreducibly

exiting in the intensified alienation of modern capitalism (DEBORD, 1997, p. 81).

If there is, in the dialectic movement of alienation, a component of irreducibility of identity of proletariat, the modern conditions point towards a damping of the perception of any conditions based by the autonomy and the construction of a collective identity. In a direct form, the rupture of the ontological bonds between man and work conditioned the subject to the process of destitution of its identity. Thus, the symbolic emptiness of the exercise of work seem to have found here another centrality: the centrality of its construction begins to be exercised by advertisements. The condensation of the social moment of capital enables the complexification of the confusion observed by Adorno and Horkheimer, in which merchandise was fused with advertisement: "Culture is an oxymoronic merchandise. It is so completely submitted to the law of exchange that it is no longer traded. It so blindly confuses itself with the use that it can no longer be used. That is why it fuses with advertisement" (ADORNO; HORKHEIMER, 1985, p. 151). Thus, the product is no longer a consequence of a human need of the worker that makes it, in general, its necessity is socially produced by the ideologic, sensory, spectacular and image machinery of advertisement. This substitution acts regulated by a new logic, an aesthetic ontological condition resulting from a social context in which boils the imperious advance of spectacle and the degradation of means of formative experience:

> And as the force of integration of market never was only an economic force or never only determined the possibility of having or not having a job, but always determined the acceptance or rejection and, therefore, to be or not to be, this ontological pressure, under the general conditions of pressure to issue is transformed in an aesthetic form, at the same time the aesthetic receives, as it never previously occurred, an ontological weight (TÜRCKE, 2010, p. 64).

To categorize advertisement as something that does not directly produces profit, being a mere expense inherent to merchandise, it seems

to be a perspective that is mismatched with the productive core of contemporary capital. It would be possible to say that, to a certain extent, the materialistic dialectic seem to find difficulties to apprehend movements of a capital whose spirit became predominant over matter. The direct comparisons used as metaphor in Capital, magazines today, would be always mediated by the strength of the symbolic character of merchandise. To compare linen to coats or wheat to coffee would also go through the same question: What type of coat are we talking about? What brand of coffee and what type of wheat? There is also the necessity of considering the value imposed to its products by a brand with bigger advertisement impact is not, in any measure, an objective outcome of any characteristic of its production. The quality of the material, the mode of production and payment paid to employees, the time and costs necessary - none of these aspects is safeguarded by the value by the value paid by the product.

This quantum must be thought, then, in the modern configuration of capitalism, through a product and its differentiation; its objective intention and its desirability or subjective production. Synthetizing, we have to think about the necessity of wearing trainers and the necessity of wearing a Nike; the necessity of buying a car and the necessity of buying a Ferrari. Corporations gain a dimension beyond their own product, in which the capacity of production of the desire of consuming this specific brand grounds the equation that defines the quantum of the product.

The forms of resistance of the process of alienation must comprehend the necessity of creating new forms, humanizing and recovering forms, of giving humans an ontological meaning, either by new models in the relation men-work, or by replacements that are in other spaces, but, contrary to the force applied by advertisement, move subjects towards a more critic understanding of the world, enabling new forms of confrontation of the current model.

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Do indivíduo de referência ao consumo visual e o gesto da arte na fotografia de identificação

From the individual of reference to visual consumption and the gesture of art in identification photography

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Resumo: *Este trabalho tenta observar a construção da potência fotográfica em uma fotografia icônica realizada por Wilhem Brasse em 1940. Fotógrafo prisioneiro em Auschwitz durante os anos de 1940-1944, Brasse realizou mais de 45 mil fotos em estilo de identificação. Na foto de Jan Komski, o trabalho de posado e a figurabilidade enfrentam uma dialética do testemunho que se mantém em espera de um contraplano melhor, futuro. Trabalha-se aqui com a relacionalidade da foto em um duplo aspecto: o ato de impor à imagem uma tentativa de sujeição ao holótipo negativo e o trabalho do fotógrafo em condições extremas. O artigo conclui que a reinscrição artística e o consumo visual enlaçam a fotografia, 70 anos depois, em uma tentativa de premir uma ética da arte e uma estésica do episódio.*

Palavras-chave: *fotografia; consumo visual; memória; Wilhem Brasse.*

Abstract: *This work tries to observe the construction of the photographic power in an iconic picture realized by Wilhem Brasse in 1940. Priosioner Photographer in Auschwitz during the years 1940-1944, Brasse took more than 45,000 photos in identification style. In Jan Komski's photo, the work of posture and figurability face a dialectic of testimony that stands in wait for a better, future counter-plan. We work here with the relationality of the photo in a double aspect: the act of imposing on the image an attempt to subjection to the negative holotype, and the*

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work of the photographer in extreme conditions. The article concludes that artistic reinscription and visual consumption entwine the photograph, seventy years later, in an attempt to press an art ethic and an aesthetic of the episode.

Keywords*: photography; visual consumption; memory; Wilhem Brasse.*

Introduction: About the reductive system and photos

The register, on its own, harassed: soon after arriving, with dirty clothes from someone who already died. The photography enforced a type of submission of the subject to the punishment of image, designating a place of holotypical subjection.[2] In other words, receiving its distemporalization through the replacement of a name for a number, looking the construction of a scene in silence, being looked as an inanimate object. Images would transform, thus, the face into a radiologic archetypology. Pure carcass, the face represented the brutality of the exposed scene. Sessions were conceived, according to Zelizer (1998) within a program that, at the same time, would presuppose structural identification and the valorization in the scheme *about-to-die*.[3] They were intended to typological marking and the violence in the act would destroy even more the victim: their faces were attached as a symbol of racial memory that should be, in the infamous logic of the Nazi system, individually erased.

Exhaustingly multiplied in the obsession for uniformization of Nazis (over 45 thousand photos were taken), the registers had, therefore, to be made with instructions that designated the logic of the reducing system: the construction of the difference conceived as pure negativity, pure dispersonalization, pure disgrace. In this sense, the racial rhetoric, in the field of typological and holotypic image, was assumed in the intention of writing a nucleus, read as deformed, from the perspective of alterity. In photos taken only once to save negative (ENGELMANN, 2015),

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2   Process of "constitutive referentiality" which, in taxological language, designates the typespecies that works as a visual unity for describing a taxon; put in the field of anthropology, inscribes the process of archetyping of an individual of reference, very used in the old physical anthropology in the end of the 19th century (RASSOOL e HAYES, 2001) and in the relationships between photography, phenotype and anthropometry (EDWARDS, 2004); in the case of Nazi raciology (ZELIZER, 1998), the individual of reference was marked by juxtaposition between race, phenomenology and negativity.

3   Images, according to Sanchez-Biosca (2017), performed "on the verge of death", generally produced by the perpetrators, in an indissociable relationship between physical and psychological violence and the act of registering it. In this class of images we can find, for instance, images of North American military men in Abu Ghraib, photography made by the Khmer Rouge regimen in Cambodia and pictures taken by Nazi officials during Second World War.

the scheme of three series (lateral, frontal, face turning to the side) was based in a hierarchy of raciological memory.[4]

Image 1: Image of a prisoner in Auschwitz

In these photographic series, the latent functionality of the scheme reserved for the biographic discontextualization of the photograph in a scopophilic redundancy. Almost always with the same disposition: instruction to pose within a model of criminal registration, minimal lighting conditions, precariousness of the image in the emptiness of visual background, normally contained expression without exposing admonition. Therefore, photography was, at the same time, the reproduction of a project and the duration of a preconception. They feed of phenotypical descriptions as if they wanted to make photographic form omnipresent and the undeniable relationship between science and spectacle.[5]

Emanation of an aesthetic of danger, the image revealed the negative perfectibility. In other words, when assigning the place of a copy (in-fame) over the series position, the photograph had to be a voluntary observation of the body, the face, the compositional elements defined

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4   A Warburgian "atlas" made through the decadence, gradual similarities performed with an intention of transmitting a type of negative pathos, filled with "samples" read as biologically bad.

5   The compulsive circulation of anthropometric patterns and their demonstrability in relation with photography. Basing themselves, especially, in a hyperfocalization of facial features in a testimonial ocularization.

In its pathological potential: the indelible composition prefigured that would mark the image forever.[6]

When inserted in a type of essential scheme, the portrait was intensely reduced to laudatory objectification - a nominal insufficiency, a reapropriation of the iconographic vestige in anthropological history. Impregnated from criminal contextualization, the testimonial, here, wanted to cure the "negative perfectibility" in a constantly variable face, but assignal, idealized, guilty.

A face, specially, where the eluded, the indefectible, the abject build a direct relationship with metric and racial science.

Image 2: Jan Komski in Auschwitz

In the photograph of Komski[7], taken by Wilhem Brasse in 1940, the sequence of the three image program is observed similarly to the registration of Czeslawa, establishing archetypically тhe model of Nazi

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6   That is, "negative perfectibility" in the context of a plastic reduction of the face of racial archetype.

7   Encarcerated in 1940 in the border of Czechoslovakia after running from Poland and participating the movement of resistance in France, arrived in Auschwitz after a brief passage in other smaller camps, therefore, in a moment where concentration camps were still being built, on what would be the industrialization of death: gas chambers and crematorium ovens. In a certain sense, the "final solution" (HILBERG, 1996), the execution of the plan of physical elimination of Jews, was still in phase of organization, in the case of Komski, a catholic Polish victim, a political prisioner (designated by the red triangle imposed to prisioners in the characteristic Auschwitz clothin), the picture is taken in this moment of the beginning of concentration camps.

dispersonalization.[8] The chain of effects (lateral registration, frontal image, three quarters), impresses a narrative condition that has the intention of insisting over the bond of photography and hierarchization. In the three successive pictures, we can observe the identification number (564) in the first image, beyond the characteristic clothing, the shaved head close to the skull and the normative instruction of photographic aesthetic. In the photography of identification, it is possible to see the typological system: the image of bust in a neutral background, the perspective that evokes a phrenologic context, visual representation that aspires to emphasize a program of social hierarchy based on an anthropology of negative image.

Image 3: Jan Komski

Komski is identified with the abject number and name of the concentration camp. His face in profile is captured in a rigid image, with the back of the skull resting over a metal that supports the head in an erect position. In the second image, it is possible to see the characteristic clothing - apparently newer and more fitted to the body in relation to

8 After the war, he lived in reffugee camps and migrated to the United States in 1949, already married (to another Auschwitz survivor). He developed his work of painter and illustrator, with several images of concentration camps, until his death, in Arlington (United States), in the year of 2002.

Czelawa's attire -, the read triangle that designates the position as polit-ical prisoner and was reserved to dissidents, the face in frontal position (which does not look o the camera).

The direct perspective of framework focus Komski young face, 25 year-old in his first detention, and reveals the same context of capture. His expression is confident and serene in the three images, read in a pris-oner that already engaged in the resistance against Nazism. The literal composition, however, evokes a phenomenological connotation that is, in a first moment, unintended from the narrative of three images.[9]

Komski does not look at the camera at any moment, and the head position is slightly up, with the chin up, the lips closed and the body apparently well nourished. The gaze is defying, concise, safe. Even with the phrenologic didactic, the negative archetypology cannot reduce the facial signs of an expression of disenchantment, fear, contention that would be proof of (racial and deviant) culpability.

The interaction between the portrayed subject and his pride ruptures, in this case, the expectation of marginality of the photographic system. The picture is invasive, but the position-witness of Komski bust seems to maintain a balance between the act of dispersonalization and the resistance against the symbolic aggressive language (transformation of subjects into objects, realistic intention, documental pretension based in an atlas of raciologic hierarchy).

