COMUNICAÇÃO
MÍDIA
E CONSUMO

CATALOGAÇÃO NA FONTE

Comunicação, mídia e consumo

PPGCOM **ESPM**
STRICTO SENSU
COMUNICAÇÃO E PRÁTICAS DE CONSUMO

FOREWORD

In *Bodies in alliance and the politics of the streets[1],* Judith Butler works with the notion that "it doesn't matter how universal the right of appearing claims to be, its universal nature is undermined by differential ways of power that qualify who can and who cannot appear". That is because the right of appearing itself is supported by regulatory schemes that qualify subjects that are eligible to it through norms of recognition. Under this perspective, the studies that seek a broader understanding about spaces of visibility of social groups are fundamental to understanding in a more sophisticated way consumption practices and the different relationships between possibilities of apparition, consumption and citizenship. After all, as Canclini[2] asks, who are the citizens and consumers imagined by the mediatic instances? These are themes that articulates the current issue of *Comunicação, Mídia e Consumo* and involve reflections on the consumption of information, the social organization, art and memory.

The information consumption composes one of the axes of the current issue. Nick Couldry, in "From the myth of the mediated center to the myth of Big Data: reflections on the role of media in the social order", studies the foundation of the social order and the characteristic

1 BUTLER, Judith. *Corpos em aliança e a política das ruas.* Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2019.
2 CANCLINI, Néstor García. "Cidades e cidadãos imaginados pelos meios de comunicação". *Opinião Pública*, Campinas, vol. VIII, n. 1, p. 40-53,2002.

role of media institutions in the sustenance or transformation of these collective orders in datafied societies. By datafication, the author refers to the pressure to convert all aspects of life into data through in which values, especially economic, can be extracted, changing, with that, the mediatic powerplay and its social consequences.

Through an analysis of 110 tweets sent during the presidential campaign in 2018, Raquel Recuero in "Discursive disputes, legitimation and lack of information: the case Veja vs Bolsonaro in the 2018 election", discusses the discursive dispute, legitimacy strategies and its impact in the lack of information during the electoral campaign. According to the author, the morality and lack of information are central elements of such discursive battles, which counterposed actors of the traditional media and political militants in the virtual arena.

The consumption of memorialistic processes is discussed in two articles of the current issue. In "at the smooth surface of history: the media and clandestine forms of information" Ramsés Albertoni Barbosa and Christina Ferraz Musse investigate the strategies used by political prisoners to denounce crimes committed by the military during the 60's and the 70's through official document files. In this spectrum, the own documentation obtained is problematized, since it was produced in the term of exception regimens. Fernando Antônio Resende, Roberto Robalinho and Diego Granja Amaral, in "When the image is body: forms of surviving the colonial machine", begin from the vestiges of an African slave buried in the port region of Rio de Janeiro and the film *Era o Hotel Cambridge"* to problematize how the image configures a body through liminar situations. The authors observe the intermittent emergency of images through elements that are relegated to the position of residue and vestige in the structure of colonial power.

Still in relation to the interfaces between consumption and art, the thematic is studied by the article of Icaro Ferraz Vidal Junior, "Consumption, aesthetics, technique and religion in Cloaca, from Wim Delvoye". Through the analysis of the artwork *Cloaca*, a set of machines developed to produce "real industrial shit" in museums and art

galleries, the author analyses the psychoanalytical articulation between excrement and money; as well as the differentiation between aesthetic, technique and religion and the concept of machine itself.

In the article "Paying to win, part 2: serialization, power creep and late capitalism in *Hearthstone*", Thiago Falcão e Daniel Marques discuss game consumption through the perspectives of mediatization, serialization and late capitalism. In order to do that, the authors analyze the digital card game Hearthstone with the goal of discussing the agency of late capitalism, the necessary revisions in the concept of mediatization and pointing the imbrications of the contemporary cultural industry with epistemological and ontological perspectives of the game as an interpretative key.

The consumption of sound art is object of the article by Fernanda Manzo Ceretta and Silvio Antonio Luiz Anaz that study how the construction of the idea of the monster in the movie Birdbox does not appeal only to visual resources, but it mainly uses sound as an expressive resource. In addition, it is complimented by the imaginary of the theme of apocalypse and blindness to build the effects of meaning in the film, in the article "The monster that cannot be seen and the culture of participation in Bird Box". Last but not least, the article "The digital automaton and the circuits of affection in social media: an analysis of the concept of spiritual automaton in Image-Time by Deleuze and its outspreads in digital interfaces" studies the concepts of spiritual automaton and digital automaton, with the goal of understanding the current relationship we keep with digital interfaces, in a way of explicating the new processes of thought and affection in a game of social media.

We wish you all an excellent reading!

Mônica Rebecca Ferrari Nunes, PhD.
Eliza Bachega Casadei, PhD.

Sumário

Artigos

Do mito do centro mediado ao mito do Big Data: reflexões sobre o papel da mídia na ordem social[1]

From the myth of the mediated centre to the myth of Big Data: reflections on media's role in social order

Nick Couldry [2]

Resumo: *O presente artigo investiga a natureza da ordem social e o papel característico das instituições midiáticas na sustentação ou transformação desta ordem. Para tanto, perpassa o meu próprio trabalho, com o objetivo de trazer dimensões ocultas de mudança social que me auxiliaram na compreensão da ordem social em sociedades datificadas. Discorro sobre minha produção, pontuando o caminho teórico que percorro quanto às novas relações sociais estabelecidas em uma ordem datificada, de maneira a investigar o funcionamento atual do poder midiático. Para tanto, aloco como parte fundamental a televisão, concluindo que, a despeito da nova ordem social, as instituições midiáticas tradicionais sobrevivem e podem constituir elemento-chave para a criticidade necessária em tempos de dados.*

Palavras-chave: *datificação; big data; centro mediado; mídia tradicional; processos sociais.*

Abstract: *This paper investigates the nature of the social order and the characteristic role of media institutions in sustaining or transforming this order. To this, I go through my own work, with the goal of bringing hidden dimensions of social change that have helped me understand the social order in datified societies. I discuss about my production, punctuating the theoretical path that I walk*

---

in relation to the new social relations established in a datified society, in order to investigate the current functioning of media power. I allocate television as a fundamental part for this understanding, concluding that, despite the new social order, traditional media institutions survive and may constitute a key element for the criticality needed in data times.

Keywords: *datification; big data; mediated center; traditional media; social processes.*

Introdução

Gostaria de falar a vocês hoje sobre uma das questões mais importantes que norteiam o meu trabalho. Como sociólogo da mídia e cientista social, o tópico que inicialmente me fascinou foi o poder da mídia, especificamente, o poder da televisão. Eu já não trabalho mais com televisão enquanto tal, como explicarei mais profundamente a seguir. No entanto, como também explicarei a seguir, meu interesse de pesquisa fundamental se manteve o mesmo: "a natureza da ordem social e o papel característico das instituições midiáticas na sustentação ou transformação da ordem social". Nessa palestra, eu gostaria de traçar uma linha que vai do meu trabalho inicial com a televisão até o meu trabalho atual sobre dados e dataficação que expõe o que mudou e o que não mudou em relação a essa questão fundamental da ordem social.

Por dataficação, quero me referir à pressão sentida em todos os lugares atualmente, incluindo as empresas de televisão, para converter todos os aspectos da vida em dados, dos quais valores, em especial valores econômicos, podem ser extraídos. Ao fazê-lo, vou falar muito sobre o meu trabalho. Espero que não pareça egoísta. O meu objetivo é exatamente o contrário: ao refletir sobre as mudanças e continuidades do meu próprio pensamento, quero trazer dimensões ocultas de mudança social que me fizeram ver claramente. Tais dimensões são muito importantes na compreensão da ordem social em sociedades dataficadas.

A abordagem do poder da mídia

Deixe-me começar por como, desde o início da minha carreira de pesquisador, tentei abordar o tópico amplo do poder da mídia. Esse é um trecho do meu primeiro livro, *The Place of Media Power* (ainda não traduzido para o português), lançado em 2000: "Analisarei o poder da mídia – a concentração massiva de poder simbólico em instituições midiáticas – como o produto complexo da prática de todos os níveis de interação social. [...] O poder da mídia é reproduzido por meio de pequenos detalhes do que os atores sociais (incluindo membros do

público) fazem e dizem" (COULDRY, 2000, p. 4). Ao falar sobre o poder de maneira distribuída, dispersa, estava claramente relembrando o trabalho de Michel Foucault, mas, também, estava trazendo a Teoria Ator-Rede. Na página seguinte, eu falo da transformação da mídia em "pontos de passagem obrigatória da circulação geral de imagens e discursos" (uma citação dos fundadores da TAR, Michel Callon e Bruno Latour). Sigo explicando como essa transformação surge na sociedade de maneira mais abrangente: "A mídia […] tem efeitos sociais de larga escala, não apenas porque os mecanismos centralizados de transmissão estão estabelecidos, mas também porque acreditamos na autoridade do discurso da mídia em inúmeros contextos locais, porque acreditamos que os outros acreditarão da mesma maneira, e porque agimos de acordo com essas crenças em inúmeras ocasiões específicas" (COULDRY, 2000, p. 5). Essa ideia ainda está no cerne do meu trabalho: a importância das nossas crenças na mídia enquanto instituição, e a maneira que agimos de acordo com essas crenças.

Minha decisão de pensar na mídia de maneira mais abrangente, em vez de estudar os detalhes de textos midiáticos ou produções midiáticas, foi inspirada em dois livros: *Media Events*, escrito por Dayan e Katz, que trouxe abordagens antropológicas para a mídia, e a insistência do grande sociólogo colombiano Jesus Martín-Barbero, em seu livro *Dos meios às mediações*, sobre estudar não somente a mídia, mas também o amplo "campo das mediações", no qual as nossas relações com a mídia se desenrolam. Mas a minha preocupação inicial era com as implicações dessa perspectiva mais ampla de mídia, não para compreender o empoderamento do povo por meio da mídia, mas para compreender novos recursos de poder por meio da mídia. Assim, citei o cientista social italiano Alberto Melucci que argumentou em seu livro *Challenging Codes* (1996) que "a dominação real é hoje a exclusão do poder de nomear" (1996, p. 182), uma exclusão na qual a mídia está crucialmente envolvida. Sem dúvida alguma ele foi influenciado pelo excelente trabalho de conscientização de Paulo Freire. E, mais uma vez, não há dúvidas

quando pensamos, por exemplo, no poder de plataformas como o Facebook, que esse princípio ainda é relevante hoje.