The negative formula - photography as a vehicle of harassment - reit-erates here the relationship of contamination of image: the three series aim the destination essentiality of visual representation, read as faithful to the process of vraisemblance that has the meaning of instructing (mark-ing, describing, didactizing) more easily an ideal typology of the "racial faces" apprehended. In what we see the portrayed image, the triptych

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9   It is important to consider that, in Komski's case, "a face of a Polish political prisoner" amongst multiple other faces of political dissidents, one of the effects of the image is the content of politicization of the victim, that will be used in the exposure of the context of nationalization of holocaust on behalf of Poland.

photographic follows a similar pattern that Wilhem Brasse had to follow, especially in relation to the perspective of ideal anthropologization,[10]

In Komski's case, the third image is also the one who carries bigger elements of visual mise-en-scène. A beret is used to perspectivate the construction of what would be a person partially protected by a scenic element. The emphasis in the physical effect of the image aspires a compositional provision that tries to allegorize what is a characteristic of the picture in its most contemplative and referent dimension. What is revealed is the person and the state as prisoner, but this relation is not, despite the characteristics of photography of identification, brutalized. Unlike the first two photographs, the composition ends, to a certain extent, an emotional perspective that designates a type of re-contextualized iconic force. The photographic statute (photography of identification) is destabilized by the perspective of diagonality of the pose. Komski is photographed giving emphasis to the right profile of the face, in which focus the plastic value in the effect of focal lighting. This emphasis of angularity in the scene depicts the documental character of photography of identification and reveals an experience of corporeity that wasn't so firmly enunciated in the first two perspectives.[11]

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10 Based on the studies of deviation in physic anthropology of Cesare Lombroso (HORN, 1995), this perspective sought to redeem the body portrayed as the racialized idea of "malformation", both anatomically and morally (sic).

11 For this reason, it is possible to observe that, probably, the moment of capture was fleeting and the rush did not allow the characteristic adjustment of anthropometrization with strictness, leaving more space for the gesture of capture in a trace of subjectivation.

Image 4: zoomed photography of Komski (background)

When the diagonality is emphasized, the intentionality of the enunciator lets shine through the experience of rupture that is contained in the postural act that rejects the condition of subjectification. The use of the beret and the facial angle, the eyes up, the lips closed, impress a credibility of testimonial that want to be noticed, that want to be done.

In a certain sense, the last part of the triptych ends a destabilization of the stereotype and "deforms" the (in)coherence of the documental perspective, decomposing the statute of identification photography. The imaginary can flow more easily questioning, thus, the photographic substrate and the reductive genre. The inscription in another interpretative/argumentative possibility calls attention for allowing an effect of meaning and presence (GUMBRECHT, 2010) which enlace the duality of photography and a plastic densification of the image. Similar

to the photos conceived in an artistic perspective (art gallery, museum, installations, postural, etc.) where the work of the photographer is more evident and heartfelt, the third image concretes an aesthetic-estesic situation that allows the encouraging to be the expressive vector against the numeric statute of identification.

The photo becomes gesture in the grammar of emotional essentiality of a face in which physiognomic freedom was not allowed. Even so, the situation of threat, the condition of protest and the immersion of the powerful image are catalyzed in the effect of Brasse's camera, which, before marginalizing the person, emphasizes the presential cator.

The postural gesture, in this case, is a language that is present in the denial of an "implicit shame" (AGAMBEN, 2008), which would disable the performatic will. Komski's body is not a carcass because it trumps the "negative perfectibility" when it deals with an intersubjectivity that is reserved, the same way as Czeslawa's, for a future viewer. Notwithstanding, the formed triptych, in a superlative way, avoids the cliché of the photographic program narrating subjectivity as the first act (to be photographed) against the movement of stigmatization.

Here, it isn't the sharing (in wait, in act) that is more highlighted in relation. It is the sign of the image that weaves its political power to endow the identity of a functionality. The face trumps the sign abuse (the reductive outfit, the raciologic scopophilia, the hierarchic narrative) because it expresses in a tough and safe effect, the falsity of the system.

Predominantly, the criticism of visuality in Komski's photography obligates the viewer to discover the infamous relationship there is in the system in its oppression and totalitarianism. The first photographic movement (attempt to erase the name, carry a number) is deconstructed in the postural action. The presence of Komski protests against the photographic-reductive structure and the iconic force of his witness made describe, in a single character, in one only dramatic body, the negativity of de-personalization. Instead of letting himself be the object of photography, Komski deconstructs the reading of the photographic program in a theatricality that is opened in the process of preserving the confrontation, the determination.

The viewer's eyes are always directly in the image, the same way the interaction between the photographer (obligated to shoot) and the subject of photography, which seem to break with the expectation. This visual simile - to wait the future, propositional alterity - (dis)identified the model, tensioning identification photography with the seduction of an artistic imbalance.

The portrait of Komski warns for the vernacular message: the intended auto-dominion of document photography is relativized by the "imposture" of art. As Rancière (2005) writes, the "indetermination of frontiers" of the artistic dominion, in these terms, enables that the powers of meaning are associated to the "next event", which is always an alterity waiting.

This is very meaningful in Komski's portrait, because the determinance of identification photography, in its rigid framing, neutral background and highlight structure face-bust, does not limit a lack of anonymity. It's as if the functionality was sold by the position in scene, which seeks the portrait and preservation of identity. Similar structure has its disadvantages, as Sanchez-Biosca (2017) writes, because what surrounds the image is the spectrum of the assassination, of the enunciative decision of photographing someone to kill (to keep the register in a assassin perpetuity).

The characteristics of enunciation fixed with the objective of transmitting a negative archetypology (forced circumstances, reductive imaginary, anti-Semite vision) are retained by the scenic happening, which denies the sensation of normalcy. It inserts in the image a power of identification, choreographed in the smallest details and ruptures with the "domestication" of the photographic program when highlighting the "impurities" (SANCHEZ-BIOSCA, 2017) of representation.

It is precisely photography as future condition of visual consumption that interests the photographer. In this sense, his secret struggle is so that it doesn't become an archive, it doesn't lose itself in the convenience of perpetrators. In the terms of this relation, photography not only can be a power invested by a will of adjudicate an un-typified identity, not

untied to the vital position of the act of remembering. Obstinated with its representation, the triptych develops a feeling of latency which holds the position of waiting. We unfailingly have, there, a scene.[12]

The photographic act (DUBOIS, 1993), in Brasse's case, is necessarily a perspective of memory that registers a diaphanous testimonial, positioned in the sub-reptitious enunciation. The perspective will always be the denial of the reductive and redundant objectification through a game with the pre-fixed compositional relationship and signification in the details. Looking inside the image, we feel its concealment: a contained gesture, the insuperability of the face, an identification with what's yet to come.

Insertion in art seeking the portrait

Image 5 Pictures of Thomas Ruff

When the photography of Jan Komski is enlarged in an artistic exhibition about Auschwitz,[13] the effect is particularly disturbing: the

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12 In an emancipated way, we get involved with a testimonial yet to be said, yet to be tracked, exposed.

13 The installation Auschwitz, no hace mucho, no muy lejos, open to the public of December, 2017 to June, 2018 in the city of Madrid, Spain and a monographic exposure, about the concentration camp organized by the first time in relation to the dimension of pieces, reproduction of objects and testimonials.

photography gains scenic space (exposed in an art gallery, it enhances the possibilities for interpretation) eye perspective (diagrammed in the potentiality of the picture in an exaggerated size), situation of focus (seen without the perception of perspective of stiffness of identification photography, dislocated from the narrative triptych).

In the phenomenology of exposure,[14] Komski's presence is even more disturbing. As in Thomas Ruff's work (German contemporary photographer - born in 1958) which uses the model of photography of identification to conceive portrait and representation) the augmented image of the painter is a "visual text" that engenders a dramatic essentiality. The enlarged photograph is the second part of the narrative triptych made by Wilhem Brasse and the neutral tone, the erased background and the partial illumination are dismounted in a tension between the file and the artistic condition. Under the seal of art, in a wall of a gallery, in an installation, the accentuated expression values the perspective of the physical experience of the portrait. Komski is seen in a dissonant proportionality, which allegorizes the identity in a pictoric sensation that defies the objectifying content of document photography. In certain hyperbolic dimension, the emotional involvement with the picture is bigger and the feeling of proximity becomes clearer, established in the museistic transit, which assumes the possibility of casting a more flexible gaze in the frame.

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14 The itinerant presentation emphasizes the diverse materialities of the field: objects, pieces of precedence of diverse entities, museums and institutions, audiovisual materials, photography, documents, letters, graphic arts, etc.

Image 6 Thomas Ruff's photographs

In the narrative of installation, which seeks to bring to the present the horror of the biggest death camp in the Second World War, the augmented image of Komski is detached from the concept of identification photography to embrace a circulation game of art installations. Among the objects of the field, the other photos and the discursivity of the proposal, values the perceptive engagement of the image. Similar to the pictures performed by Ruff in the 80's and 90's,[15] the image of Komski receives the value of focal light and details of physiognomy can be more intensively presenced.[16] With the perspective of exhibition, in times of denial and feeling of historical distance of the Holocaust, the image of Komski is fed by a condition of presence that ineradicably is in

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15 The first portraits were in black and white and only in a second phase, some years later, Ruff began to expand (more than two meters) the pictures taken in color, like faces of people generally instructed to pose in frontal view and with perspective of identification photography.

16 The monumentality of portraits, according to Koetzle (2011) would hit a figurative scale in which human perspective would transmit a feeling at the same time of intensity of presence and photographic (dis)identification.

the impossibility of responding the gaze over your face, made giant by proportions.[17]

In the exhibition room, the contextual elements lose reference, where you weight the painters photography to be exhibited before, in traditional format. The picture can be seen in different angles and perspective games: amongst the windows and objects, with lighting nuances, in multiple interactions in the positions in the room. Such effect is discursively a possibility of widening the scenic game, the engagement with the objects and, through that, transform the image in a survivor material, densified, plastic.

It's important to notice that, in the perspective of installation, which has the intention of exploring historic representations along with the museum environment - in a place commonly used for art expositions -, the process of approaching the construction of photography is developed between the historic and figurative.

Komski's portrait is exposed in its differential sign (constricted face, crisped lips, distant stare). But the inexpressivity and the serious tone are ambivalently repositioned by the artistic engagement, which adjudicates the archivistic value of the image at the same time it detaches, further, of the characteristics of identification photography. In this sense, the documental instruction is relativized in a more intense form facing the predominance of dramaticity. We can perceive an evocation of presence of a visuality that interacts with the viewer, in certain sense, in the level of expression, safeguarding its gaze directed to infinity.

The reality, here, seems to be transubstantiated in a notion of similarity (with the emphasis of device) and pour to the image a pictorialized circulation, which turns the anchorage of document still less perceptible. Notwithstanding, Komski's photography is repositioned by the artistic-cultural appeal and the portrait gains a layer of timelessness.

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17   It is interesting to punctuate that the "renewed physicality of image" has to do with the political organization of exposition in terms of production of regimen of visual dissemination of a Polish face, among many faces that Brasse captured, and the circulation as effect of the most recent attempt of nationalizing the Holocaust in Poland (the participation as victims and the current denial of the Polish government in relation to the direct participation in the camps).

The image, with a bigger size than normal, is realigned in the field of art. And the real document - the constricted expression, the testimonial in pose, taken from the third image - can emerge the performative meaning that was trapped in the triptych narrative. The relationship with the museum environment, in this sense, engages photography in a multilinear narrative that has to do with the interpretative value of portrait. The artistic statute and the subtle perspective of Brasse's work are perceived more intensely. Facing the change of genre, the presence of Komski's face, augmented many times from the original, disperses the dysphoric figurability of the portrait of identification and puts the image in an associative movement. The plasticity of the presence of Komski is felt, then, as a possible testimonial, which is in constant movement, open to the interactive eye.

Along with audiovisual testimonials, other photographies and objects of the field, with images of Komski himself,[18] the image gets rid of the "negative perfectibility" and emerges, stronger, in the desire to circulate. Beyond the document, what is more prolific in its minimalist dramaticity is exposed in a transit focus the possibility of interaction. Absent in the triptych in a more distracted gaze, the augmented picture is more open to the performative interactional figurativity. Questioning the documental genre, Komski instigates a polyphonic need to know how to look, to know the biography more intensely. And thus, in the dimension of the installation, Komski can be seen under different approximative angles, but it cannot be rejected in its relentless presence, its impactful liminarity.