Na verdade, tentei desenvolver naquela ocasião um modelo de cinco níveis de como o poder da mídia na verdade funciona no mundo social nas práticas do dia a dia. Então, no Capítulo 3, de *The Place of Media Power*, eu descrevo cinco dimensões subjacentes do poder midiático: o enquadramento (de coisas, lugares e pessoas enquanto especiais); a ordem (de coisas, lugares e pessoas umas contra as outras); a nomeação (de coisas, lugares e pessoas enquanto reais); o espaço no mundo (ou seja, a ordem do espaço social por meio e ao redor da mídia); e, por fim, a imaginação de um mundo que se resulta de outras operações de poder midiático. Conforme eu argumentei, de todas essas maneiras fundamentais e interligadas, o poder midiático trabalha para se fortalecer, naturalizando o papel das instituições midiáticas na sociedade, e, assim, tornando o poder midiático um fenômeno muito difícil de analisar. Por meio desse modelo multinível, eu estava tentando me afastar do que percebia como sendo maneiras simplistas de pensar como o poder midiático funciona, por exemplo, a noção de "lógica midiática", introduzida nos anos 1970 e 1980 por David Altheide e Robert Snow (COULDRY, 2000, p. 18-19). Infelizmente, ninguém se utilizou desse modelo de poder midiático, e eu não o desenvolvi muito profundamente. Então, hoje, a pergunta segue sem respostas: qual é a melhor maneira de desvelar claramente o funcionamento do poder midiático, quando a mídia é tão fundamental na sociedade e seu funcionamento tão enraizado no nosso dia a dia?

No meu trabalho seguinte, tentei responder essa pergunta focando no que eu chamava de "rituais midiáticos". Maneiras concentradas nas quais as instituições midiáticas estavam envolvidas na reprodução de crenças da mídia por meio de formas sociais organizadas que eram separadas do fluxo normal da vida comum: formas como *reality shows*, *talk shows* e eventos midiáticos. No plano de fundo havia o meu interesse no papel da mídia na organização da sociedade e do espaço como um todo. Eu estava impressionado por um *insight* de Jean Baudrillard em

um ensaio chamado *Requiem for the media*, no qual o autor afirma que os meios de comunicação eram muito mais do que mecanismos para a distribuição de conteúdo, eram formas de vida que "induzem uma relação social" (1981, p. 128). Conforme eu argumentei, compreender essas formas significa mais do que compreender os rituais midiáticos, eles próprios. Significa compreender a maneira de organizar a *sociedade* que torna possível algo como os rituais midiáticos. Chamei essa tese de "o mito do centro mediado", que defini no início do meu livro *Media Rituals* como "a crença, ou suposição, de que há um centro do mundo social e que, de alguma forma, a mídia é 'porta-voz' desse centro" (2003, p. 2) e as formas de organizar o mundo social também nessas mesmas bases.

Pela primeira vez nesse livro, explicitei meu interesse no conceito de ordem social. Na verdade, defendi a importância dessa questão, me unindo à posição do sociólogo francês Émile Durkheim contra os pós-estruturalistas e pós-modernistas que queriam abandonar a ideia de ordem social (2003, p. 5, 9-11). Entretanto, eu gostaria de ter trazido os *insights* de Durkheim sobre a ordem social *de maneira crítica*: o meu objetivo não era celebrar o papel da mídia na ordem social. Mas lembrem-se: eu estava escrevendo em um período no qual a diversidade midiática significava TV e rádio com diversos canais, uma mídia massificada florescente e apenas uma internet lenta que se podia acessar por meio de computadores de mesa e notebooks. O telefone celular existia no mundo separado da comunicação interpessoal. *Naquele mundo* – em 2003 – ainda fazia sentido, como fiz, trazer como suposição fundamental o que Durkheim fez no início do século XX. A suposição, como escrevi, de que "em alguns momentos específicos, vivemos explicitamente como seres sociais, como membros de um todo social compartilhado" (2003, p. 6). Para Durkheim, rituais são momentos nos quais entramos em contato com o que chamava de "a vida séria": os momentos nos quais Durkheim acreditava que nos uníamos enquanto sociedade, em conjunção com instituições sociais fundamentais. Mas a minha ênfase era sobre como essa experiência da "vida séria" foi sempre *construída*,

construída pelas instituições midiáticas que se beneficiaram dessa crença, uma vez que ela cria a base da nossa atenção compartilhada à mídia. Eu estava oferecendo aqui uma alternativa à compreensão padrão marxista de poder social que argumentava ser melhor para compreender o poder social de maneira que "reconheça as pressões difundidas em direção à ordem nas sociedades mediadas" (2003, p. 12). Então, lá estava eu em 2003 falando sobre ordem social, um tema que se tornou ainda mais importante desde então, como iremos ver.

Ao desenvolver o conceito de rituais, eu enfatizei explicitamente os conceitos cognitivos do modelo de Durkheim sobre como as sociedades pareciam se manter unidas – seu interesse no papel do ritual no modo como o pensamento e o espaço eram organizados – em vez da ênfase alternativa dos aspectos emocionais do ritual. Hoje, em uma era de mídias sociais, eu colocaria a ênfase de maneira diferente. Uma escolha ainda mais importante tomada nesse período e cujo significado completo estava oculto no momento para mim, foi escolher a perspectiva do ritual como forma de pensar sobre a ordem social *como um todo*. Rituais são processos que oferecem acesso especial aos valores mais importantes do mundo social. Assim sendo, voltando às dimensões do poder midiático no modelo original, a abordagem significava enfatizar como os rituais enquadram certos aspectos do mundo, e categorizam ou ordenam determinadas coisas como sendo especiais: por exemplo, nos rituais religiosos, a distinção entre o sagrado e o profano, ou nos rituais midiáticos o enquadramento que demarca certas pessoas, coisas ou lugares de modo diferente do que ocorre com pessoas, coisas ou lugares meramente "normais". Entretanto, a ênfase no papel do ritual na ordem social significa prestar menos atenção a outras maneiras pelas quais a mídia pode contribuir para a ordem social, por exemplo, a simples nomeação de coisas enquanto reais (enquanto notícia), ou o processo que em 2000 eu chamei de "espaçamento", a organização do espaço de maneira a apoiar o mito do centro mediado. Talvez, como veremos, esses aspectos da mídia tenham se tornado mais importantes hoje.

Naquele momento eu já tinha a intenção de ir além dos contextos limitados do ritual, trazendo o conceito de *ritualização* criado pela falecida Catherine Bell. Rituais, Bell dizia, são eventos relativamente raros, mas que dependem para a sua existência de processos do mundo social que desenvolvem as categorias apoiadas pelos rituais. Como eu costumava dizer, "a qualidade mais central da ritualização é o modo como ela organiza nossos movimentos ao redor do espaço e nos auxilia a vivenciar os recursos construídos do ambiente como sendo reais" (2003, p. 29). Nesse período, usei uma citação de Bell a qual só fui compreender completamente agora: "a construção orquestrada de poder e autoridade em ritual, […] engaja o corpo social *na objetificação de oposições e na implementação de esquemas que reproduzem efetivamente as divisões da ordem social*" (1992, p. 215, grifos meus). Voltaremos a essa citação, porque ela tem uma nova relevância surpreendente na era dos algoritmos e do Big Data. Então, esse era o lugar onde estavam os meus pensamentos acerca das relações entre mídia e ordem social em 2003, antes que qualquer pessoa, que não fosse da área de engenharia de computação, tivesse alguma ideia a respeito das plataformas de mídia social.

Desestabilizando a base do poder midiático?

Quando voltei à teoria midiática alguns anos depois, o mundo já era outro. O acesso à internet rápida já estava disponível para uma grande quantidade de pessoas nos países onde eu pesquisava e o uso da internet foi se tornando cada vez mais integrado à vida normal. Plataformas de mídia social como o Facebook surgiram e cresceram muito rapidamente, ainda que os telefones celulares ainda não tivessem acesso à internet. Quais eram os desafios dessas mudanças, pensei, para compreender como a mídia contribui para a ordem social? Uma coisa já era clara: o mundo online *não* oferecia traduções simples de rituais midiáticos que eram normais na era pré-internet. Escrevi em 2007 um artigo que era um pouco cético sobre se uma forma de ritual midiático, a peregrinação, realmente existia no contexto online. Já que todo espaço online era o resultado de seu design de software, e a maioria desses espaços

eram ligados a outros, que espaço haveria que poderia ser tão especial quanto espaço único no qual, por exemplo, um filme foi filmado ou um evento aconteceu? Quando lecionei meu curso sobre rituais midiáticos, eu dizia aos alunos que, embora os rituais midiáticos online ainda não estivessem devidamente comprovados, não havia dúvida de que o mundo online havia contribuído para a ritualização da mídia. Isso era muito claro, por exemplo, no papel da discussão nas mídias sociais sobre reality shows ou eventos midiáticos. Isso foi exatamente o que Bruno Campanella pesquisou em seu livro Os *Olhos* do *Grande Irmão*.

Mas as coisas seguiram mudando. Conforme o tempo online da sociedade foi aumentando, surgiram desafios para a minha compreensão do papel da mídia em relação à ordem social. Em 2017, o pesquisador americano Joseph Turow, em seu livro *Niche Envy*, argumentou que como resultado do crescimento do tempo online e os desenvolvimentos da indústria de marketing, os profissionais de marketing foram se tornando cada vez menos interessados em atingir os consumidores como parte do grande público (em um programa de TV ou um jornal, por exemplo), e muito mais interessados em monitorar consumidores individuais continuamente onde quer que estivessem e o que quer que estivessem fazendo online. Conforme especulei, será que o resultado poderia vir a ser uma mudança mais fundamental, uma *desestabilização do próprio mito do centro mediado*? Discuti essa possibilidade em um artigo, publicado em 2009, chamado "A mídia tem futuro?" (COULDRY, 2009). Mas eu concluí que, mesmo que os profissionais de marketing estivessem mudando seus interesses, como ainda estão mudando hoje, distanciando-se das narrativas de larga escala voltadas para o grande público, *outras* instituições – como o governo e a sociedade civil – ainda tinham interesse no que chamei de "espaço das aparências" da mídia. Caso contrário, sem a mídia, onde aconteceria a política, e sobre o que trataria a política? O resultado que sugeri em 2009 foi que o mito do centro mediado "é agora mais abertamente contestado e mais ativamente produzido que antes" (2009, p. 438). E eu acredito que essa afirmação ainda é de alguma forma verdadeira nos dias de hoje.

Isso foi há 10 anos, e não há dúvidas de que eu estava certo em estar cético sobre a velocidade da mudança tecnológica. Dez anos depois, em 2019, eu estou palestrando em um congresso sobre televisão! Aqueles que em 2005 previram o desaparecimento da televisão há muito foram refutados. O motivo é claro se formos pensar na televisão não apenas como uma tecnologia de transmissão de conteúdo, mas, como nas palavras de Jean Baudrillard, uma forma de "moldar relações sociais. O tempo dispendido assistindo à televisão (e o modo como assistimos, se em um aparelho de TV ou no celular) até recentemente estava *aumentando* em muitos países, incluindo os EUA, o Reino Unido e a Alemanha. De qualquer forma, as empresas de televisão ainda dependem das mídias sociais como espaço de criação de lealdade aos programas de TV. Como eu disse há uns anos, a maioria das mídias tradicionais, como a televisão, estão em uma relação próxima com as plataformas de mídia social. A esta relação eu denominei como hélice dupla.

Você deve estar se perguntando se eu ainda acredito hoje que, como diz o ditado: "tudo mudou e nada mudou"! E sim, eu poderia ter continuado a argumentar que os rituais midiáticos continuam lentamente mudando as formas, que a ritualização se espalha pela internet, e que o mito do centro mediado continua, mesmo que a batalha por atenção com a mídia tradicional, principalmente a televisão, e a mídia social continue a se intensificar. Mas hoje eu não apresento mais o meu argumento exatamente desse modo, e a razão volta à questão fundamental sobre a ordem social – a natureza da ordem social – que eu disse no início que é a base no meu interesse pela mídia, o poder midiático, os rituais midiáticos em primeiro lugar. Então, o que mudou no papel da mídia na ordem social hoje em dia?