As in Ruff's portraits, the painter's face will always be between the ambivalence of art (BOURDIEU, 1996) and the particularity of the biographic. When we watch the compositional game of the installation about Auschwitz, along with his pictures about life in the camp, the construction may suggest, in different ways, the perceptive quality of the

18   Komski, after the release of camps in 1945, migrated to the United States, developing graphic work about his life in the camps. He was an illustrator for the Washington Post and developed images about the Holocaust.

Komski image immediately freed from the triptych, valuing himself as a painter, as a survivor, as an enunciatary artist.[19]

The personal language, therefore, can be reinforced in the cultural treatment, and the physical reference seem to perspectivate the notion that the face is emancipated from its past - of the conditioning triptych, the historic dimension. The instructive power of the image has to do with its new possibility of circulation. Facing the phenomenology of exposition, in a new visual consumption, the large portrait of Komski is associated to the transitive gaze, which affects, inquires, opens in the montage of the exposition.

This re-contextualization of the art, as in Ruff's works[20], is fundamental, because, instead of a perspective forced by history, the position of presence give gestures in the eyes. Photography becomes a resisting image, linked to the movement of apparition (LÉVINAS, 2010) of the face. It is not only a residue in the narrative composition while a testimonial conditioned to the historic context. It begins to be permeable to the element of being captured, of the power of being seen with the predisposed image, in shelter. That means that Komski's face, in the installation, emerges with a possible and open relatability.

The document genesis is registered in another substance that composes both forms - both wishes of propagation of the document: the phenomenology of the historic photograph (document) with which made it circulate (exposition and visual consumption). The epic face of Komski scrutinizes, thus, the singularization of the model, the possibility of relation. But without making the mode of enunciation be proportioned by the referential dimension of the historic brand. It is the timelessness of the face in big proportions, in this aspect, that undo the centrality of the documental narrative. It calls the meaning of presence and the affections for the relationship of the subject with the viewer. In

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19 In an exhibit like Auschwitz, no hace mucho, no muy lejos, the work of images and objects is not only to intercede to a correct awareness of rejection that the event must be seen. It is directing itself to the place of the viewer, personally hit by the owners behind the objects.

20 *"Debido al tamaño se daban cuenta de que aquello no era una persona, sino una gran fotografía. Esto supuso prácticamente una liberación y es una técnica que he utilizado en casi todas las series que vinieron después…"* (BOYM, 2003).

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this sense, the engagement of the circularity promoted by the disruptive effect of raising the size and the decontextualization of the triptych opens gesture for its dismembering, for its remembering. It's the value of life, the sign of survival, that is in evidence.

The image, therefore, becomes an element of restlessness that transports the document, but intensifies the testimonial and its concentration. However, it is not a hostage of the typical image of identification photography. It lets the body, the face, be presence. As far as it depends more of the flow, the relations between image and its geography and exposition, it has nothing to do, unilaterally, with historical significance. It has its reflections in what is figured, scrutinized, moved through other eyes, with the desire to look.

Final considerations

Jan Komski's photography performed by Brasse in a period prior to the Second World War, in the beginning of the camps, the emphasis lies over the postural gesture (confronting, not surrendering, altive performance).[21] The ontology of the portrait is perfiled in an intersubjectivity between photographer and photographed. A visual action produces a state of synonymy of photo with image, generating resistance, destinating it to the future.

In this case, the triptych conserves a struggle against the dispersonalization characteristic of this style of limit-photography. The composition of Brasse rewrites the elements of iconography in a postural action that relativizes the "imposture" of identification photography. Perceptible specially in the third image, the perspective in profile the photo is approximated more than the mythical force of images in a warrior of a brave leader. In the end, what is built in terms of visual mise-en-scène is an emphasis in the physical effect of the image. Which, at the same

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21   Highlighting again the particularity of exposition in relation to two context: the historical distance with the events (source of concern, with the raise of denial and current revisionism) and the necessity to circulate in different historic images.

time, conserves a concentrationary conditional and an ontology of the (indestructible) pose of the portrayed subject.

In the effect of an installation about the death camp, the enlarged face extracted from the context that makes him a prisoner of the about-to-die style (SANCHEZ-BIOSCA, 2017) reveal s a new associative materiality. Similar to the work of Thomas Ruff, which expands the perspective of portraits to create the act of presential dilatation, Komski's face (extracted from the third picture) underlines a desire of indestructibility.

The gesture of art (DE DUVE, 2009) is present in the obligation of gaze. It imposes a silence that, in the phenomenology of exposition, turns the face an ethical power (LÉVINAS, 2010) Or a saying about the prevented alterity in that moment. Komski's photograph, in monumental proportions, creates a strange bond with the implication of the viewer, exposing deeply the transit between the historic genesis and the artistic circulation. In these terms, it is the seal of art that essentializes the physicality of the image. Its act of presence, its direction of meaning is less conditioned by the narrative impression of the initial photographic statute. The desire of being choreographed with the objects of exposure and the durability of the gaze in the museum sensation, notwithstanding, confirms the appendix of the image, its meaning available has to do with the experience of seeing. In this aspect, it is unavoidable to look more.

When they become visual consumption, with the historic distance, they suffer the risk of losing themselves in the banality and the redemptive expectation: there is no happy ending in Auschwitz, as Agamben (2008) remembers. But also, with the action of art (color and size), photography receive a possibility of expanding the physical perception of presence. The visual appeasement, the historical comfort of black and white (belonging to the past) is undone by the act of hybridism and circulation. The possibility of looking, in this case, his promise and his call, are more available in an alterity that can no longer be or that have been under the referral of threat.

The photographic sequence by Wilhem Brasse, the prisoner photographer of Auschwitz, in effective nature, but in an unfinished act, rekindles the annoyance of not having seen the photo. When it "burned", when it "blazed". Modified by the artistic effect, they breathe again. By transformation they, finally, are noticed. From the artistic opening, they trigger what was in genesis in the photographer work.

As if we were opening up, again, his political saga. In a memory album we cannot help but remember. An intense gesture, a pronounced relationality.

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"O que é meu é da cigana!": religiosidade travesti em contextos de curimba digital

"What's mine belongs to gypsy!": Transvestite religiosity in digital curimba contexts[1]

Alisson Machado[2]
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Resumo: *O artigo interpreta práticas de consumo das tecnologias digitais, em especial do Facebook, na composição das vivências religiosas de matriz afro--brasileira a partir de uma etnografia para a internet (HINE, 2015) com travestis na cidade de Santa Maria, RS, discutindo algumas interseções entre religião, tecnologia e transexualidade. O trabalho aponta que, nessas práticas, se entre-cruzam os segredos da curimba, produzidos nos itinerários da fé, com os demais elementos que constituem a vida social das interlocutoras. Além disso, indica como os sentidos da religiosidade do ilê são conduzidos e interpretados através dos regimes de sociabilidade digital.*

Palavras-chave: *travesti; religião; redes sociais digitais.*

Abstract: *This article interprets consumer practices of digital technologies, especially of Facebook, in the formation of religious experiences of Afro-Brazilian matrix. Based on an ethnography for the Internet (HINE, 2015) with transvestites*

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1   *In this article, we have chosen to translate the Portuguese term "travesty" into "transvestite", because it is the recurrent term in academic translations. However, transvestite is a term that does not fully address the sociocultural realities of the research participants. In general, in English language, transvestite refers to crossdresser. In Brazil, travesti designates trans woman, originally a pejorative term, but it has a political meaning of struggle for recognition. Curimba, in Brazilian Candomblé, designates the group of people responsible for the music of the rituals. The expression is also a synonym of the whole rite or festivity.*

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ARTIGO

in the city of Santa Maria, Brazil, the paper discuss some intersections between religion, technology and transsexuality. The work points out that the secrets of curimba, produced in the itineraries of faith, intersect in these practices with the other elements that constitute the interlocutors' social life. In addition, it points out how the regimes of digital sociability conduct and interpret the senses of the ilê religiosity.

Keywords: *travestite; religion; digital social networks.*

Introduction

This article presents an interpretation of some consumption practices of digital communication, specially in the social media website Facebook, in the composition of religious experiences of the research participants.[4] The field of work revealed elements of the religious universe (linked to batuque, candomblé and Umbanda) in a repertoire of practices that make reference to the world of orishas, to life at the ilês (terreiros) and curimbas, which are ritualistic festivities dedicated to orishas, inserted into the daily life and managed in online interactions.

In the field, I heard[5] one time a conversation between two transvestites that were in the yard of the house of one of my interlocutors.[6] One spoke about the power of her Bará[7], that he would cross cruises, paths. The sentence called my attention to an important aspect that I still did not consider: religiosity. After that, in another situation, Nicolly[8], complaining about a rival, said that her pomba gira was stronger, that she was not fooling around and the other should fear that. In a tone of irony, I heard many times sentences that denoted the power of their pombagiras

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4   Research made with the Post-Graduate Program in Communication for the PhD thesis about digital trajectories of transvestites in the city of Santa Maria, RS. Work performed with the support of the Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior – Brasil (Capes) - Financing Code 001.

5   In some moments, we use first person texts, signaling the ethnographic work. The use of italic mark discourse or expressions taken out of conversations, interviews and posts and that were incorporated in the author's texts. In the transcriptions, we preserve utterances and writings, protecting sociocultural expressions. In the highlighted speeches, the use of brackets explain some terms, without the need of a footnote.

6   The participants identify themselves as transvestites, which find a synonym in the expression trans woman, regardless of making or not the sex reassignment surgery. They are constituted as subjects in the territory of transidentities, having a gender-divergent identity from the binary device of gendering of bodies (LANZ, 2017). The denomination "transvestite" designates, in this perspective, a complex identification (FERNÁNDEZ, 2004; CAMPUZANO, 2008) located in border transits between the categories of a feminine that is established in the sociosexual division of gender. The emphasis in corporality and in the attributes of this feminine indicates their sociocorporified realities are not built nor can be understood by the prism of homosexualities. These bodies are produced by specific regimens of knowledge/power that go through the body construction until the social and wider symbolic systems which, to a great extent, are responsible for the subalternization, violence and precariousness to which they are subjectified in our society (BENTO, 2006, 2017, PELÚCIO, 2009).

7   Entity of Exu.

8   The names presented are fictional for the preservation of the participants identities.

babadeiras[9] that something bad happened to someone because this person had missed the amalá[10] or the ebó[11] or yet that someone couldn't be serious because they are nothing but a boneca de santo.[12]

The curiosity of these expressions used out of context of religion made me observe the way how the references of religiosity would appear on their Facebook profiles, website that I privilege in the attempt of understanding their digital trajectories, according to some presuppositions of ethnography for the internet (HINE, 2015). The article presents some of the discoveries of a field work that had 16 months of duration, gathering stories, examples and knowledge from four participants. The ethnographic field was composed both by following their daily routines, in the places where they live and go, and their online interactions. Thus, in addition to the participant observation, informal conversations and moments of interview, we add conversations and interaction through or about different apps, sites and platforms. The proposal is to think how the religious practices have dimensions oriented by the material and immaterial consumption of digital technologies. Sustained by an anthropological bias (CAMPBELL, 2001; DOUGLAS; ISHERWOOD, 2004; BARBOSA, 2004), the research understands consumption as a process of mediation between subjects, objects and social practices, not only referring to materialities, but in the development of subjectivities and social experience.

This bias assumes the contextuality of appropriations in the elaboration of consumption practices in the internet as cultural genres (MILLER, 2013), in other words, local appropriations are defined in group dynamics and in different forms of incorporation of those

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9   Babadeira comes from the word "babado", situation that implies some type of impact which you must give a lot of importance. Important episode of daily life. In the context, the word is an adjective of pombagira, denoting some type of superiority.