Mas antes de prosseguir, deixe-me contar uma história um pouco mais pessoal. Em 2012 e 2013 eu estava orientando um trabalho empírico no Goldsmiths College sobre práticas de *storytelling* digital em Salford, perto de Manchester. Originalmente, nós esperávamos pesquisar projetos para histórias em vídeo. Mas, conforme mergulhamos no trabalho de campo, duas coisas ficaram claras e mudaram o curso da

minha pesquisa: primeiro, o impacto das plataformas de mídia social na vida social era tão profundo que era necessário retrabalhar completamente a teoria social. Em segundo lugar, mesmo com projetos que estava fazendo upload de histórias em vídeo para um website sem um componente de mídia social, uma nova dimensão foi se tornando importante: a crescente importância dos *dados*. Encontrei esses dados inicialmente na forma de análises (*analytics*) que mediam o desempenho do site, e que estavam transformando a maneira como muitas organizações entendiam quem eram e o que faziam no mundo. Mas desde então eu desenvolvi um interesse mais amplo sobre o papel dos dados no ordenamento do mundo social de forma geral. Em outras palavras, passei a me interessar por dataficação (*datafication*). Vamos discutir as mídias sociais e a dataficação a seguir.

Os novos mundos das mídias sociais contínuas e da dataficação

Primeiro, vamos falar sobre as mídias sociais.

Quando comecei a pensar sobre as plataformas de mídias sociais de maneira mais intensa e a observar como elas são descritas, comecei a notar que não só o mito do centro mediado continua a ser contestado, mas um novo mito acerca do papel da mídia na sociedade está crescendo. Trata-se de uma descrição do mundo centrada no tempo que dispendemos nas plataformas de mídias sociais. Em um artigo lançado em 2014, chamei a isso "o mito de nós" (COULDRY, 2014). Nesse estudo, tentei refletir sobre a transição dramática trazida pelo crescimento das mídias sociais. Antes das plataformas de mídias sociais, a vida social era localizada apenas parcialmente online e apenas para algumas pessoas que escreviam *blogs*, registravam comentários regularmente e participavam de espaços como jogos online e listas de discussão. Em 2012/2013, a vida social para uma grande parcela da população em muitos países começou a ser principalmente online, em plataformas digitais. Claramente, isso não era algo que os teóricos sociais pudessem ignorar. No

entanto, as mídias sociais não assumiram a centralidade social da mesma forma que as instituições midiáticas tradicionais, porque a ênfase sempre é a de que as redes são os usuários, ou seja, as pessoas que, por exemplo, compõem o que o Facebook chama de "comunidade global". Frequentemente, em conversas informais, os usuários falam sobre os seus espaços online como lugares onde as pessoas que se conhecem se juntam. Há uma pressão tremenda em pensar esses ambientes como o espaço onde a socialização acontece, o que deve significar que as pessoas que se reúnem lá somos simplesmente "nós", todos os membros da sociedade.

Mas a ideia de "nós" – o "sujeito coletivo" das plataformas de mídias sociais – é tão construída e mítica quanto a ideia de que as instituições tradicionais de mídia são centrais socialmente. Plataformas são construções de softwares complexos que permitem certos tipos de interação e não outros. As plataformas têm muitos recursos que são, às vezes, perturbadores como, por exemplo, a habilidade de espalhar rumores de maneira rápida e ampla, recursos que criaram grandes preocupações no Brasil e em outros lugares. Mas o meu interesse hoje não é em relação às *fake news*, mas, sim, em questões mais gerais das teorias sociais a respeito de onde a vida social acontece e como nós imaginamos ser a vida social. Nos últimos dez anos, surgiu o mito da "coletividade natural", que chamo de "o mito de 'nós'" (2014, p. 855). Esse mito é completamente essencial para a legitimação e para a promessa comercial de muitas companhias tecnológicas, assim como o mito do centro mediado foi central – e ainda é, de alguma forma – para as instituições tradicionais de mídia. Pode ser que, sob a pressão de vários escândalos recentes, empresas como o Facebook reformulem a história contada sobre os espaços criados por eles, enfatizando, como vimos há três semanas, a criação de espaços de grupo criptografados, e não espaços individuais. Veremos. Mas as histórias das plataformas de mídias sociais acerca do seu papel na ordem social são muito importantes, seja qual for a forma que elas tomem.

Assim como no mito do centro mediado, o mesmo ocorre com o mito do "nós": podemos analisar as linguagens que o sustentam – as histórias gerais sobre a necessidade de conexão que esses tipos de plataformas trazem, a forma como a plataforma categoriza um tipo de atividade e um tipo de uso em detrimento de outros, com algumas "experiências" sendo marcadas como mais especiais do que outras e um quadro geral sobre como o mundo social se encaixa nisso. Mas já não estamos no território do ritual aqui: de fato, quando os algoritmos do Google ou do Facebook tentam criar um senso de ritual ao lembrar-nos de aniversários ou trazendo imagens de certo tipo, eles normalmente fracassam, provavelmente porque os engenheiros do Google ou do Facebook não têm a compreensão dos processos reais de ritualização que fazem com que os rituais sejam possíveis! Mas isso não importa. O motivo pelo qual isso não importa é que torna as coisas realmente interessantes.

É neste momento que eu quero falar sobre o papel dos dados na ordem social explicitamente. Conforme eu mencionei, eu comecei a me interessar pelo papel dos dados na construção e reconstrução do mundo social – em outras palavras, os processos de datafição. Isso aconteceu quando, em um trabalho de campo, eu descobri o quão importante era o processo de medição de dados para quase todo tipo de empresa. A análise de dados, por exemplo, em um site, envolve um processo de tradução: traduzir os valores originais de uma organização no mundo social mais amplo em medidas analíticas, e depois que a medição ocorre, o processo de medição deve ser convertido novamente em algo que faça sentido em termos de valores da organização. Esse é o processo que eu e minha equipe em Goldsmiths chamamos de "análise social real". Ela tem como base algo fundamental que não tem relação com a televisão, mas, sim, com os computadores: conforme os computadores começaram a operar em sociedades contemporâneas, eles armazenaram registros de diversas coisas que os computadores fazem (eles monitoram a si mesmos, em outras palavras) e porque os computadores estão conectados, esses recursos podem estar disponíveis para outros computadores. Como um fato básico de como os computadores funcionam, é possível

que eles monitorem a si mesmos e monitorem outros computadores. A partir desses dois fatos simples sobre como os computadores e a nossa infraestrutura atual de comunicação operam, nós temos a base para uma mudança extraordinária na ordem social contemporânea. A possibilidade de um rastreamento ou monitoramento contínuo de computadores por outros computadores. Algo que nós comumente conhecemos como vigilância.

Eu estive interessado na questão da vigilância por muito tempo porque, claramente, esse era um dos aspectos do crescimento dos *reality shows* no final dos anos 1990. Mas o crescimento da vigilância computadorizada não é apenas mais amplo, mas cria um fenômeno sem equivalência na era dos *reality shows*, que é a coleta de dados generalizada sobre o mundo por corporações de todos os tipos. E não apenas a coleta de dados, mas a tomada de decisões a partir desses dados, baseando-se apenas parcialmente na tomada de decisões feita por humanos, mas muito mais em processos automatizados de cálculo chamados algoritmos. Então aqui estava eu, em 2012, um sociólogo midiático, cujo foco principal era a televisão e os seus desdobramentos, quando comecei a me interessar pela coleta de dados. Descobri o trabalho excelente de Oscar Gandy (1993) que, no fim dos anos 1980, estava analisando a coleta de dados em larga escala por corporações de cartão de crédito e outras, insistindo que os dados são coletados por um motivo e que esse motivo era a discriminação econômica e social. Então, deixe-me lembrá-los da citação de Catherine Bell sobre ritualização enquanto processo que faz possível "a objetificação de oposições [ou seja, discriminações] e a implementação de esquemas que reproduzem efetivamente as divisões [ou seja, as hierarquias] da ordem social". Claramente, na era da datificação, voltamos a algo similar a isso. Quais são, então, as implicações desse processo?

Datificação e a ordem social

Nos últimos cinco anos, eu desenvolvi meu pensamento sobre plataformas e dados digitais – a era do Big Data – a partir dessas origens e elas

me levaram para muito longe da questão da televisão. Primeiramente, no livro *The Mediated Construction of Reality*, escrito por Andreas Hepp (COULDRY; HEPP, 2016), eu trabalhei com a questão da teoria social no mundo digital, trazendo conceitos da fenomenologia clássica – o texto de Berger e Luckmann lançado nos anos 1960 sobre "a construção social da realidade" – mas atualizando-a para uma era na qual grande parte de nossas vidas se passa online, interagindo com pessoas que estão fisicamente distantes de nós. No Capítulo 7 desse livro, nós analisamos especificamente as implicações do processamento de dados para a construção social da realidade. E então, no meu novo livro, escrito com o pesquisador mexicano Ulises Mejías (COULDRY; MEJÍAS, 2019), eu foquei exclusivamente nas questões relativas aos dados e suas implicações na ordem e no poder social. Ao invés de focar nos detalhes desses dois livros, o que nos distanciaria do objetivo dessa conferência, eu gostaria de falar, na próxima parte da palestra, sobre duas coisas. Primeiro, gostaria de refletir sobre a natureza do que mudou nas relações entre mídia e ordem social. Depois, gostaria de considerar as implicações dessa transformação para as organizações midiáticas em si, incluindo as organizações midiáticas tradicionais como as empresas de televisão. Já que hoje eu não trabalho diretamente com a televisão, parte do que eu vou dizer será especulação, mas espero que isso traga uma base para a discussão.

Ninguém duvida que os rituais midiáticos ainda existam de alguma forma: eventos midiáticos, alguns *reality shows*, eventos esportivos, *talk shows* e assim por diante. E isso significa que, de alguma maneira, o centro mediado ainda está sendo construído. Se não estivesse, seria difícil entender por que grandes populações continuam a assistir à televisão, incluindo TV ao vivo. Sim, há sinais de mudança em longo prazo. Uma pesquisa recente feita pelo órgão regulador britânico Ofcom descobriu que a forma principal que as crianças britânicas assistem televisão atualmente não é no aparelho tradicional de televisão, nem mesmo em versões online de canais de TV, mas sim no YouTube, em *laptops* ou *tablets*. E, sem dúvida, algumas formas de ritualização estão surgindo

através do YouTube. No entanto, as ligações entre o YouTube e o mito do centro mediado ainda estão por ser investigadas: talvez o YouTube seja o site, em um país como a Grã-Bretanha, com o declínio da audiência da televisão massificada pela juventude, por meio do qual eles buscam algo como um centro. Mas as dinâmicas são claramente muito diferentes daquelas das versões iniciais do centro mediado.

Talvez a pergunta sobre o destino do centro mediado não seja o ponto mais importante? Vamos voltar a olhar mais detidamente aquela citação de Catherine Bell que eu mencionei algumas vezes: "A construção orquestrada do poder e da autoridade em ritual […] engaja o corpo social *na objetificação de oposições e na implementação de esquemas que reproduzem efetivamente as divisões da ordem social*" (1992, p. 215, grifo meu). Vamos pensar mais profundamente nessa citação – importante para a minha teoria original de rituais *midiáticos* e trazida por uma das pesquisadoras críticas mais importantes a respeito do ritual religioso na sociedade há um quarto de século – e no que essa frase nos diz, agora, em um novo contexto. Podemos chegar a isso ao questionar o que a citação supõe como ponto de partida? O que ela supõe é que a sociedade precisa da "construção orquestrada do poder e autoridade no ritual" para "engajar" atores sociais e a vida social na "objetificação de oposições e na implementação de esquemas que reproduzem efetivamente as divisões da ordem social"; o que significa que a sociedade precisa de rituais para a reprodução e o fortalecimento das categorias sociais, e que essas categorias são necessárias para construir hierarquias mais amplas e divisões sociais.

Mas essa visão sobre como a ordem social depende do ritual oferece hoje só parte da verdade. O motivo não é porque a análise do ritual não é útil (ainda é útil) ou que os rituais desapareceram (eles não desapareceram). O motivo é que, na sociedade, há agora novas forças gigantescas trabalhando para categorizar a vida social e a cada um de nós enquanto membros da sociedade. E que os meios dessas forças são as enormes quantidades de dados coletados no dia a dia, inclusive a partir das nossas ações em plataformas de mídias sociais. A questão do Big Data é muito

mais ampla do que as plataformas de mídias sociais, mas para manter as coisas em foco, vamos continuar com as plataformas e suas práticas de coleta de dados que se tornaram bastante controversas nos últimos anos. Se nós formos relembrar o meu modelo de quase 20 anos atrás e suas cinco dimensões de poder midiático, podemos traduzir o que aconteceu com o Big Data e as mídias sociais em suas determinações: as dimensões de enquadramento, ordenamento, nomeação, espaçamento e imaginação. Podemos dizer que as plataformas de mídias sociais e as corporações que são donas delas adquiriram o poder de enquadrar o mundo social e, por meio disso, nomear o que acontece nele, além de categorizar tudo, ou seja, ordenar por meio de seus algoritmos. Nesse percurso, conforme nossas vidas foram cada vez mais sendo organizadas a partir do tempo que passamos nessas plataformas, o mundo social se dividiu em diferentes formas – um processo de espaçamento –, alterando, assim, como imaginamos o mundo social em longo prazo.

E, claro, não apenas os usuários comuns das plataformas sociais são afetados por essa mudança. Os dados de mídias sociais – e as categorizações que são baseadas neles – são usados generalizadamente por empregadores, universidades, partidos políticos, governos como recurso para gerenciar a população. E as próprias instituições midiáticas como, por exemplo, redes de transmissão como a BBC – estão cada vez mais medindo e aplicando novas formas de análise de seus próprios dados como medidas de desempenho e como forma de compreender os seus públicos e suas relações com os públicos do Reino Unido, Holanda, EUA e acredito que aqui do Brasil também.

Podemos descrever essa transformação por meio da datificação de outra forma também. Por meio da datificação – e mediante a incorporação resultante do rastreamento automatizado contínuo das nossas vidas sociais através dos nossos celulares e dos enormes recursos investidos atualmente no processamento de dados que esse rastreamento gera – as instituições contemporâneas (incluindo o governo e as instituições midiáticas) estão mudando de dentro para fora. Jose Van Djick foi a primeira a perceber isso em seu livro *The Culture of Connectivity* quando

escreveu que "por meio das mídias sociais, [...] os atos do discurso casual se tornaram inscrições formalizadas, as quais, uma vez incorporadas à grande economia de público amplo, assumem um valor diferenciado" (2013, p. 7). O resultado, argumenta, é a mudança da natureza do social em si. "O significado de 'social' [...] parece compreender tanto a conexão (humana) quanto a conectividade (automatizada)" (2013, p. 12). Vamos tentar compreender esse ponto de vista detidamente, já que ele representa uma transformação ao mesmo tempo profunda e sutil.

Até, digamos, 12 anos atrás, antes das plataformas de mídias sociais se tornarem parte comum da vida social, todas as teorias poderiam supor que o mundo social se ordenava a partir das coisas que cada um de nós faz como atores sociais: conectar, interpretar, comentar, criar sentido, concordar ou discordar uns dos outros. Aqui está uma versão típica dessa suposição em Berger e Luckmann, dois dos principais sociólogos da década de 1960, que diziam que "o dia-a-dia se apresenta como uma realidade interpretada pelos homens e subjetivamente significativa para eles enquanto mundo coerente [...] Um mundo que se origina em seus pensamentos e ações e é mantido enquanto real por esses" (BERGER; LUCKMANN, 1966, p. 33). Mas, agora, como exposto por Van Dijck, a própria ideia de conexão com outros seres humanos foi transformada pela conectividade, pelos objetivos das corporações comerciais que são donas das plataformas e que buscam garantir que nós estejamos conectados para que os dados sejam extraídos de nós e para que mais lucro seja criado. Eu iria além. No meu livro com Ulises Mejías, argumentamos que a ordem da vida social que surge hoje é produto não apenas do que os seres humanos fazem em conjunto, mas é moldada por novas ambições corporativas: como anexar ao capital cada ponto no tempo e espaço, reproduzir ou, podemos dizer, *clonar* relações sociais a fim de que essas anexações com o capital pareçam naturais e construir uma ordem social que capitaliza a vida humana sem limitações.

Essa transformação, eu diria, opera em um nível que não podemos atingir com nossas ferramentas normais de análise de mudança social – os conceitos de poder, em nível institucional; e identidade ou

agência, em nível individual ou grupal. Essa é uma mudança na própria natureza do espaço social e nos tipos de relações que podem caracterizar o espaço social. Uma verdadeira mudança na natureza da ordem social. Mas, se isso for correto, então a ordem social não pode mais ser compreendida exclusivamente por meio da abordagem de Émile Durkheim, que estava preocupado com como os laços sociais são formados pelos seres humanos. Precisamos, desde o início, olhar o papel das corporações (e dos governos que trabalham com as corporações) para construir o próprio tecido social, o espaço social. A fim de fazer isso, precisamos nos basear em outro teórico social, ou melhor, um antigo teórico social cujo trabalho nos anos 1970 e 1980 foi completamente esquecido – quero dizer, o sociólogo alemão Norbert Elias. O que é particularmente útil é a maneira que Elias tem de pensar sobre a complexidade e a ordem social. A sua ideia é a de que a complexidade da vida social emerge das interconexões entre os seres humanos, dos padrões de interação que ele chama de "figurações". Figurações – um novo conceito para pensar a respeito da ordem social, que foi discutido em meu último livro (COULDRY; HEPP, 2016).

Figurações, para Elias, são "processos de entrelaçamento social" que têm um "tipo especial de ordem" que "se inicia [...] a partir das conexões, relacionamentos e trabalha [...] a partir disso, com os elementos envolvidos neles" (ELIAS, 1978, p. 116). Seu exemplo mais simples era o de um jogo de cartas ou de futebol ou um baile onde todos interpretam seu papel em relação às outras pessoas jogando. Como ele diz, "o comportamento de muitas pessoas em separado se *entrelaça* para formar estruturas entrelaçadas" (1978, p. 132, grifo meu). Na abordagem de Elias para a ordem social, em contraste com a abordagem de Durkheim, duas coisas são muito importantes. Primeiro, ele fala sobre o papel que as estruturas materiais têm – se formos aplicar isso aos dias de hoje, isso significa softwares, códigos de computador, servidores para armazenamento de dados, a nuvem. Em segundo lugar, ele insiste em pensar sobre as consequências dessa infraestrutura material, da tecnologia, do ponto de vista dos seres humanos emaranhados nessa infraestrutura.

Elias pontuou eloquentemente esse argumento no fim de seu último livro: "as pessoas parecem esquecer deliberadamente que os desenvolvimentos sociais têm a ver com as mudanças da interdependência humana […] Se não houver nenhuma consideração pelo que acontece com as pessoas no percurso da mudança social – mudança nas figurações compostas pelas pessoas – então qualquer esforço científico deve muito bem ser poupado" (ELIAS, 1978, p. 172).

Atualmente, há muitas preocupações sobre o papel das plataformas de mídia social na política, no governo, na família, na vida das crianças... Essas preocupações são importantes, e eu sei que são intensas no Brasil, por exemplo, quando falamos de WhatsApp. Mas muitos desses debates focam no que, por exemplo, o Facebook está fazendo de errado. Para mim, essa não é a questão mais importante. Vamos supor por um momento que o Facebook corrija todos os seus erros e gerencie suas plataformas de uma maneira muito melhor. Ainda haveria um problema mais profundo, que é um problema no qual todos nós estamos envolvidos – o problema da nova forma que a ordem social está sendo construída atualmente, e sendo reconstruída para interesses corporativos. Isso é algo que todos nós, com o nosso uso das plataformas de mídias sociais e muitas outras atividades, estamos contribuindo. A questão mais importante levantada hoje pelas nossas relações com as plataformas sociais e com muitas outras infraestruturas de coleta de dados é a natureza mutante da ordem social. Por exemplo, deixe-me mencionar os debates acalorados hoje nos EUA sobre as consequências da coleta de dados automatizada nas vidas dos pobres, que, nos EUA, desproporcionalmente significa as vidas dos negros. O artigo da pesquisadora de direito Patricia Williams no *The Nation* falou sobre isso há duas semanas, quando ela disse que "muitos de nós nos aprisionamos à tecnologia por escolha própria – os *smart watches* que usamos no pulso, o rastreamento de GPS nos nossos celulares, os apps de localização de carro, as falas de Siri. Elas não são percebidas enquanto ferramentas disciplinares; ao invés disso, elas são vendidas como formas de se conectar". Ainda assim, ela sugere,

é o que elas são: ferramentas disciplinares da ordem social operando por meio de processos de dataficação.

O exemplo mais dramático dessa nova visão de ordem social por meio da conexão, por meio da dataficação, vem da China. Na China, existem as plataformas digitais mais integradas socialmente: na verdade, as "superplataformas" como o Alibaba e o Tencent que combinam mídias sociais (algo como Facebook, Twitter e WhatsApp) com sites de *e-commerce* (como a Amazon) e com sites de finanças pessoais. Ao contrário do Ocidente, nenhuma dessas plataformas é criptografada e o governo tem uma estreita relação com os donos dessas plataformas. O governo ajudou no financiamento para a construção dessas plataformas. Vocês já devem ter ouvido falar do "Sistema de crédito social" da China, que o governo chinês planeja tornar operacional até 2020 e que irá criar uma pontuação para cada cidadão. Dependendo dos dados coletados a respeito de cada um online, ao indivíduo será atribuída uma pontuação em responsabilidade social. Em um importante documento de política descrevendo esse novo sistema, o governo chinês utilizou uma expressão interessante para descrever o que isso significa: "uma melhoria de mercado de ordem social e econômica" (Política do Sistema de Crédito Social Chinês, 2014). E, assim, voltamos à questão da ordem social, dessa vez não mais como um conceito teórico, mas com uma visão de um governo, um plano prático para gestão de uma sociedade. Uma visão que, até para os EUA, Patricia Collins chama de "uma prática cívica nada menos do que totalitária".