10   Offering to Xangô.

11   Offering to Exu.

12   According to the interlocutors, bonecas de santo are sisters of religion (cis and trans women and gay men) that do not comply their obligations seriously. In general, they can pay more for the materials of rituals and are very concerned with aesthetic dispositions, either on clothes, accessories or offerings. Boneca de santo refers more to the fake status of the person than the seriousness lived in the religion.

technologies in particular contexts (MILLER, 2011; MILLER *et al.*, 2016). The forms of consumption observed are not characterized by instrumental uses like technologies and the transformation of ritualistic by technical apparatuses (MILLER; SLATER, 2001), but point towards the reformulations of subjective and religious experiences that are sewn into the daily experience.

In the first part of the article, we present some considerations about how this technology is associated to the religious life and other elements of their personal narratives, once the study of social networks n the internet implies not reducing the interaction solely to the environment (RECUERO, 2009). In the second part, we interpret some of the consumption practices of these technologies in the composition of interactions and sociabilities of interlocutors.

"**Facebook only ties one end**" - Between faith and social life

According to Prandi (2005), the globalization processes seem to have affected in a less intense way religions like Umbanda and Candomble, which didn't get in the processes of mass media production and consumption lived by other religions. However, at the same time they keep their ceremonies, initiations, obligations and sacrifices away from the traditional processes of media circulation, the expansion of access of digital communication technologies move the social configurations where religious experience and its transformations are lived (MILLER; HORST, 2015).

The works of Silva (2015a, 2015b) about the appropriations of cellphones in the São Jorge hill, in Florianópolis, present reflections on the role of technologic mediations in religious experiences. One of the elements refers to the contradictions that would involve the use of cellphones in capturing images of entities. The author writes that one of her informants had a difficulty of getting a picture of her pombagira, which was against technology. For their informants, the problem was both the

capture of images and its public circulation. The passage of these photography from the private to public dominion would represent, in that context, a possible loss of secrets and authenticity inside the religion.

In the present research, we can follow a social context marked by an intense and significant production of images and messages that evidence the social transformations that follow the consumption of technologies. On Facebook, we develop an enunciative work whose reference is curimba's and gira's religiosity, lived by ilê, but crossing material frontiers of these spaces. In the regimens of interaction, Sibilia (2016) observes the passage of cultivating zones of social life that were previously considered private or sacret to a regimen that demands narrative skills and aesthetic adventures in form of "media competence". Instead of working as an institutionalized memory of religion, the posted content point towards personal memory and affectionate dynamics socialized that pulverize nuances of religious practices linked to their life stories, mixing faith and social life (TEIXEIRA, 2008; SEFFER, 2012).

These faith itineraries have in common stories marked by the precarization of social life, abandonment of blood family, work and sociability oriented by prostitution, violence and school evasion (SILVA, 1993; BENEDETI, 2005). All their participants say to have looked other religions, mainly catholic and evangelical, being distanced or expelled when they assumed their body and sexuality due to being transgender. It is Kelly's case, 30 years old, a sex worker and 16 years of religion. Like her, the interlocutors have their stories intimately linked to ilê as a place of refuge and respect where they were taught to walk the path of faith and understand their own stories.

The starting point of all digital interactions is the experience of curimba. Santos (2013) says that religion like the candomble destinate important practices in function of gender and sexuality of their participants, and can, in many cases, subvert the asymmetries of social generification, valuing female presence (including trans female). As Kelly says, the recognition on behalf of the brotherhood is one of the main capital of religious sociability:

> My brothers, when they organize a party, have some adoration to an
> orisha, they call me, ask me through Facebook, send me a message on
> Whats, send me an invite: "The 15th I will go and I want you to be with
> your pombagira". Look, it's a massive invitation, you know, because it's
> good to feel that way, for us that is trans is a huge pleasure […] to know
> we are welcome, for us is incredible, you know.

Even holding recognition, it isn't always a linear process. It can involve anti-ideal markings of gender, sex and erotism, articulation of paradoxes through specific performances of religious work (RIOS, 2011, 2012) or even a reaffirmation of gender inequalities (MESQUITA, 2004). Laura, 32 years old, gives examples that illustrate the way conflictive experiences appear in social experience and how they are mediated through digital interactions. Since she considers herself a jealous woman, she regularly checks her husband's private Facebook messages, an ogã (a man who plays atabaque) which stayed "in an important place of the tenda", being "seen and targeted by other [trans] and by amapô [cisgender women]". She knows her husband profile password and enters many times a day, reading private messages, because she knows the envy and lust over the guy that many women put in her relationship, including religion sisters (cis, trans and gays).

Intrigue, dispute and envy constitute the inventory of these practices are understood in digital experiences. Laura 'gets ready' in a group of six people with the same ialorixá. She tells she had many disagreements with her colleagues of initiation that didn't take seriously the compliance of obligations. Over time, she stopped liking and commenting their pictures and posts, she would take time to answer their messages, avoiding to intensify the contact with "bonecas de santo, girls who only want to show off". This (digital) cold shoulder was perceived by the others, making their relationships, even inside the terreiro, different than before.

Another story that shows the tension about interactions was mentioned by Nicolly, that used to date a guy whose mother and sisters were evangelical. They disapproved the relationship and posted comments with Bible verses or Bible passages talking about demons (referring to

her religion) and about promiscuity and sin (referring to her identity as trans and a sex worker), or, ironically, commenting expressions like "By Jesus blood!" Or "Lord have mercy!". Nicolly explains:

> Everything was online, to those who would come to my profile. Initially, I didn't understand and asked my aunt [which was also evangelical] what those numbers were about [the Bible verses] and she told me they were from the Bible. Most of it was from the Apocalypse. I just laughed. I used to find it hilarious to see these awful people because they would call me a Babylon prostitute. *Prosti [prostitute] I already was, but from Babylon, it seems big, right, fancy stuff, Arabian whore [laughs], important stuff.*

As the guy was cute, she was letting go, but, when they broke up, she soon blocked and excluded them from her profile.[13] This process is constituted, in Polivanov (2014) terms, as a "Facebook cleanout", management of friendships and contacts that assume different expressions from the sociability regimens. To Bianca, 31 years old, this digital cleanout must also be spiritual:

> At home, I use seven sticks of quince in the end of the year to sweep everything bad that was left there. On Face as well! I don't keep anything cluttering, things, people, nothing. Every once in a while we have to sweep away.[14] I delete people that I know have a heavy energy, that [Maria] Mulamba knows they are trouble. Because she says, she keeps saying, keeps showing their faces until you realize that. And I am bad! I click on delete [profile] laughing and calling her [pombagira by singing]: "There she comes, walking down the street. With Tiriri, Marabô and Tranca Rua [other Exus]". Why would I want these people near me [on my profile], knowing everything that goes on with me?

These disputes mark ambivalences of identity processes that focus dominions like family (blood or chosen), sexuality and intimacy, before fundamentally belonging to the private dominion, but that go through

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13 About other forms of discrimination, demonization and death wish of transvestites practicing candomblé and mobilized on digital social media, see Maranhão Filho (2016a).

14 As all as the others, the reference is not only to enemies, but the great number of male profiles interested in sexual encounters. According to them, fake contacts - usually, profiles without a picture or with few information, profiles of men that live far away, considered ugly, fake, poor, etc, but keep adding them as friends - every once in a while "must be swept away".

composing an expansion of the public field of lived experience (HALL, 2003). As the religious experience comes before her signing up on the website, they say "Facebook only ties one end", in other words, technology interweaves itself to other spheres of social life. Something that is shared online can be interpreted as an element of "an atelier that enables the elaboration of gender identities and transgendered gender expressions" (MARANHÃO FILHO, 2016c, p. 146). Laura explains it this way:

> There is a song that explains everything I'm talking about. I have always listened to it and always took to myself, to my things, to everything I have, what I have achieved, my life, everything was for my gypsy. It says something like this: "What is mine belongs to the gypsy, what is hers is not mine!" If you want to know, my Face is like that, it also belongs to her. [...]If it's mine, its hers, because she gives me life, protects me, because of that I don't see any problem in posting and liking things about the religion.

The identification of the own technology with the orisha constitutes the perception that every spheres of social life is linked to the religious life. Kelly while living a complicated situation during a trip to Montevideo, posted a picture, a selfie taken at the bus while she was traveling, with the following text: "Only two days in this city and my GOD… WHY DOES MY PRESENCE BOTHER THESE DEMONS SO MUCH… CLARITY, MY MOTHER IANSÃ. STRENGTH AGAINST THIS ENVY". In the post, she marks: "feeling GRATEFUL FOR EVERYDAY ✡ SIMPLY FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF SEEING THE LIGHT OF DAY". She explains the post:

> Us that work on the streets, go up and down, we don't work alone, there are many trans that, wanting or not, in the trans world, have a lot of envy, a lot of… jealousy, envy, that whole thing. And when I arrived there [Montevideo], you know that new people everywhere earns, you know… Thank god, I've earned a lot. I knocked on more doors than others [made more sexual encounters and, consequently, earned more money] and they began to feel disturbed, make trouble, unfortunately it is what it is, we suffer a lot from that.

This episode indicates how technology is inserted in daily experiences managed by faith. Posts mobilize systems of sociability through an existential character, linked specially to personal sharings. They are not only forms of biographic narration, but ways of being present, controlling fear and uncertainty and manifesting the capacity of moving on through life's obstacles (WINOCUR, 2009). These observations show how the internet collaborates in processes of identity definition and peregrination "both on social context where they experience it, and in symbolic systems through which we give meaning to these own positions" (WOODWARD, 2012, p. 33). In their profiles, they articulate more fixed gender and sexuality positions and more nomadic ones, capable of destabilizing and transgressing norms and regulations of identities (MARANHÃO FILHO, 2016b).

"Religion is a whole thing! With the internet, then…": digital interfaces in religious practices

Through the creation and maintenance of a profile, according to Recuero (2012), it is possible to manage different social capitals that the actors dispose, mobilized in function of common and shared values. The relationship between profile and identity, in the context of the interactions we've observed, indicates the way how "the face works", the handling and search for legitimacy of other actors that belong to the social network (RECUERO, 2014) is also negotiated and built with the attributes of orishas or the religious life.

According to Polivanov (2015), the profiles didn't represent the social actors transported for the digital environment, but they signalize the articulation of the discursive and performative persona directed as a way of self-representation. The names they present themselves with, profile pictures and background pictures are elements of this elaboration. Bibiana de Yemanjá, Samara de Oyá, Ialorixá Mary de Oxum[15] are examples of

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15   Their first names are fictional to preserve their identities.

the names assumed by the interlocutors, which index their self-represen-
tation in the social network to their religious life.

The background images, many times, present illustrations of entities.
Nicolly and Kelly use thematic filters in their profile pictures. Nicolly,
daughter of Oxum, uses Oxum's filter. According to her, in addition
to the protection in her work life and against envy, the filter represents
beauty and sweetness, characteristics of the entity, which she also attri-
butes to herself. In this sense, it is the Orisha's face that presents the
profile and indicates a religious alignment.

Image 1: Orisha's thematic filters
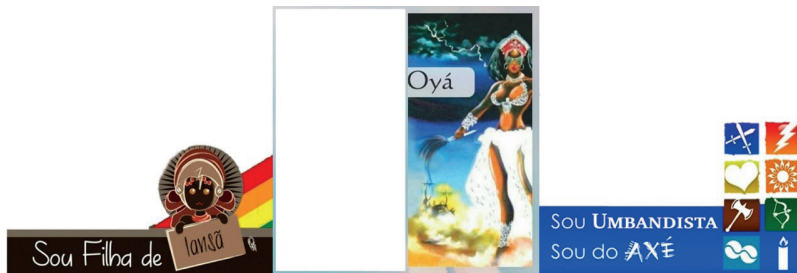
Source: Facebook. Research data.