Conclusões

Ao concluir a minha fala, eu gostaria de unir essas reflexões sobre a minha própria jornada intelectual a respeito de como eu troquei a análise do papel da televisão na reprodução da ordem social pelo estudo dos processos de dataficação, e perguntar-me o que, talvez de maneira surpreendente, isso pode dizer a respeito da importância da televisão nos dias de hoje. E, embora eu tenha discutido sobre dados nos últimos minutos, e não sobre televisão, há uma série de implicações importantes

para a televisão que eu gostaria de dividir com vocês. Essas implicações aparecem mais em forma de questões, já que elas não são problemas que eu posso solucionar hoje, mas, sim, perguntas para pesquisas futuras.

Primeiro, precisamos entender até que ponto a natureza das próprias instituições de mídia, incluindo a televisão, está sendo alterada pela dataficação. Assim como mencionei anteriormente, há mudanças em andamento na forma como as instituições de mídia se medem e são avaliadas por quem as financia. Isso está profundamente relacionado a mudanças que ocorrem, de forma independente, nas indústrias de publicidade, onde há cada vez mais investimento em análise de dados e menos na produção criativa: o que, afinal, acontece a longo prazo com a produção de notícias quando os publicitários não estão mais interessados em subsidiá-la através de seus anúncios, em formas de mídia para a audiência geral, como os boletins e jornais? E o que acontece nas indústrias midiáticas como um todo quando a publicidade se torna uma questão de microalvos detalhados e de gestão de dados, e não mais de campanhas publicitárias em nível nacional? Como, na era da dataficação, as instituições midiáticas representam o seu valor na sociedade? Quais serão as implicações para a sociedade quando a instituição midiática paradigmática se torna, globalmente, a Netflix ao invés vez da BBC? Essas são questões de muito longo prazo.

Além disso, há a questão sobre como compreendemos os novos tipos de instituições quasi-midiáticas que nós normalmente chamamos de plataformas. Como é bem conhecido, o Facebook nunca planejou ser uma empresa de mídia e passou muitos anos negando que deveria ter a responsabilidade de uma. Mas está sob pressão esmagadora para assumir responsabilidades pelos conteúdos que circulam em suas plataformas. Ainda assim, o Facebook não é uma instituição conduzida pelos valores profissionais das instituições midiáticas ou pelas habilidades dos profissionais de mídia. É uma empresa que media o espaço para interações sociais e, a partir disso, busca extrair valor no fluxo da atividade social. Esse é um objetivo corporativo que está diretamente

em tensão com a venda de conteúdos de mídia que as pessoas desejem ler e interpretar.

Existe, então, por meio da intensificação dos processos de coleta de dados, um risco de esvaziamento do sentido nas instituições midiáticas em longo prazo? Em caso afirmativo, qual seriam as implicações para outras instituições da modernidade, particularmente, as instituições democráticas? Essa é a crise de hoje e ela está ligada às ameaças crescentes à legitimidade das plataformas de mídia social que estão assumindo alguns dos papéis das instituições midiáticas quando elas não têm os recursos para fazê-lo. E se a confiança em todas as notícias, mesmo as notícias produzidas profissionalmente, caírem à medida que a circulação de informações pelas plataformas se torna cada vez menos segura, mais imprevisível e mais arriscada?

Isso levanta um terceiro tipo de pergunta que é a respeito do tipo de respostas imaginativas a essas transformações que as sociedades podem esperar – ou talvez precisar – das instituições midiáticas. Em um mundo cada vez mais moldado por cálculos ocultos automatizados e pela discriminação, com certeza haverá um papel e uma necessidade ainda maior para as produções imaginativas das indústrias midiáticas, como intérpretes das mudanças que estão ocorrendo. Talvez, como locais de resistência imaginativa para a nova corporativização do mundo social que acabei de descrever.

Onde isso deixa o estudo das instituições de televisão e mídia hoje em dia? Vou resumir o que eu acredito que tenhamos aprendido com as minhas reflexões a respeito do meu pensamento sobre a relação da mídia com a ordem social nos últimos 20 anos. Primeiro, que precisamos reconhecer o novo papel (paradoxal e altamente conflituoso) desempenhado pelas instituições midiáticas em um mundo de contínuas conexões computadorizadas e da própria reconstrução corporativa do social. Precisamos de instituições midiáticas – e de seus recursos imaginativos – hoje, mais do que nunca, para trazer visões de mundos sociais que são mais do que extração automatizada de dados. Em segundo lugar, quando a camada social está sendo transformada por uma nova

visão de ordem social, nós não podemos, enquanto estudantes ou pesquisadores, pensar no papel da mídia na sociedade sem a teoria social. Porque as sociedades que habitamos hoje não são sociedades da mesma maneira que as sociedades de quinze, ou, até mesmo, dez anos atrás. São tipos diferentes de ordens, regidos por diferentes tipos de poder e nós precisamos da teoria para nos auxiliar a entender qual é essa diferença.

Por fim, a teoria social que precisamos para entender esse tipo diferente de sociedade e de ordem social deve ser crítica: deve reconhecer o papel crescente das corporações – e os governos que trabalham lado a lado com essas corporações – reconstruindo um mundo social por meio de vigilância, para o lucro, com o objetivo de construir um novo tipo de ordem social que está em tensão profunda com a própria ideia de democracia. Esse mundo – nosso mundo emergente em muitos países como Reino Unido e EUA, Alemanha e Holanda, Brasil e China – é um mundo onde, ao contrário de qualquer previsão, as instituições midiáticas tradicionais ainda sobrevivem. Mas elas encaram desafios radicalmente novos e têm uma nova e estranha responsabilidade de nos auxiliar, enquanto cidadãos, a imaginar maneiras de evitar um futuro que seja completamente anexado ao capital sem nenhuma alternativa. Minha última pergunta é: seria o poder imaginativo da mídia um dos poucos recursos que restaram que, se voltado na direção certa, poderá nos ajudar a imaginar algo diferente de uma sociedade gerida exclusivamente pela força e pela força dos dados? Eu acredito que sim e é de responsabilidade das universidades e dos intelectuais críticos manter essa esperança viva.

Referências

ALTHEIDE, D.; SNOW, R. *Media Logic*. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1979.
BAUDRILLARD, J. Requiem for the Media. In: *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*. St Louis: Telos Press, 1981.

ARTIGO

BELL, C. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

BERGER, P.; LUCKMANN, T. *The Social Construction of Reality.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966.

CAMPANELLA, B. *Os Olhos do Grande Irmão: Uma Etnografia dos Fãs do Big Brother Brasil.* Porto Alegre: Editora Sulina, 2012.

COULDRY, N. *The Place of Media Power: Pilgrims and Witnesses of the Media Age.* London: Routledge, 2000.

_____. *Media Rituals: A Critical Approach.* London: Routledge, 2003.

_____. Pilgrimage in MediaSpace: Continuities and Transformations. *Ethnofoor,* v. XX, n. 1, p. 63-74, 2007.

_____. Does "the Media" have a Future? *European Journal of Communication*, v. 24, n. 4, p. 437-450, 2009.

_____. The Myth of Us: Digital Networks, Political Change and the Production of Collectivity. *Information Communication and Society,* v. 18, n. 6, p. 608-626, 2014.

COULDRY, N.; HEPP, A. *The Mediated Construction of Reality.* Cambridge: Polity, 2016.

COULDRY, N.; MEJÍAS, U. *The Costs of Connection.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019.

DAYAN, D.; KATZ, E. *Media Events.* Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1992.

ELIAS, N. *What is Sociology?* London: Hutchinson, 1978.

GANDY, O. *The Panoptic Sort.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993.

MARTÍN-BARBERO, J. *Communication, Culture and Hegemony.* London: Sage, 1993.

MELUCCI, A. *Challenging Codes.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

TUROW, J. *Niche Envy.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

VAN DIJCK, J. *The Culture of Connectivity.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Sobre o autor

Nick Couldry – Professor de Mídia, Comunicação e Teoria Social da London School of Economics and Political Science.

Disputas discursivas, legitimação e desinformação: o caso Veja x Bolsonaro nas eleições de 2018

Discursive struggles, legitimation and disinformation: *Veja* x Bolsonaro case in the 2018 elections

Raquel da Cunha Recuero[1]

Resumo: *O presente artigo foca na temática das disputas discursivas que ocorreram no Twitter durante a campanha eleitoral presidencial de 2018, particularmente no caso da matéria publicada pela Revista Veja no dia 28 de setembro, onde a mesma relatava o processo de divórcio do candidato do PSL, Jair Bolsonaro. Neste, acusações de corrupção e violência eram explícitas. Para a análise partimos de um corpus de 110 tweets originais com o maior número de retweets, onde analisamos as estratégias de legitimação e seu impacto na desinformação. Como resultados, observamos que a disputa se deu, principalmente, entre os veículos noticiosos e a militância apoiadora do candidato. Além disso, o discurso anti-Veja que se sucedeu à matéria utilizou estratégias de legitimação baseadas em moralidade e desinformação para contrapor os danos causados.*

Palavras-chave: *desinformação; disputa discursiva; legitimação; twitter; eleições.*

Abstract: *This article focuses on the theme of the discursive struggles occurred on Twitter during the presidential election campaign of 2018, particularly in the case of a piece published by Veja on September 28th. The piece reported the divorce process of PSL candidate Jair Bolsonaro. In this news, accusations, corruption, and violence were explicit. We analyze a corpus of 110 original tweets with more than 100 retweets, looking for legitimation strategies used and their impact in disinformation. In the following analysis, we note that the dispute was mainly*

1   Universidade Federal de Pelotas (UFPEL). Pelotas, RS, Brasil.
     https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7417-9782. E-mail: raquelrecuero@gmail.com

ARTIGO

between news vehicles and the militant support of the candidate. In addition, the anti-Veja discourse that succeeded in the subject used legitimacy strategies based on morality and disinformation to counteract the damage caused.

Keywords: *disinformation; discursive struggles; legitimation; twitter; election.*

Introduction

The presidential campaign of 2018 in Brazil was very atypical. The sequence of controversies in the campaign, from the candidacy of Luís Inácio Lula da Silva (PT), prohibited by STF2, and replaced by his vice-president, Fernando Haddad; the controversial declarations of Jair Bolsonaro (PSL) regarding minorities, women and the democratic process itself3; the attack he suffered in September 20184; deepened an extreme political polarization in the country. This polarization had been built through a series of prior event, since the election of Dilma Rousseff (PT), in 2014, with a small difference in votes, and her subsequent and controversial impeachment, in 2016, the scandals that filled the government of her successor, Michel Temer (PMDB).

This division, that already began to show up in the period before the campaign, generated a conducive scenario to spread the so-called "fake news", among other types of misinformation, as well as the discursive disputes generated by them. Hyperpartisan outlets and militants often created alternative information to those that harmed their candidates, spread by the mainstream media, and that were later shared in social media channels5. In this field, these channels became fields of disputes of meaning, among "alternative" news and narratives, seeking to reach voters, and, in a last resort, influence vote decisions.

Therefore, Twitter also acted as an important tool of contact among candidates, militants and voters, as well as, due to its more public character and with the participation of important actors (SOARES; RECUERO; ZAGO, 2018), like the candidates themselves and the media outlets, one of the arenas where a great part of the disputes began. Therefore, to understand how these disputes were built and whose actors were engaged is important so we can, also understand the discursive and communicative narratives of political conventions.

2   https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2018/08/31/politica/1535731172_241117.html
3   https://exame.abril.com.br/brasil/frases-polemicas-do-candidato-jair-bolsonaro/
4   https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Atentado_contra_Jair_Bolsonaro
5   https://www.boatos.org/politica/50-fake-news-eleicoes-2018.html

In this study, we seek to investigate an emblematic case: the discursive dispute that happened around the news shared by Veja, in September 28th 20186, a few days before the first round of elections. In this piece, which won the cover of the magazine, journalists reported a legal process, which they had access to, of Jair Bolsonaro's divorce. In the process, the former wife made a series of accusations, including corruption, violence and concealment of property. Right after the publication, the magazine was accused of having received 600 million reais to harm Bolsonaro, an information that was largely spread by social media channels by Bolsonaro's supporters7, partisan outlets and militants and political personalities8 (even though it was denied by a few supporters9, in addition to the mainstream media10). Thus, the bomb of the process was fought by the candidate's campaign, both on social media and in sites and videos, with other stories, false ones.

These two actions generated a discursive dispute that will analyze in this article. The main issue that guide this work, however, is: "How did the discursive dispute occur in the narratives against and for Bolsonaro in the case of the piece of Veja on Twitter?". We want to observe these narratives through the prism of misinformation and legitimation of discourses as part of the electoral campaign. For that discussion, we bring data collected from Twitter with the aid of *crawling* tools that will later be presented along with the methodological proposition.

6   https://veja.abril.com.br/politica/ex-mulher-acusou-bolsonaro-de-ocultar-patrimonio-da-justi-
     ca-eleitoral/
7   https://theintercept.com/2018/09/28/campanha-de-bolsonaro-fabricou-um-boato-e-o-usou-
     -como-antidoto-contra-a-reportagem-da-veja/
8   https://www.diariodobrasil.org/sobre-os-supostos-r-600-milhoes-antagonista-diz-que-jornalistas-
     -da-veja-sao-integros/
9   https://www.oantagonista.com/brasil/fake-news-contra-veja/
10   https://gauchazh.clicrbs.com.br/politica/eleicoes/noticia/2018/10/veja-a-lista-dos-boatos-mais-
     -lidos-sobre-candidatos-a-presidencia-cjmw7m6s502g201piaauc6h7y.html

Political conversations, discursive disputes and legitimacy

The studies of political conversations and the role of digital media in the construction and legitimacy of citizenship and the democratic participation are very common in the literature (PAPACHARISSI, 2002; CHADWICK, 2009; GIL DE ZÚÑIGA e VALENZUELA, 2011, STROMER-GALLEY e WICHOWSKI, 2011). Part of these studies focused on the gains for democracy and the citizenship of the presence of those arenas of discussion in the easy access to this arena (MENDONÇA e ERCAN, 2015; AGGIO, 2019). Later, other studies relating these conversations to incivility and intolerance as problems to these conversations also arise (ROSSINI, 2019), bringing elements that also showed problematic instances for democracy and the so-called "democratic deliberation" (MAIA, 2008) in these arenas. Beyond these issues, professors also raised the reduction of offline political participation due to social media websites (HAMPTON, SHIN e LU, 2017), the negative propaganda (ROSSINI *et al.*, 2018) and even the lack of diversity in the political debate (GRUZD e ROY, 2014; RECUERO e GRUZD, 2019) as equally problematic elements for those conversations.

This study focuses on the discourse and the Critical Discourse Analysis. Thus, we analyze the conversations on Twitter through the discursive point of view, not properly deliberative. Because of that, we will investigate the notion of the discursive dispute as a narrative dispute in the deliberative process (ROSSINI, 2019) on Twitter, marking maybe new elements related to political conversations in the digital arena.

The notion of discursive dispute is related to the dispute for a hegemonical narrative regarding a fact. Thus, tweets, while texts that build and share meanings, dispute among themselves, in the public sphere of debate, the meanings about an event. The discursive disputes, therefore, are parts of strategies to legitimate or delegitimate narratives (PAIVA, GARCIA e ALCÂNTARA, 2017). The concept is fairly central in the literature focused on the critical analysis of discourse (ACD), particularly related to disputes of power and legitimacy (BARROS, 2014). The

concept of discursive dispute is particularly relevant for the discussion of computer-mediated conversations related to the electoral campaign of 2018. That is because, during this event, we can observe that tools like Twitter were largely used to build and legitimate different versions of one fact, many times, fake or manufactured versions11 known by the name of "*fake news*". The discursive disputes can occur between (a) media outlets; (b) between outlets and actors; and (c) between actors (PAIVA, GARCIA and ALCÂNTARA, 2017). Those three dimensions can also represent different spaces of dispute of symbolic power (BOURDIEU, 1992), which is related to the dispute for hegemony of discourse. To Bourdieu, the symbolic power is related to the dispute for "structuring" power, where symbolic systems are constituted by language in the pursuit for integration and social "consensus". These systems, thus, directly relate themselves with the process of domination, once the "consensus" in question is the naturalization of domination and, consequently, the hegemony of meaning.

In this sense, the texts contained in tweets become strategies to look for legitimacy of narratives that seek to influence the public opinion about the elections and the candidates to Presidency. The strategies, however, contain dispute, resistance and debate to this naturalization of narratives, disputes, therefor, for the symbolic power.

In order for us to can understand how the discursive strategies impact on these disputes, we also need to understand the strategies of legitimacy that are employed. Legitimacy is understood as the validation of the proposed discourse. Van Leeuwen (2007) discusses these strategies beside four macro perspectives. According to the author, the legitimacy strategies are: (a) authorization, when the text refers to a personal or institutional authority who, due to their social status, legitimates the content, or the tradition, habit or law (p. 92); (b) moral evaluation, when the legitimacy is anchored in a value system within a society or group (even though these references may be, according to the author, often oblique); (c) rationalization, when the legitimacy is

11 https://especiais.gazetadopovo.com.br/eleicoes/2018/fake-news/

anchored in knowledge, argumentation or cognition; (d) *mythopoesis*, in other words, the validation for the construction of stories where there is a reward for the "good" and a punishment for the "evil". These forms of legitimation are also strategies that will act on discursive disputes. The validation of discourse and the narrative proposed in discursive disputes, thus, also unfolds under the form of the pursuit for legitimation within the political conversation of the actors.

The effective legitimation, on Twitter, also happens through affordances of the platform. Studies on the social and discursive practices of the actors in this space have pointed out to that. Boyd, Golder and Lotan (2011), for example, relate the retweet as a legitimating practice within Twitter's conversations. Therefore, for the authors, when an actor retweets a certain text, he also acts in a way of legitimating this discourse. Newer practices could also be added to the retweet, such as the "like" button within Twitter itself. Therefore, the strategy of reproducing a certain tweet a dozen times, or a certain hashtag during a debate (RECUERO, 2014), another example, also related to strategies of visibility which, in a last analysis, are related to disputes for legitimation.

Those discursive disputes on Twitter also influence the polarization of the conversation. This polarization is anchored on the creation of the so-called "chambers of echo" (SUSTEIN, 2001), greatly due to the filtering of content that is legitimated (and shared) or de-legitimated (and silenced) by the group. The mass legitimation of a certain narrative, thus, generates a chamber of echo, in other words, a group where only one narrative reverberates and is legitimated, while other narratives that defy the hegemonic narrative are erased. Due to the strategies used on social media, such as the dispute for the trending topics or the use of hashtags (RECUERO, AMARAL e MONTEIRO, 2013) as forms of declaring support to a certain candidate or narrative. In fact, even the exposure of these polarized groups to opposed discourses, often seem to increase even further the extremism of these poles, instead of reducing it (BAIL *et al.*, 2018).

For the discussion we propose in this study, these elements supply an important context for the discursive dispute and the strategies of legitimation used on Twitter. The theme, however, is more complex. What happens when we are not simply talking of different narratives of the same fact, but disputes of misinformation? In the next section, we will briefly discuss the concept and its effects on conversations.

Misinformation and social media

The concept of misinformation has been widely discussed on the literature, especially regarding decisive political processes (BASTOS and MERCEA, 2019; TUCKER et al. 2018; DERAKHSHAN e WARDLE, 2017 and others). Misinformation belongs to the so-called "informative disorders", which would comprise disinformation (intentional) and misinformation (unintentional) as well as mal information (DERAKHSHAN and WARDLE, 2017). Therefore, as disinformation would comprise forms of fake news intentionally created to influence people (manipulated news or taken out of context), misinformation would be related to error, in other words, with a fake information presented as fake, however, due to a mistake of the receiver, is perceived as true. Falls under this category the parodies and satires that, with some frequency, are taken by mistake as truthful narratives. Finally, the category of mal information is related to private information that are taken public to target someone specific. Therefore, it is set apart from the others first for being related to private information (while the other categories focus on public information), and for being related to individuals (the previous categories focus mainly on the public) and information that are not necessarily fake. In the informative disorders, information, therefore, are used to create doubt and discredit, in other words, misinform.

Informative disorders, in a last analysis, are also a part of the complex ecosystem of political conversations in the last years of social media (TUCKER et al. 2018). In this study, we consider social media the phenomenon of collective conversation that emerges from the tools of digital mediation, which particularly utilize the structures of networked publics

(BOYD, 2010). The networked publics were defined by Boyd (2010) as simultaneously "simultaneously (1) the space constructed through networked technologies and (2) the imagined collective that emerges as a result of the intersection of people, technology, and practice" (p. 39). In other words, the concept comprises simultaneously the affordances of technologies that allow the construction of a collective public environment, the audience emerged by it and their social practices. Social media, thus, emerges from the practices of information allowed by the affordances of these platforms, however, it refers, exclusively, to the informative and communicative actions of the actors (and not every social practice) that, through their own evaluation, end up giving visibility to certain information and silencing or erasing others. It's in the core of the own concept of social media the dispute for visibility and, therefore, the discursive dispute.

In the field of the notion of misinformation, however, social media loses its conversational character. There, it becomes a weapon that, through political activists (SOARES, RECUERO and ZAGO, 2018), automatization through networks of bots (BASTOS and MERCEA, 2019), the massive stream of information and the manufacture of information (TUCKER et al. 2018) seeks to interfere in the public sphere and manipulate the result of the political battle. The discussion about the "weaponization12" of social media to influence public opinion and the vote intention through this type of action, thus, also is the background for the study of discursive disputes, as, in this case, it is not about symbolic power disputes for the hegemony of versions of one narrative, but, often, explicit interferences of circulation of fake news. The notion of disinformation and its influence on the discursive dispute is particularly relevant for this study due to the discursive dispute we chose to analyze.

12 The term "weaponization" focuses the question of social media channels being used as weapons in informational guerrilla.