Kelly, in turn, uses the filter and other images and posts of her Oyá,
Iansã, in form of thanking her for the protection and care she receives.
The posts produce values linked to faith, to gratefulness to the entity or
as a request for protection:

> I post and thank her for the multitude of good things that happened to
> me, I am always grateful to my great mother Oyá, my mother Iansã, I
> don't have a reason to hide it, I speak publicly about who I am and I don't
> have any shame to publicly show that. Just like she didn't have any shame
> of taking me, assuming me, my mother Oyá.

Laura uses as background image the orishas that rule the years. These
are images you can find on the internet and she "religiously" change once
a year. In 2015, Ogum and Oxum; in 2016, Oxalá and Iemanja; in

2017, Oxóssi and Oxum; in 2018, Xangô and Iansã.[16] For her, the posts represent her daily life, the good things that happened to her, the gatherings with friends and family, everything under the orisha's protection: "Someone goes in, opens my Facebook, head first[17] are the orishas. She will think twice before doing anything to me, saying anything to me".

Pictures of parties, rituals and offerings are also published and can receive tags of other people added to their profiles. In general, they are received in an enthusiastic manner through the audience, practicing religion or not. They use tags like #curimba, #roda, #gira, #partiuroda, #boragirá, #magic, #magicnight, #ladyofthenight[18] that, more than attaching some content, represent the insertion of practices of religion in the discursivity network logics.

Other interactions that follow posts are greetings. Laura explains that the same thing that happens in the social network happens in the corrente (circle of mediums incorporated or not) and in the assistance (who is waiting to take a pass): they answer the orisha with their own greeting. While "Salve!" And "Saravá!" Have a generic tone, serving a great number of publications, most posts about orishas are greeted in a proper manner. They write, for example, "Laroiê" and "Adorei as almas" to Exus, "Odoiá" to Iemanjá. The expressions are followed by emojis that relate with the symbolism of the entity. In the inventory of possible graphic resources, Iemanjá seem to be the most popular: wave, fishes, sea animals, coconut tree, island, flowers, crown and stare are almost always acted after the greeting. To answer a greeting means to read the content, generally a prayer, a message of self-esteem, or even that the orisha

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16   Updating the data, she says that, in 2019, it might be Ogum, but she needs to see in the whelks. While that doesn't happen, she looks for the images.

17   "Head first" refers both to the protection given by the orisha and the background photo, visual element in the superior part of the page.

18   This tag was also observed in posts of workplaces in prostitution. In general, images with friends, in sexy poses evidencing their body. In this context, they also consider themselves as ladies of the night, urban pombagiras, example of how "religion is capable of including each and every characteristic of humanity in sacrality" (BARROS e BAIRRÃO, 2015, p. 128). But that relation is not established only to the pombagiras, known for the fame of having many lovers. Kelly compares her own life to Oyá's, warrior orisha that, like her, doesn't fear to face life's difficult times.

"went through the timeline" to bless and if they received the axé. That way, we understand in these interactions both sociability and protection.

Some comments and posts about religion are marked by irreverence and humor. Nicolly and Bianca shared a quiz result to know who were their pombagiras, showing agreement to the characteristics revealed in the test. The comments on the posts show how true is the result wwhen representing the characteristics of the person. Another example are the posts with illustrations of a pombagira where they tag "the friend that makes the same mess when they arrive" Less detainers of a concrete religious value, images like the ones we enlisted pointed to a humorous interaction which leads to sociabilities amongst close friends.

Image 2: Religiousness and humor

Source: Facebook. Research data.

In addition to the publication of different contents, technology itself can be interdicted depending on the context, as it is the case in initiations. When Bianca, who works in a beauty parlor, "lied down" to her Oxum, fulfilling her obligations remained in "quarantine" period called euó, when you abstain of many activities, having some interdictions, including sexual and food related interdictions. In this period, which lasted 40 days for her, she guaranteed she didn't post anything on Facebook, only followed posts in the timeline, and she only used WhatsApp for urgent matters. According to her, this is "a time of self-communion, it's not like it's forbidden, but what good do you get from staying at home and getting crazy on the internet?". Euó interdicts interactions that

may corrupt the self-communion practices, especially those referring to invitations to parties, friendships and drinking sprees, or even interaction marked by sexuality and sex, like the exchange of nudes that may be done through online interactions. The same situation happened to Nicolly, sex worker that remained during eight days in the same type of self-communion, without working. During this period, she stopped using Tinder. As she couldn't get out of the house, she received the visit (without having sex) of one of the men she met through the app and after that he became a client she became friends with, but only because she had told she was going to fulfill her obligation.

It's common sense that judges and interdicts practice of religion lived in the digital world. Kelly explains this relationship:

> If the orisha comes to talk to you, give you all their axé, after that you cannot talk about it with someone else. She doesn't know what happened. It is a whole thing until she comes back, you need to go back, sit, get your strength back. And you don't remember a thing. That's the secret. […]The same goes to the internet, we do not post all the ritual, there's no way. The pictures are about us, the offerings, friends. We show because it's beautiful and to value, but we do not reveal the main thing […].It's like seeing a house through the street, you see just a little bit, what happens inside is none of our business.

The post of videos of curimbas also establish interactions that mark online sociability. In a video posted by Bianca, she appears during the process of disincorporating. The camera records, with a certain distance, the incorporated entity going away and being helped by other entities with a blow in her ears. In another video posted by her, it's possible to see her friend's pombagira spinning in the center of a gira with the sound of atabaques. The comments and shares of both videos claim the power of these entities. According to her, the principle that "every house has its rules" stands here. Videos show important moments of curimbas that are shared by beauty and force, although it may seem not to exist a consensus on whether to publish them or not. The production of images of this type, instead of rocking the definitions of sacred, feeds

even further the feelings of belonging and sharing in the network. It is by the fact of these posts are personalized, that helps the identification of the presented persona, that these practices do not discharacterize cultural, personal and group origins, nor the sacred values that technologic changes may dissolve (TRAMONTE, 2002).

About the photos of entities incorporated on curimbas, not only for transvestites, there is a reincidence of positions and body gestures that attest the incorporation and guarantee the maintenance of what is considered sacred. The entities photographed, even in posed pictures, Do not look straight to the camera.[19] In these pictures, published on Facebook, what stands out is that the entities maintain their face looking to the ground and the eyes are always closed, being sitted, standing or in dance movements. At times, pombagiras cover their eyes with fans and Exus cover their eyes with their hats. This shared way of standing, this (non) look socialized by different entities reminds us the analysis of Csordas (2008) about the embodied imagery in experiences of charismatic Christianism in North America, where forms of conception of pre-cultural world are constituted in the socialization of religious processes.[20]

The entities - still in situation of transcendence, in the expression of Csordas, in pre-cultural state (incorporation, transe) – share a statute of body gesture socially informed by the habitus recognized as true (we don't get to see the eyes). About that, the interlocutors say that the eyes, especially of incorporated entities, need to remain secret. For them, the eye is the body part that most reveals life and misteries. In the eyes we have all the power: "All the ará, the body, is sacred… from our sisters, the gays, the adé [gays], but it's on the eye that you see all the energy of the person, all the emi [life force given by the orishas]. It's the eye that keeps the axé", says Nicolly. This behavior socialized by the orishas work, thinking according to Csordas (2008, p. 108), how shared and socialized

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19 We chose not to share images so as not to identify people.
20 When proposing the corporeity as an anthropologic paradigm, Csorda aims to collapse the dualities between subject-object and structure-practice. To do so, it revises the logic of Merleau-Ponty about the constitution of perception and the notion of habitus and the socially informed body of Bourdieu.

experiences that mix with the intentionality of constitution of rituals, "an open human process of assuming and inhabiting the cultural world where our existence transcends, but remains rooted in real situations." When they don't look straight to the lens/camera, the photographed body remains "free" and "the mistery of sacred safe".

The same happens with the images in digital devices.[21] Many entities "run away" from attempts of photography and focus of light: "There are entities that hate this light and the sound of a camera, that they know how to recognize it's not natural, it's artificial, then they don't pose and That's why they run away", says Nicolly. The insertion of these images in processes of sharing is seen more naturally by the interlocutors to the extent they work as register of these moments, without, however, tainting the sacred aspects of the rituals. Maybe there lies another guarantee of maintaining sacrality, bearing in mind the scenarios of circulation of these images on the internet.

For the interlocutors that work in prostitution, there are markers between their work and religion. Nicolly's profile includes content and references both of her work on the streets and in life at the ilê. The technical dispositions are the same: photos, posts, tags and comments. However, looking the cellphone for the pictures published by her in her timeline, she says:

> I'll show you something here that I think you didn't see. Look at this picture, me with the girls knocking on doors. Look at the outfit. Look how many likes, how much? [She asks and answers:] One hundred something. Now look of the comments, who is it… Who is it? Take off the girls and the mapô [amapô, women] I know. It's only ocó [men]. Ocó wanting transvestites. No swipe up [indicating the screen a picture posted days after the first one]. Look at this one. This picture was in an event in Canoas, me and my religion sisters. I am so much prettier, look at the clothes, the skirt, my face was so much better. Look, I'm so much sexier than before. Now look at the likes. Only people who know me and the gays that are always there.

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21 Nicolly remembers that, in a party of Ibejis, the child orishas would run away from the attempt of being photographed by an "old" digital camera: "They shouted, hid, cover their ears and say they were scared of the thunder" (which would come after the supposed lightning/flash). She remembers that the assistance for perceiving the (real) innocence of the child orishas.

About the reason of difference between interactions with men that only show sexual interest and the interactions mobilized by the "religion pictures", she laughs and says: "Mana, I'll tell you, it's no use, what is sacred is sacred, no matter where it is". What is evidenced is the fact that what is sacred can be independent of the place and the circumstance of its manifestation. It is not available for everyone (in the example, ocós could not perceive the sacred dimension of the body, only the sexual availability). In Csorda's perspective, if the body transcends (whose cultural referents get suspended), have an informed dimension in the culture, fulfilling a series of socially informed requirements, the same happens to those who receive these messages. To those men, it's set, in the order of pre-cultural, that they cannot see, even if they look. To select who can see it is about the body that transcends/sacrality (in this case, incorporated entity). These men are not prepared nor they know how to see: They have their eyes closed, because this is not for them. We get used to it and even feel a little bit sorry". It is necessary, at least, beyond interest, respect to sacrality and a certain sensitivity, product of a work of initiation, persistence and religious pilgrimage.

Final considerations

The article interpreted how the consumption of the social network website Facebook articulates the religious experience of their interlocutors. Curimba is experienced in digital mediations of technology, having as reference both transsexuality, which their bodies live and express in the world, and the religiosity of ilê. These practices show in the elaboration of representation of self, in systems of sociability, in daily sociability in network, in mediation of conflicts and sharing the experience of sacrality.

The published content (parties, adorations, prayers, plays) and the self-representation of a public persona identified with orishas (the orisha is assumed on social media because before it already taken care of the whole person's life) are the main ways how religiosity appears in the observed interactions. Thus, life at ilê can no longer be understood as a

separate sphere from social sociability. It is also lived and led in their own unique dynamics according to each interaction.

The findings of field indicate that, for the interlocutors, the consumption of digital technologies does not taint sacred nor it banalizes the secrets of religion, but it collaborates in the way these concepts are re--interpreted and acted in dynamics of sociability in the social network. The religious references are personalized, keeping a direct correspondence with the profile and the life story that the person itself recognizes and narrates as their own. Through this process, they associate the possibilities of protecting the secrets of curimba before the daily mediatic productions, that give meaning to interactions and follow technologic transformations of modernity.