Method

The central question proposed in this study, therefore, is: "How do the discursive disputes of the narratives anti and pro-Bolsonaro in the case of the news in Veja on Twitter happened?". Within this question, we would like to further discuss: (1) Which were the strategies of legitimation used in the discursive disputes about the Veja case? (2) How do these strategies result in the legitimation (or not) of these narratives? (3) How does disinformation acts in the discursive dispute?

The case chosen for this analysis refers to an article in the magazine Veja which gathered information contained in the process of divorce of the then candidate to Presidency in Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro (PSL). The article in the magazine, published on September 28th, 2018, brought a revision of the process of litigious divorce, which had a series of accusations towards the candidate, including domestic violence, corruption and theft13. The case quickly spread through social media, particularly on Twitter, where groups competed for the visibility of the hashtags "#Veja600milhoes and #BolsonaronaCadeia", each one supporting an opposed narrative.

Data Collection

The data used in this analysis were collected through Social Feed Manager14, installed on a local server, which automatically collected the tweets that had the keywords "Bolsonaro" and "Veja" in the period between September 28th (when the article was released) and October 7th (the first round of the election)15. The collection was performed hourly, within the API limitations of Twitter. These procedures resulted in a general set: 83.254 tweets. From this set, we got 10,947 unique tweets

13 https://veja.abril.com.br/politica/capa-veja-ex-mulher-bolsonaro-acusacoes/
    https://veja.abril.com.br/politica/ex-mulher-acusou-bolsonaro-de-ocultar-patrimonio-da-justi-
    ca-eleitoral/
14 https://gwu-libraries.github.io/sfm-ui/
15 Even though dozens of hashtags and other words had been used for this discussion, we chose
    a more neutral keyword to allow to observe the construction of discursive dispute with a bigger
    amplitude and not only taking activists through hashtags.

(original tweets, without counting retweets), from which 1,206 with at least one retweet. The image below shows the distribution of retweets (RTs) per unique tweets in a set of data. As we can see, the distribution shows some tweets with high visibility and a big number of retweets, dropping quickly to below 100 retweets.

Image 1: Distribution of tweets and retweets in a data set (log 10).
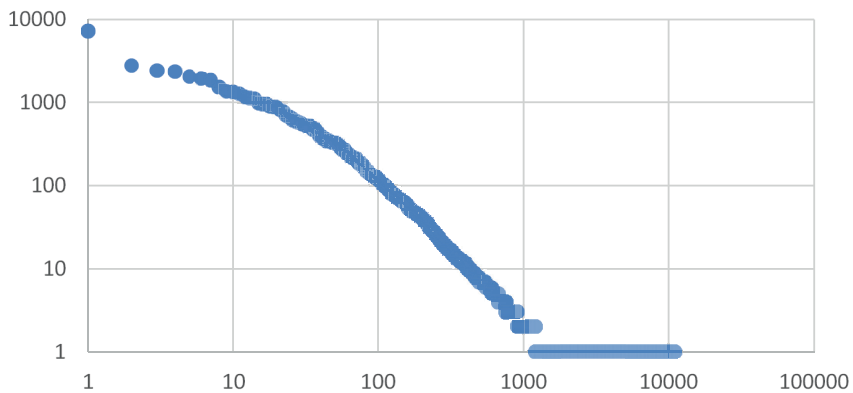
Created by: The author.

Data analysis

For the data analysis, we used a combination of methods. First, we used for the analysis only those tweets that were more legitimated through retweets (as we've discussed on the theoretical section of this study). Therefore, we decided to analyze tweets with at least 100 retweets (those tweets with a bigger impact), in order to discuss the narrative dispute. This arbitrary limit was chosen because (1) it was necessary to limit the data set for this analysis and (2) as we can see on Image 1, there is a steep decline of impact below 100 retweets, consisting in 110 original tweets. These units were, then, divided into those who legitimated the narrative of Veja and those who wanted to counterpose this narrative through the construction of alternative narratives. Through these two subsets, in the

field of discourse, we will analyze the strategies of legitimation used by the authors and the discursive disputes in conversation.

Case Study

For this analysis, we want to understand (1) the strategies of legitimation used by the more successful tweets in both sides of the dispute (VAN LEEUWEN, 2007); (2) the instances of narrative dispute (PAIVA, GARCIA e ALCÂNTARA, 2017; BARROS, 2014) and (3) the effects of the dispute in the sharing of disinformation.

Discursive Disputes

Data show that the main discursive dispute happened around the narrative proposed by Veja. The tweet that announced the cover article was the most retweeted in the data set (7,164 RTs). At the same time, however, other impactful tweets brought narratives opposing or contradicting the article of the magazine. Therefore, on one side, we have those who reproduced the article or otherwise legitimated and on the other, those who defied the proposed narrative, within the dispute we will analyze.

Veja's narrative

Among the tweets that support Veja's narrative, we have 35 posts with up to 100 retweets and a total of 19,182 retweets. From these, 22 were coming from news outlets, including mainstream outlets, as @veja itself and the magazine @exame, in addition to left-winged outlets, such as @DCM, @cartacapital and @theinterceptBR (which would also indicate a bigger circulation of information by the left-winged actors). We also found 13 tweets of actors, from which one candidate, @geraldoalckmin, from PSDB. Therefore, we notice that the magazine's narrative was firstly legitimated by media outlets.

On Table 1, we can see the most frequent themes of the tweets:

Theme 1: Themes of the tweets in the pro-Veja narrative

Themes	*Original Tweets*	RTs
Bolsonaro corrupt	17	4.888
Voters	5	2.990
Veja corrupt	3	665
Fake News	3	1.102
Bolsonaro e veja corrupt	2	456
Process	2	7.284
Violent Bolsonaro	1	120
Joice Hasselman	1	314
Madonna	1	1.363

Made by: Author.

The majority of the most retweeted tweets mentioned the corruption accusations to Bolsonaro in the process (19 original tweets and 4,888 RTs) (Bolsonaro and the theft of the safe; In a cover article, Veja says that former wife of Bolsonaro accuses him of stealing safe and omit equity in process…). Other five tweets (2,990 retweets) questioned Bolsonaro voters about the anti-corruption discourse of the candidate and the complaints (Bolsonaro's robots failing after the article published by Veja #*BolsonaroNaCadeia*). Other three tweets (665 retweets) complained about the magazine itself, in the sense of despite legitimating the complaint, they pointed out the magazine was not trustworthy (Veja was always on PMDB's side. *That was openly said even in the political enquiry of mensalão).* Three tweets (1,102 retweets) pointed towards a dispute that was happening, expressly saying that the supposed complaint that Veja had received money to talk negatively about Bolsonaro was unjustified (*Bolsonaro's campaigned created a rumor and used it as an antidote against Veja's article*). Two tweets had links and information about the supposed process (7,284 retweets, the biggest repercussion within this data set). Finally, other three tweets made reference to the lack of credibility of the supposed author of the complaint of receiving

money from Veja, the deputy candidate Joice Hasselman (PSL); to the violence reported towards Jair Bolsonaro; a third tweet taked about the singer Madonna having criticized Bolsonaro.

The tweets pointed out here focus, mainly, on the candidates reputation, pointing towards the contradiction between the candidate's discourse and the facts present in the article. Among the outlets (even the left-winged media outlets), there is a more factual and descriptive approach to the story. Among the actors, however, there are tweets linked to the political campaign. It is interesting to notice that many, despite legitimating the magazine's piece, delegitimated the magazine as a non-partisan informative outlet. However, the tweets with the biggest repercussion (*retweets*) are especially those who linked the supposed original process and defied Bolsonaro's voters.

Below, we will discuss the legitimation strategies of these tweets (Table 2):

Table 2: Types of legitimation per original tweet

Type of legitimation	*Original Tweets*	RTs
A/M	14	11.780
A/AM	10	5.245
A/M/AM	3	844
AM	5	600
AM/M	2	434
A/R	1	279

Made by: The author.

The first strategy of legitimation in this data set is linked to the authorization (A). The original article, for instance, from Veja itself, explains: "EXCLUSIVE> In a process of over 500 pages, to which VEJA got access, ex-wife accuses Bolsonaro of stealing from safe". It is not, therefore, Veja who "accuses", but the "ex-wife" of the candidate, someone who, supposedly, would have personal authority, due to marriage, to expose the fact. In addition to that, the materiality of the information (the legal

action) is presented right at the beginning of the text, implying a factuality. However, in a second moment, when the original tweet is retweeted, the authority is diluted, becoming, at the same time, from the source itself (Veja magazine, news outlet) and the story reported that is credited to the ex-wife. Therefore, the other outlets and the actors that shared the information utilize the magazine and its reputation to generate institutional (journalistic) authority for the report ("The process of separation between Bolsonaro and Ana Cristina, revealed by "Veja", brings…"). The personal or institutional authority, therefore, will constitute the category of authorization as form of legitimation. This strategy goes through almost the entirety of the texts analyzed, which would be expected, since the basis of the information is the "journalistic credibility" of the article. There is a total of 28 tweets that use the strategy of authorization, always in combination with other forms of legitimation. As we've observed on Table 1, the authorization was always used in combination with another legitimating strategy. The most frequent sets were authorization and moral evaluation (A/ME), with ten tweets and authorization and *mythopoesis* (A/M) with 14 tweets. We also can see in Table 1 that the strategies with bigger impact in terms of retweets are, precisely, those supported in authorization as a form of legitimation.

The category of mythopoesis (M) refers to the use of stories for the legitimation of discourse. There's a total of 19 tweets that use this strategy somehow. In this case, reports from news outlets in general fit into that category, using authority in conjunction with story (A/M), 14 tweets. We have here the case of Veja's tweet, where the story was credited to the candidate's "ex-wife" and the tweets of the other outlets (ex-wife accused Bolsonaro of omitting wealth, says Veja). We see here the personal authority of the former wife and the magazine ("ex-wife accuses" and "says Veja"), as well as the story that the candidate would have hidden wealth. This strategy is characteristic of journalism, which always seeks to credit the source of the report of the fact and was mainly observed among the outlets and seem to be the strongest legitimation category in this narrative.

The moral evaluation (ME), according to Van Leeuwen (2007), is the strategy that refers to a system of values, where practices, actions and subjects are "good" or "evil". Twenty tweets used this strategy somehow. As we've said, the majority of the analyzed tweets made explicit or implicit reference to the corruption of Bolsonaro, indirectly acting over his reputation. The main category that used ME was the one that used it conjointly with authorization (A/ME), with ten tweets. This category was mainly observed in the comments used to share the article, and mainly by actors, not outlets ("Veja's article is very alarming…"). In the example, we can see the moral evaluation (*very* alarming) in conjunction with authorization (Veja's *article*).

The trio moral evaluation, authorization and mythopoesis (ME/A/M) also appeared on data (three tweets). An example is the tweet "at @veja: bolso hid wealth, had collected 60k/month from an unknown origin and was accused by the ex of stealing from a safe", we see that, under the appearance of reproduction of the fact, the author makes reference to the authorization of the magazine, but says that Bolsonaro "hid" wealth and "had collected" money from an unknown origin. Therefore, the author makes a direct moral evaluation, tells a story and equally uses the magazine's authority.