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Hierarquia dos espaços na fanpage "Suburbano da Depressão"

Hierarchy of spaces on the fanpage "Suburban of Depression"

Leticia Cantarela Matheus[1]

Resumo: *O artigo discute as disputas discursivas em torno da definição do conceito popular de "subúrbio", procurando compreender o território cultural conhecido como "subúrbios cariocas". Trata-se de um território imaginado que se atualiza no espaço das redes sociais por meio de fanpages no Facebook. Neste trabalho, analisamos as particularidades da fanpage "Suburbano da Depressão" e do livro homônimo buscando entender as dinâmicas identitárias que se atualizam nesse território a partir de processos criativos de invenções conceituais e de tradições. O artigo tem por objetivo detectar redes semânticas de construção de conceitos práticos utilizados no cotidiano para dar conta da apropriação simbólica dos subúrbios e de positivação permanente de seu imaginário, invertendo polos de conhecimento e de experiência.*

Palavras-chave: *cidade; Norte-Sul global; subúrbio carioca; território; conceito.*

Abstract: *The essay discusses the discoursive disputes around the definition of the popular concept of "suburbs", considering the phenomenon of the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro city. It is thought to be an imaginary territory which is reinforced on social media, through fanpages dedicated to it on the Facebook. This paper analyses how it happens on the fanpage "Suburban of Depression" as well as on the namesake book, in order to understand the dynamics of contemporary identities that take place on the digital environment, so that there are some strings of creative processes of making new concepts and traditions. The aim is to identify the semantic networks with and in which people build up this pragmatic concept*

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of everyday life, so as to operate not only the symbolic appropriation of local out-skirts but also to positivate its imaginary, inverting the Northern and Southern axis of knowledge and experience.

Keywords*: city; global north-south; Rio's outskirt; territory; concept.*

Introduction

In Rio, South is North. It is this imaginary that allows the eventual reference to Barra da Tijuca, for example, as the "south region of the west region". This is what authorizes, by mimicking, the residents of the neighboring city Niterói call south their west region, like the neighborhood Icaraí. This is what caused indignation in the residents of Flamengo when, in 2016, the city hall removed their administration off the hands of the 4th Administrative Region (RA) - the so-called South region - transferring it to the Downtown area. It was also the core of the problem when, in October of that same year, a project of law proposed the administrative separation of Barra da Tijuca, Jacarepaguá and Recreio of the rest of the West Region, creating a "West-South region", "so that we no longer have the confusion of saying that the neighborhoods of Barra da Tijuca and Jacarepaguá were also part of the West region" (PROJETO QUER TRANSFORMAR…, 2016).

These examples suggest that the territorial location sets a certain cultural brand, in a way that, as sign, the southern geographic coordinate has a value of distinction capable of adding a certain superior quality to those who receive this attribution. This long historic construction began in the end of 19th century, beginning of the 20th century, when the neighborhoods began to get urbanized, expanding the city. In this process, the carioca suburbia began to arrive,, a singular identity marker of Rio de Janeiro, whose meaning is updated until today by a series of symbolical challenges, among which a certain degree of differentiation in relation to the "south", either epistemologically or regarding the image projected to the city. According to the proposal developed here, the disputes around this symbolical territory would point precisely to its cultural richness.

In order to sustain this argument, the article investigates the identity processes that developed discursively between 2015 and 2017 in Facebook's fanpage "Suburbano da Depressão", a humorous page dedicated to the set of neighborhoods that the carioca identifies as "suburbia". As an empirical object, the page has two functions. First, it presents itself as

a pretext for a series of discursive articulations, therefore, it is understood here as mediation. Second, it works as a track that allows the researcher to observe processes of communication that happened in the past and that still happen as we continue to talk about that page - now, in a research article. Throughout three years, "Suburbano da Depressão" was followed week by week. We've selected posts (with comments), in a thematic way, when they dealt of the identity question through the debate around the definition of a certain cultural territory. The objective was to trace the main challenges around the concept of Carioca suburbia, beyond any geographic, urbanistic or administrative definitions. The reflection is inserted in a culturalist perspective, of language and city studies, and has no intention to develop technological issues.

The relationship between a cultural north and south is a fundamental part of de-colonial studies, that propose a geopolitical redistribution of thinking (MIGNOLO, 2002, 2008, 2017). Although this brief reflection does not completely align to this theoretical current, authors like Mignolo and Boaventura de Sousa Santos inspired, in both ways, the argumentative scheme of this article. First, because we've tried to use the de-colonial perspective over the microscale of the city of Rio; second, because the idea of de-colonial epistemic disobedience (MIGNOLO, 2008) allowed us to think in popular concepts about suburbia beyond the academic debate. Because of that, we've inverted the epistemologic logic of a scientific north (SANTOS; MENESES, 2010), using as theoretic base not only the contributions of the own users when establishing a dialog in the comments of the fanpage, but also coming from the reflection of the owner of the page, Vitor Almeida. He rejects both a geographic conception and a classification of suburbia as social stratification, dislocating their defining criteria from the sphere of place to social actors. In SD, we saw some interesting concepts, like "relicism" and the "moralizing" character of objects and practices, which directly dialogue with expressions of popular culture of Carioca suburbia, as in the item "suburban icons".

For Almeida (2016), Suburban would be characterized by the individual that breaks protocols and its page is filled with those examples. The breach of protocol already starts by the initiative of Almeida of extrapolating the digital ambiance of SD to another, more stable, platform: a book. We try here to follow clues of identity challenges given in the relationship between posts and comments in the fanpage, as well as the reading Almeida made of these processes in the book he had published. As a theoretic foundation, we come from the dialogic principle of communication (BAKHTIN, 2009) to understand that the comments in SD belong to discursive chains that are updated, at the same time they are anchored in imaginaries about suburbia. We believe that, methodologically, this work is close from the proposal of Recuero and Soares (2013) when they create a strategy based on the Computer Mediated Discourse Analysis (CMDA), although we've maintained only in Bakhtin. We seek, in posts and comments, quoted discourses, that is, previous comments or discourses in circulation that, at times, can only be captured through traces of reactions to them. We seek to understand the tactics of anticipation of discourse of other both in the "teases" of some posts mobilized and in the defense of certain points of view on behalf of commenters, to who were interested to mark, at times, the difference in relation to the rest of the city and, in other times, continuity. In other moments, we accentuated the internal plurality while looking to mark a mobile drawing of this suburban frontiers. Other times, the objects in circulation of that territory that served as cultural markers (DOUGLAS; ISHERWOOD, 2009) of a suburbanity, a particular type of de-colonialized modernity (MIGNOLO, 2008), as we will see in some examples.

Definitions of suburbia

Created in 2012, "Suburbano da Depressão" had 368,258 followers in the beginning of 2019. The phenomenon is inscribed in a wider set of fanpages dedicated to cities. Oliveira studies *Facebook fanpages* "Fortaleza Nobre", *from Fortaleza, and "the Rio de Janeiro I haven't lived",* *from Rio de Janeiro, under the optics of nostalgia.* Carvalho (2017), in

turn, uses the fanpage "São Gonçalo Dá Depressão" to think about citizenship and social criticism through humor. Rabello, Oliveira and Musse (2014) analyzed "Maria do Resguardo", from Juiz de For a (MG) problematizing memory issues. Also thinking about the decentralization of memory production about the city, this time in a profile about Rio de Janeiro on Instagram, Gauziski, Amaro and Gonçalves (2013) worked with photographic materiality. Especially the two first seem to share the logic of mediation (MARTÍN-BARBERO, 1997), so central for the cultural turn in communication and in which this reflection is fundamented. However, each one of these works established their own methodological approaches. What stands out here, in reference to the "Suburbano da Depressão" case, is the intertextual character around the definitions of Carioca suburbs and how these definitions are staged in objects and concepts of daily life. As with these other works, we didn't trailed the sharing of posts. Our cut-out were the discussions closed within the page itself.

In 2018, the manager Vitor Almeida put a picture on SD that seem to delimitate its cut-out of action. The image presented a collage with four pictures of different neighborhoods, a text with "North region - West Region - Baixada" and a eloquent mosaic. The conceptual solution of the mosaic appeared after finishing this study, but the story of its formation is long.[2] From the beginning of our monitoration, in 2015, there was, in the fanpage, a big tension around the definitions of Carioca suburbia, a sensitive subject, that mobilizes passions of these residents. However, instead of trying to get to a consensus or choosing one of the numberless conceptions already debated, we accentuate here exactly this tension and the intensity of affections involved in these confrontations. We identified, in SD, at least three major argumentative lines that design the understanding about the suburbia: the first one, a division of class geographically translated into the territory; the second one, a geographic definition that would have in both train lines the defining trace of

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2   After concluding this study, Vitor Almeida still incorporated to the suburban repertoire of SD the Baixada Fluminense (seven cities), as indicated in the new fanpage background. This new condition of object is not treated here.

suburbia; lastly, a more recent association to the idea of North region. None of them is sustained on its own, at least ontologically translating this cultural experience called suburbia. Their limits surpass three definitions, thanks both to the dynamic of concept and the dynamic of the cultural territory itself.[3]

However, these definitions definitely populate the imaginary. A historical landmark accepted as the apex of the dichotomy north/south, which would perpetuate, and, at the same time, would confront throughout the whole following century, would be the management of the mayor Pereira Passos (1902-1906). The so-called "south region" was characterized as a river with some spaced houses and was also called suburbia or freguesia. Meanwhile, the great house expansion was given mainly in the north, following the coastal line (Leopoldina) and continental line (Central do Brasil) of the railroad, which already existed since the second half of the 19th century. Each one with their peculiarities, these regions would gradually assume urban outlines, filled with contradictions and with uneven infrastructural resources.

The northern suburbia had few investments, despite its demographic raise. The neighborhoods that surrounded the railway system of Leopoldina grew 293% only between 1890 and 1906 (SILVEIRA, 2009). The local press of the turn of the century had clarity about the unequal distribution of public investments and got, at that moment, a profusion of neighborhood newspapers, weekly news and literary magazines destined to defend the interests of residents of suburbia. According to Mendonça, we can classify these dozens of weekly newspapers into three main groups: a literary group, dedicated to the promotion of culture in suburban neighborhoods; an union press, linked to workers who lived in these neighborhoods, where there were big factories and blue-collar villages; and a third group geared towards the defense of interests of the local commerce and population in general.

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3   About the formation and definition of Carioca suburbia, according to Moreira (2013), Fernandes (2011), Abreu (2003), Domingues (1994/1995).

This third group would demand public investments, while the downtown zone would go through the famous Reforma Passos, a set of remodeling projects for the downtown area through an idealization about what was modern - an evidently European modernity, specially Parisian, reproducing the logic of colonized thinking, criticized by the de-colonialists (MIGNOLO, 2008). However, these newspapers already valued a suburban identity and let that very clear when picking as title of publications the term "suburbia", claiming, thus, a place of belonging. Here are some examples: *Suburban Tribune and Suburban Newspaper* (Madureira), *Suburban Echo* (Engenho de Dentro), *The suburban* (Ilha do Governador, Méier, Madureira, Inhaúma), Suburban Progress (Piedade) and Suburban Magazine (Méier). *The suburban from Ilha do Governador is an example that would be against the popularized narrative from the 1950's that suburbia would be the neighborhoods around the line of Central do Brasil, because, since it's an island, that neighborhood would obviously not have a railway* (MATHEUS, 2016/2017).

This classification is, therefore, extremely dynamic and SD gets in this dispute games by definitions of this space, at the same time configuring as an arena of symbolic struggle due to the debates unfolded there. Neighborhoods considered suburbia in the past can eventually no longer be considered that. The own territorial outline of neighborhoods was changing through the years. The region also doesn't coincide spacially with North region, because it includes neighborhoods from the West region and not every neighborhood of the North region belongs to suburbia, historically speaking, although we may have perceived a growing acceptance of this superposition by followers of SD. When looking at "Suburbia Rio de Janeiro" on Wikipedia, there are 99 neighborhoods listed, among them some of the West region and with no train, while, officially, the North region comprises only 87 neighborhoods (City Decree nº 3,158/1981). Therefore, it is necessary to get clear that the suburbia is a symbolic territory found in an intersection between the set of neighborhoods of the West region and the set of neighborhoods of the North region. In addition, a definition still accepted by older residents that is only neighborhoods that surround Central do Brasil would be suburbia.

However, while symbolic territory, maybe it's useless to find a spacial trace defining suburbia, once they inhabit the terrain of imagination.

These contradictions appear on posts, that are composed, in part, by memes (visual set of text of photography inscribed by humor), although the posts, at times, can only be text and, other times, one or more photographies (in collage) with a text separated of the body of the post (not over the photography). These pictures, in general, were made in different suburban environments, both on public and private spaces. We haven't found any posts with resources with sound.[4]

Image 1: Only neighborhood with railway
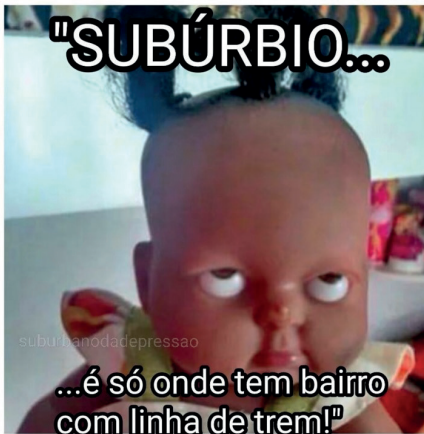
Source: Facebook, Dec 22nd, 2015.

"Suburbano da Depressão" goes against the criteria of the railway line. A follower argues that, if it were like that, all Europe would be a suburbia, taking away the singularity of the Carioca phenomenon while acting a universal applicability to the concept. In response, another

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4   Memes were approached theoretically-methodologically through multiple interpretative keys according to an author logic (CHAGAS, 2015), by rhetoric function (CHAGAS et al., 2017), according to the memory through classic French discourse analysis (BORTOLÍN e FERNANDES, 2017), as aphorisms (including semiotic elements of images, through the way of Maingueneau's discourse analysis (BOENAVIDES, 2018), through dynamic characteristics of social media (RECUERO, 2007), among other intellectual operations.

follower defends that the railroad is, indeed, a defining factor of Carioca suburbia. Other followers begin, then, to list their own neighborhood as not having train stations, but claiming a suburban identity. Thus, the interactive people (PRIMO, 2005) discuss among themselves, acted through the post. These intertextual relations are happening in multiple levels, beginning from the own dialogue between the verbal and non-verbal language of memes (Image 1), in addition to the fact that this visual set is already an answer - an ironic one - to the supposedly defining thesis that the railway must be a necessary condition to suburbanity.

The supposed difference of class is also relativized in SD. Even though there is, in the common sense, a perception of economic distinction in relation to the South region, Carioca suburbia were formed specially by middle-class citizens. Lima (2014), however, retrieves the idea of social stratification to think about heterogeneity within the suburbia themselves. The author remembers that the economic dynamic between different suburban neighborhoods and within one same neighborhood imposes to the social fabric different temporalities according to different processes of occupation and historically diverse economic activities. In other words, by singular processes of modernization. In an analogy to the South region, the residents of suburbia make use of the term "South region" to refer to the richest microrregions within the same neighborhood, in a permanent process of multiple distinctions. This is a very particular characteristic of the city of Rio de Janeiro: the same neighborhood integrating groups that are perceived as economically different. What seems clear, however, is that, regardless of the adoption or not of a notion of stratification that simplistically replaces the concept of class, the idea of subordination is rejected (MAIA; CHAO, 2016). Even if the concept of suburbia, through a technical dominion, would indicate a certain degree of urbanization (sub-urban), its current use is much wider than that. In the geographic point of view, the concept is referring to areas that surround urban concentrations where you would consider having an infrastructural deficit (SOTO, 2008).

As the author explains, even this technical criterion does not fit to define suburbia in a general manner, because some of the regions classified as such in some cities are, at times, highly urbanized. This is the case of Carioca suburbia, even if they come in contact with different degrees of public investment throughout history. What is often misunderstood is that Carioca suburbia are a particular phenomenon, whose idea is not applicable to the rest of the world. And even this Carioca concept is found in permanent dispute for over 100 years. Barra da Tijuca, for example, which is not traditionally a part of suburbia, even because it is a quite new neighborhood - but if we would adopt the technical perspective, could be classified as suburbia - only in recent years have been receiving sanitary depletion. On the other hand, the so-called Carioca suburbia are highly urbanized. Thinking in a de-colonialist way, they are not the "collateral effect" of progress in the Center-South region, but part of the same modernizing process, intrinsically filled with contradictions. The relationship of a Rio resident with his city is not reduced to an urbanization criterion. The Carioca suburbia we are talking about are not a urbanistic concept. It is a cultural concept daily built by its residents, as well as by those who only been there in their imagination.

The dispute continues. In the post of November 11th, 2015 (Image 2), SD defends that Barra da Tijuca and Recreio are suburbia, taking back, somehow, the original conception of the term employed in the 19th century, as synonym of outskirts, neighborhood, peripheral areas. There were those who would argue in the comments that "elite is only South region, the rest is suburban" once again making coincide the issue of social stratification, which does not necessarily is implied in the concept. In addition, other commenters argue that those who occupied Barra were suburbans that got rich, pointing towards a cultural contiguity. In the case of Image 2, the dialogue probably is given with all the repertoire of popular artists that point the finger when posing to photos, with would also refer, in turn, to the famous 1917 poster, with the North American personification of Uncle Sam pointing his finger: "I Want You for U.S. Army". In addition, there is a reference to the lyrics recorded

by the singer Wesley Safadão, "Aquele 1%". The use of his image would add authority to the message, within that would be a cultural regimen of authentication, taxing popularity (APPADURAI, 2008).

Image 2: Barra is suburban

Source: Facebook, Nov. 11th, 2015.

We must insist in the difference between a scientific conceptual debate and an everyday operational conceptual debate, being the latter what is interesting to us, even though it is infiltrated in the other one to some extent. A scientific concept is always linked to a theory - for instance, about urbanization - and even these concepts change throughout time through the ways of appropriation and the transformation of the phenomena they serve as abstraction. The same occurs with concepts of common sense, this practical everyday force that allow us to interviene in the world. Summarizing Koselleck, Jasmin, and Feres Júnior (2006) they explain that a concept can change because the state of things changes or because of a dynamic of the concept itself.

The suburbia that are interesting to us are not scientific abstractions. They are ways of living and practical knowledge in the Bourdieusian sense. It is the common sense (GEERTZ, 1997), a practical knowledge,

arrived by experience or transmission of experience. It is a cultural system that is characterized, among other forms, by the non-methodicity. In it, the contradiction is not a problem. Because of that, we can no longer wait for a consensus around current definitions about suburbia, because the contradiction is intrinsic to social life. On the other hand, Geertz also contributes to the common sense the character of a knowledge that seems natural. That means they wouldn't hypothesize a different interpretation in relation to some aspect of reality, which does not apply to the concept of suburbia, found in a permanent state of intense dispute. What interests us here, therefore, is a practical knowledge (BOURDIEU, 1996), a set of references that operationalize daily life, much more than a scientific debate about the borders of these Carioca suburbs.

Image 3: "Aceita que dói menos"
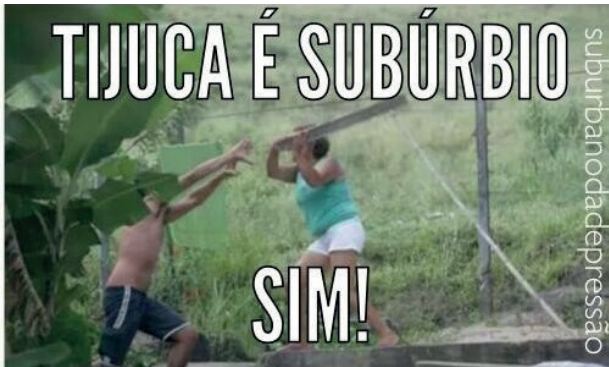
Source: Facebook, Mar. 14th, 2015.

Image 3 is composed through the logic of self-irony (AMARAL, BARBOSA, POLIVANOV, 2015) and it is about one of the major conflicts of the fanpage, about the symbolic position of Tijuca. While the manager defends, in a post of March 2015, the integral superposition of the North region to suburbia, saying that Tijuca belongs to it, other users disagree.

> Hello people that say "Suburb is every neighborhood that has a train station": this concept no longer exists, after all, neighborhoods didn't grow

up because of the trains stations, but train stations were installed due to the demands of neighborhoods. Let's study a little! (SD, Mar. 14th, 2015).

A follower disagrees: "Suburbs are all the neighborhoods surrounding the train station", where SD responds: "This concept is not considered accurate for a while now. Let's update this bibliography", until it appears a follower reacting to the scientific definition the manager appealed in his argument: "It is not an old terminology, it is the classic terminology!".

Image 4: Provocations with tijucanos

Source: Facebook, Sep. 16th 2016.

With the exception of the manager of the page, which identified himself when he published the book, we do not reveal the names of commenters due to privacy, once we do not have authorization to use their names.[5] Because it is an empirical material, grammar and orthography errors were preserved. They reveal the character of secondary orality (ONG, 2002), so evident in the media culture and their tribute to popular expressivity.

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5   To illustrate this article, we left aside pictures where we see the face of residents in their daily tasks. The exception in the use of image was the meme with Wesley Safadão because he is a public figure.

A: Exactly! How would we classify the neighborhoods of Lins and Cachambi, where there was no railway station? They are neighborhoods of suburbia RJ, and they do not have a train station.

B: Suburbia in its original sense is every neighborhood far from downtown, so following this logic, the South region would be suburbia. Live with that.

C: São Cristóvão is not suburb then? RS Suburb in the world definition are regions far away from downtown, regardless of train. There are rich neighborhoods that have train stations. There are rich neighborhoods in suburbs of Rio, BR, the world.

D: Lins is not a suburb, then? There is no train station there…

E: How the hell Tijuca is far from Downtown?! Hahaha. I need to laugh. And São Cricri is suburb of Leopoldina… Bangu as North region is also great… rsrs… I love this page!

F: At Lins we have trains too :D

G: We got to a contradiction. Downtown is a suburb that is not far from itself. :o

H: I just found out that Vila Isabel is also not a suburb, because it doesn't have a train station.

I: And Cachambi, Engenho da Rainha, Vila da Penha, Acari. Hahaha (SD, Mar. 14[Th], 2015).

The debate, extended until March 16th, reveals convergences and divergences between some argumentative lines. First, we perceive a clear division between those who think about a wide concept of suburb, which, in part, is confusing with the concept of slum, and others who think about the singularity of the Carioca phenomenon. According to these people, there is a new subdivision among those who adopt or not the criterion of the train station. Both in the generalist and the particularist definition, we have the crossing of the option of economic stratification: if you must or not associate suburb to a position of class (here, in the Bourdieusian sense).

Image 5: Comparisons with the South region

Source: Facebook, Sep. 29th 2016.

Suburban Icons

In the book *Suburbano* da Depressão: causos, contos e crônicas, Vitor Almeida, the fanpage manager, brings this debate in the introduction and, for a lack of consensus, brilliantly proposes the dislocation of a geographic definition for characterizations around social practices. He tells a personal perception about a new form of discursive appropriation of suburbs on behalf of the City Office and in 2010 due to the proximity of the mega events that would happen in the city. The game changer would be the police mega operations in the slum complex of Penha and Alemão, when they tried to establish the myth of "reintegration" of those territories (MATHEUS; SILVA, 2013). Newspapers began to treat the North region with euphoria, as a new area of commercial and touristic interest, with a series of construction projects, including the construction of the park of Madureira and the installation of the BRT transport system (bus with an exclusive corridor on Rio). As pointed by Almeida (2016), they tried to integrate a suburban repertoire to the stereotyped

image of Rio de Janeiro in Manoel Carlos's telenovelas (fundamentally located in South Region settings). If, on one hand, they would win in diversity of representation, on another, they would create new stereotypes. In addition, they would try to install a supposedly unheard integration that, in practice, has always existed. "We have always been here", says Almeida (2016, p. 15).

The book is divided into two parts, the first discusses polemic themes that arised in the fanpage, while the second one has a more literary character, even if with inspiration in the same cultural universe of SD. Practices are presented that, according to Almeida, would represent the breach of protocol (of practices and uses of cultural objects). This perspective is aligned to Michel de Certeau's idea (2008) about popular culture, marked by the great capacity of adaptation and reinvention of the daily life in function of concrete difficulties faced by working classes. They are resources that point towards a practical intelligence to which we previously talked about. It also has an affinity with the idea of gambiarra as technologic intelligence described by Messias (2017). Even though the author had thought of electronic games, it is present in his concept of gambiarra the premise of customization, in an intimate and ludic way. It is this customization tending to fun that is found in practices pointed by SD, beyond the ludic aspect of the memory of these daily practices. This indirect form of fun would be in the own way the fanpage is presented, based on humor precisely to try to impregnate daily activities with lighter solutions. Even if, in these posts, there may eventually have some dose of stereotyping effect of the resident of suburbs, as it was questioned to us,[6] we reject the premise that humor appears as mockery. On the contrary, there seem to have a positivation in the sense attributed to the concept of suburbs. The laughter that these posts may provoke is clearly the carnival critical laughter of Bakhtin (2008), capable not only to laugh of oneself, but, especially, of subverting the hierarchies of

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6   Debate that took place in the international colloquium "Modos de ser Sul: territorialidades, afetos e poderes" (Ways of being from the South: territorialities, affections and powers", performed in October, 2017 at PPGCOM-UFF.

spaces in Rio de Janeiro. Through laughter, the Carioca north becomes the South. It begins to be their own global north.

Trying to reproduce the oral register, Almeida tells, in the book, stories like macarronese (dish made with fusilli pasta replacing potatoes in mayonnaise), a suburban classic according to him; the smoking sessions; kids parties, among others. Some of these narratives reflect first in the fanpage as a place of test, mobilizing new stories beside a set of suburban icons that go from the aluminum bowl (Image 6), where every kid had taken a bath, passing through the singer Alcione and the musician Zeca Pagodinho until the former Football player Adriano, considered the king of suburbs because he abandoned Italy to go back to Vila Cruzeiro. Such attitude is celebrated in the fanpage as a demonstration of honesty of the player when he assumes what makes him happy, being proof, because of that, of the qualities of suburbs and the love of the residents for this place. They are questioned, for example, if they would move to the South region if they had the opportunity, and users say no. Then, memes are created with jokes both about the South region neighborhoods and the suburb itself.

Image 6: the aluminum bowl
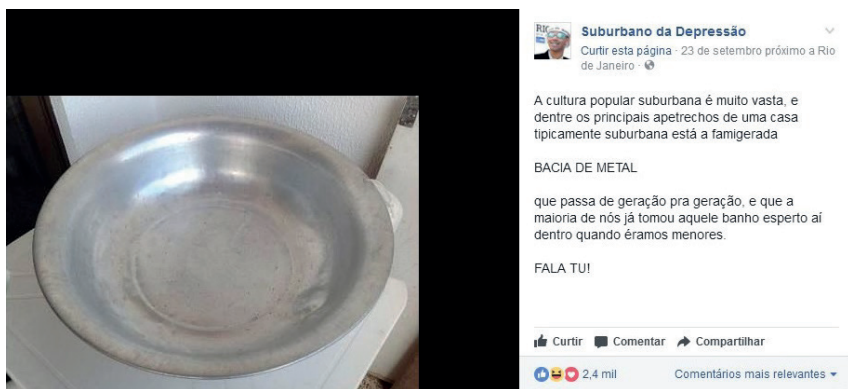
Source: Facebook, Sep. 23rd 2017.

Despite the presence of memes, posts through which the debate was unfolded around the definition of a suburban quality were composed by images with text and subtitles of objects that would embody a suburban lifestyle (Images 6 to 10). An important object present in suburban homes is the fan, elevated in SD, to the condition of a cultural icon. It is represented through multiple forms of use, including speeding up the process of defrosting the freezer and being used in the window to enhance the air exchange in an attempt of working as an air conditioning. Facing the post of a fan, the followers immediately responded sending pictures of their models, transforming the post into a type of catalog of a domestic popular archaeology.

These objects, such as the aluminum bowl (Image 6), the jelly cup or the fans in the window are elevated in the discussions to the category of suburban icons, within what Appadurai (2008) called regimens of value. They operate meanings within certain cultural frameworks. According to the author, "things in movement elucidate their social context" (APPADURAI, 2008, p. 17). In this case, images and meanings of fans in the window, whose photographies are posted in comments by the interactors in response to Vitor's post, agency common values. When they are aware of those meanings and modes of use, people perform their belonging to suburbs. Thus, these residents positively affirm their identity through the logic of self-irony previously mentioned, making at the same time with these objects to outline identities and inscribe their own belonging to this suburban culture. When exhibiting proficiency in this language of a fan in a window, the person is also inscribed in this cultural territory.

Images 7 to 10: Archaeology of the suburban air conditioner

Source: Facebook, 2015-2017.

The cultural confrontation in SD is characterized for trying to define the authenticity or the instauring aura of identity of a series of objects, from the most typical clothing items to food. These items go through performing a cultural biography (APPADURAI, 2008). One of these confrontations is Biscoito Globo versus Biscoito Fofura, the latter representing the suburb, the former, representing the South. Such dichotomy appears in social media in other context, with ther forms, like "Nutella" versus "Roots". To ensure the authenticity of this consumption, Fofura should be followed by the refreshment Guaraviton instead of others, considered "fancier".

A: Biscoito Globo is another item that the Gourmet Patrol could take from normal people.

B: Yes, mainly after they changed to this white bag, the good one was the transparent one, that you try to open and everything would fall apart.

C: I don't know if this still exists, I don't know even if it was Fofurão, but when I was a kid there was a sweet Fofura, a copy of Froot Loops but so much better than the original. All colored. Did I dream this in some composition of train until Campo Grande or this actually existed?!

D: Oh no man, nothing is better than Guaracamp, sorry… When I used to live in Big Field there was no alternative

E: Guaraviton is very expensive, the way to go is Muzzy! Hahahahaha (SD, Oct. 31st, 2016).

What seemed to be at stake was how tradicional the practice may be, in a dispute over the degree of representation of suburbs that these products embody. This sense of tradition will be discussed next over the concept of "relichism" What's important is to notice there are clues to understand the dynamics of consumption, the symbolic value of objects and their circuit of distribution. We can say that the circulation of a consumption object and brand also outlines territories and it is outlined by them. These goods and objects, in general, "are endowed with value by the agreement of others" Douglas and Isherwood (2009, p. 123) would say. In SD, the commenters give approval to this "relichist" value of objects, which, in turn, go on contributing to the system of classification and hierarchization of territory in the moment of these gestures of signification.

Image 11: Globo versus Fofura

Source: Facebook, Oct. 31st, 2016.

Sources of Relic-ism

One of the most important characteristics expressed in SD on suburban culture is the velocity and wealth in the creation of semantic universes. We followed SD since 2015 when, in the end of 2017, we found a configuration of a concept that we've never heard before: relic-ism. Relic-ism seems to be the attribute of objects or practices that would carry the cultural heritage of the suburbs. Instead of being "kept" in museums, the suburban heritage would be protected by the tradition in clothes and habits, as the one of recycling jars of conserved corn or glasses of jam. In the case of clothing, SD describes the classic women's and men's attire:

> One more entry to our anthropologic encyclopedia of suburbanism:
>
> The older lady who wears a crossbody bag!
>
> Loose blouse, red hair with white roots, and the most productive register because she was talking with her friends about "the death of Fatima's husband" whose funeral will happen today, at Caju.

Heritage!

We preserve it, we celebrate it, we register it, we cultivate it, and, above all, we LOVE IT! (SD, May 10th, 2017).

It matters less the reliability to a supposed imaginary tradition and more the own desire of representing it, formulating a common past that would guarantee the identity of the group when recognizing these clothes. The value of tradition has little relation with any effective bond with a remote past (HOBSBAWM; RANGER, 1984). It is almost impossible, in Brazil, not to have used or not see frequently that outfit of legging with an oversized shirt on top and a small crossbody bag, having little to do, therefore, with the actual past.

The concept of relic-ism seem to star highly codified principles of rules and uses of objects that receive a suburban authentication. In the case of men, SD (Sep. 27th, 2017) describes men's attire that would be a real "relic-ist armor: Khaki shorts and brown belt paired with white flip-flops". In order to wear this type of outfit, it would be necessary to have a suburban authority, which we understand as a certain degree of respect to traditions capable of unequivocally marking a suburban. Therefore, it wouldn't be anyone that would be authorized, through tradition and respect, of wearing that outfit. There couldn't be a clearer mechanism of establishing an identity marker with consumption practices. On the other hand, these objects also emanate a type of aura of the past. The term "relic-ism" must derive from the idea of relic.

According to Pomian (1997), there would be a sacred dimension in relic and a capacity of carrying a type of aura of an imagined past. Among this sacred icons of suburban clothing would be a type of singular shoe which the page and its commenters attribute a "moralizing character". The "moralizing shoe" (Images 12 and 13) would have two options of use: without socks, in the summer, and with socks, in the winter. The socks would be the only layer necessary on Rio, where there is no winter. According to the text of the post, the following image (Image 13)

Was published with urgency due to its "historic and cultural significance". It's clear that most part of these registers is made by SD followers who send pictures. Some are identified with the photographer's name, but, due to previously presented reasons, we chose not to reproduce them. Anyway, the author of the pictures is found in the original posts.

Images 12 and 13: Moralizing shoe
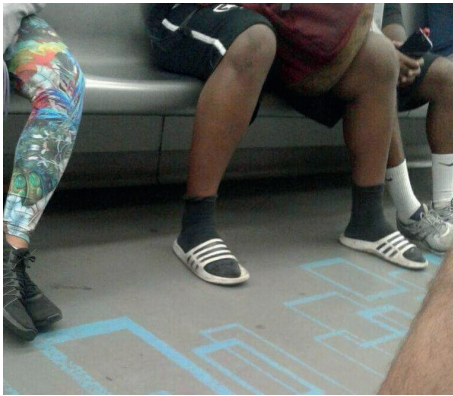
Source: Facebook, Jun. 22nd 2017.

Source: Facebook, June 28th, 2017.

Final considerations

Suburbano da Depressão" integrates a recent phenomenon where neighborhoods and cities gain fanpages dedicated to the historic memory or the contemporary dynamic. We do not intend to give these fanpages any centrality in identity dynamics, only show that these interactions that come about on social media may allow us to track these semantic currents that give meaning to everyday life. That happens not because fanpages dedicated to cities supposedly "represent" these places, but because, through intertextuality, part of these discursive currents present in society also cross the social networks. And through its interactive configuration, we believe it's possible to see more clearly and in a concentrated

manner - as a micro-cosmos - great confrontations that happen in every-day life - which include the digital world. We know that the reflection might be inscribed within a different set of problematizations, through referential boards related to the general operation of fanpages, of Facebook itself or even social media in general, digital culture or participative culture. However, let's discuss that in another moment.

In the introduction of his book, Vitor Almeida says that he does not claim to have a role of being a representative of suburbs. But we believe SD fills the role of creating a positive outlook on the concept of suburb. They have created hashtags of manifesting suburban and Carioca pride, such as "O Rio é o meu país" (Rio is my country") and "Escolhi suburbanizar" (I chose to suburbanize). In fact, suburbia introduces numberless variables to Rio's image beyond telenovelas, with more plural options. This imaginary goes beyond the borders of Carioca suburbs. Maybe the totality of practices described in SD and claimed as suburban are, deep down, only expressions of popular culture. How many of us bathed in a basin or used a fan to defrost the fridge? Who had never drank coffee in a glass of jam or put the fan in the window? But what it seems to be the goal of SD was precisely seek a cultural singularity, working as a tool of fighting representations ruled by the South region. "Suburbano da Depressão" represents a thought exercise, of awareness of the place where you fight, a potent mechanism of subversion of the social, semantic and epistemological north-south poles.

Image 14: "O Rio é o meu país"

Source: Facebook, Jan. 14th, 2016.

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