The moral evaluation also appeared in conjunction with *mythopoesis* (ME/M), when the stories shared was used, along with the evaluation, to legitimate the discourse (two tweets). Finally, we also found moral evaluation (ME) as an only form of legitimation on five tweets. Often times, the moral evaluation wasn't only used as a strategy to legitimate Veja's article, but equally, to delegitimate Bolsonaro supporters (*2014: Lula and Dilma on the cover of Veja. Bolsominions: THIS IS TRUE! OUT WITH PT! 2018 and a process with 500+ pages showing that Bolsonaro is dirtier than the colostomy bag he uses. Bolsominions: FAKE NEWS!!! COMMUNIST VEJA!... you, bolsominions, are a joke*).

Anti-Veja Narrative

On the other hand, the narrative built through the anti-Veja discourse is considerably bigger than the one who legitimated and gave visibility to the article on Veja. Here, we had 73 original tweets (with over 100 retweets) and a volume of 40,878 total retweets. In opposition to the narrative that Veja published, this set of tweets has an expressive majority of actors (69) and only four outlets, all partisan (@politzoficial, @conexaopolitica, among others). Therefore, we see, that in this instance of discussion, the narrative dispute happens mainly among actors (in the anti-Veja side) and media outlets (in the pro-Veja side).

The themes discussed by these tweets are also wider (Table 3). First, the two strategies of attack to the Veja narrative were mainly related to the sensationalism of the article (16 original tweets and 6,035 retweets) and to the illegality of the access to the process (14 *tweets*, 2.935 *retweets*), as, for instance, "Veja took, using bribery and in an 100% illegal way, a confidential process in which Bolsonaro is the AUTHOR to accuse him of awful things (…). However, the tweet that received the biggest repercussion and legitimacy, was precisely the false information that Veja had received 600 million reais from the Workers Party to attack Bolsonaro (15 *tweets* and 12,976 *retweets*) (*Former Veja journalist Joice Hasselmann exposes that the magazine received 600 million reais to destroy Jair Bolsonaro in the election week*). In addition to that, there is a narrative that the magazine journalists would be involved with the left-wing in general (PSOL and the Workers Party) with nine tweets and 5,681 retweets (One of the authors of the CRIMINAL article from Veja is affiliated with PSOL. *And the "lawyer" who was interviewed is an associate to Dias Toffoli's wife.*); the narrative that the article would be "fake news" with nine tweets and 4,443 retweets (Veja is so bad at creating fake news that they didn't realize the author of the process was Bolsonaro, not the ex-wife), the fact that Bolsonaro's ex-wife who is in the process (who was running for deputy) would have refute the declarations in the legal proceeding (four tweets and 2,945 retweets) (Bolsonaro's ex-wife defends herself from the attacks from Veja and Folha gets emotional…);

accusations of media persecution to Bolsonaro (three tweets and 2,735 retweets) (You can be certain of that: Veja would love to find a corruption scandal or some other crime against Bolsonaro…); accusations that the sources used by the article would be criminals (three tweets and 1,108 retweets) (Veja's source to incriminate Bolsonaro is the guy who stole from the bank's safe); threats to the magazine and to the left-wing in general (one tweet, 878 retweets) and the news that Bolsonaro would have created a case asking to stop the sales of the magazine (one tweet, 123 retweets).

Table 3: Most common themes in the anti-Veja narrative:

Themes	Original Tweets	Retweets
Sensationalism	16	6.035
Bribe	15	12.976
Proceedings	14	2.935
Left-wing	9	5.681
Fake News	9	4.443
Refuting	4	2.945
Persecution	3	2.735
Robbers	3	1.108
Threat	1	878
Taking it out of the shelves	1	123

Created by: The author.

About the legitimation strategies employed (Table 4), here we also found differences. First, the vast majority of the original tweets was concentrated in one category, linked stories that would deny or question Veja's article and moral evaluation, judging the attitude of the magazine (M/ME), with 45 original tweets and the biggest number of retweets (23,172) (Veja published a confidential case to vilify/defame Bolsonaro…). Within this category, we also find stories regarding the collection of money so that Veja would attack the candidate (We already know who received 600 million to try to destroy Bolsonaro, Veja did. *Now, we need to know who paid #Veja600milhões*). The mythopoesis category,

precisely working with stories, appears on 55 tweets analyzed, mainly in conjunction with other strategies (notedly the moral evaluation). That was expected, since the anti-Veja narrative sought alternative stories that would question the accuracy of the article and the credibility of the outlet and its journalists.

Next, we have texts with moral evaluation (Shame on Veja!... or the trashy journalists are desperates, now Veja's Fake news, Bolsonaro robbed a safe… hahaha). Moral evaluation (ME) was the category that, in conjunction with others, had the biggest presence in the data set (62 original tweets). Such strategy was expected, since that, in the narrative dispute, Bolsonaro supporters sought to present alternative narratives to Veja's article, which, then, was invalidated by the group due to the lack of credibility through a morality evaluation of what was published (for example, in the accusations related to the "sensationalism" of the article or the "persecution" of the media against the candidate).

Table 4: Anti-Veja strategies of legitimation:

Strategies	*Original Tweets*	RTs
M/AM	45	23.712
AM	9	5.205
M	5	2.959
R/AM	5	1.982
A/M	3	3.923
A/M/AM	2	734
A/AM	1	2.060
R/M	1	187
R	1	1.116

Created by: The author.

Finally, we also see some tweets with rationalization, that appear for the first time on data, even though it is punctual (seven tweets). One example is the tweet #Veja600Milhões Veja, Folha, Uol, etc… I still haven't seen anyone change votes with your ordinary and inappropriate posts. In the text, the author explains that the magazine "strategy" that

wanted to reach Bolsonaro because of the payment (#Veja600milhões) would be useless, because "I've never seen someone change votes" because of media articles. The strategy here is rationalization, from the moment you seek to make a logical cause-consequence relation. Another category that was present was tweets with authorization (six tweets). Here, we saw references to Bolsonaro's ex-wife denying what was said. Therefore, she, in the place of being involved, would discredit the legal proceedings. These cases point that other strategies were also used to legitimate the narratives proposed by the tweets, but in a smaller scale.

The use of hashtags here also appears with strength. The use of the hashtag is seen as a strategy to give visibility to the narrative, counterposing it to their rival's hashtag. Therefore, among the tweets, we also found the requests of use of a determined hashtag to give visibility (in this group, mainly #Veja600milhoes).

Analysis: discursive disputes, polarization and disinformation

In the specific case analyzed in this study, we could observe, first, that the discursive dispute happened, mainly, among the mainstream media outlets that shared Veja's article (in addition to the magazine itself, obviously) and Bolsonaro supporters that wanted to delegitimate it (PAIVA, GARCIA e ALCÂNTARA, 2017). The dispute, therefore, happens in a very particular field, enabled by the affordances of the social media itself and the networked audiences (BOYD, 2010). This instance of dispute, where the narratives built by the supporters can compete equally and even surpass the circulation of the narrative made by mainstream media outlets, is something new and characteristic of the social media. In the case we've studied, we clearly see that the anti-Veja narrative was more popular and received more legitimation. That seems to suggest that the discursive disputes that happen between actors and media outlets, on social media, may be disputed with greater engagement by actors themselves, which, despite obtaining less individual visibility (Veja's tweet, for

instance, had the biggest impact), they are more engaged in replicating stories that reproduce their own points of view, even if these stories are face. Disinformation, thus, becomes a dispute weapon for hegemony of the narrative and a weapon in the dispute for symbolic power (BOURDIEU, 1992).

The most popular strategies of legitimation (VAN LEEUWEN, 2007) in each group seem to reinforce this idea. While in the texts supporting Veja we see authority on the parties involved and the magazine itself, as well as other outlets as one of the main strategies, along with texts that bring materiality and specific information (mythopoesis), on the other side, the main legitimation strategy is the moral evaluation of the article, used in conjunction with the circulation of alternative stories. These two strategies were aligned with the publication of disinformation (particularly the fake news that the magazine would've received 600 million to attack Bolsonaro) and the moral judgement of the magazine (sensationalism). Thus, while on one hand it seems that the credibility was central for legitimation, on the other, there's a deconstruction of the article based on the morality of the attack towards the candidate. Notedly, the anti-Veja strategy was to attack the credibility of the outlet and the journalists involved, either through fake news or fake connections among facts. Another relevant fact is regarding the discredit of the magazine appearing both in the group legitimating the article and in the other. That means that, in the anti-media discourse, which builds a narrative of manipulation and delegitimating of mainstream media outlets was not exclusive to one of the groups, and, therefore, can also be related to the reduction of the impact of the magazine article. Therefore, disinformation was used as a weapon to bury and get back at the magazine article, in a similar way to what is exposed in Tucker et al.'s work. (2018).

n this sense, the discursive dispute is intimately linked to the dispute for visibility, which, on Twitter, seem to be strongly connected with Trending Topics. The use of hashtags connected with the narratives that each group stands for (in this case, #Veja600milhoes on the anti-Veja group, which made an explicit reference to the story of an illegal

payment to the magazine; or #BolsonaronaCadeia, to those aligned with the other narrative, Veja's, who reported the complaint of the candidate's ex-wife) and the creation of strategies to "make them a trend"16. This articulation of militancy is also important, because it demonstrates that disinformation is intentional (DERAKHSHAN and WARDLE, 2017).

These data, aligned with the formation of echo chambers (SUSTEIN, 2001), suggest that the polarization on Twitter, in the political conversation about the candidate, begins through the discursive alienation of the groups, where in one of them circulate alternative stories and disinformation, and on the other, the information given by the outlets. There is, thus, an attempt to mold the social reality according to the political alignment of the actors, more than with the materiality of information themselves. In the case we've analyzed, the factuality brought prejudice to the candidate Bolsonaro and enabled the circulation of fake news in his supporter groups simply because these would offer an alternative reality, more aligned with the perception built of him.

We see, thus, that the main discursive strategy of the anti-Veja group was to present stories that would reduce or question the outlet's and journalists' credibility (mainly manufactured information, such as the reception of 600 million reais, or manipulated information, such as the attempt of aligning the magazine and its journalists with left-wing parties). Disinformation, through the proposed stories, is associated to the value judgement where Bolsonaro supporters put him in a moral place that is higher than the media, the article and the magazine ("trashy journalists", "sensationalist", "insanity", etc.) (TUCKER *et al.* 2018). Thus, the narrative appears, at the same time, to flood the space of discussion with disinformation, in a way of delegitimating the magazine discourse and other outlets.

Therefore, we can point as one of the important characteristics of this discursive dispute, among actors and media outlets in the field of political conversations: 1) The support gives the actors a great power

16 In Twitter jargon, using the hashtag repeatedly so it would appear on trending topics and become visible to all users.

to deconstruct and delegitimate the narratives of the outlets with alternative stories that can be more popular; 2) these stories can be based on disinformation, notedly, manufactured information to respond to the original narrative, which means the use of disinformation as a weapon for the hegemony of the narrative; 3) in spite of that, due to the effect of echo chambers, it seems that the narratives circulate among polarized groups and, therefore, can take these groups to isolation and alienation.

Conclusion

In this study, we seek to explore the form through which happened the "discursive disputes" on Twitter during the 2018 presidential campaign, in a case study of the article in Veja that made several accusations about the then presidential candidate, Jair Bolsonaro (PSL). We see that the discursive dispute in question happened mainly among mainstream media outlets and Bolsonaro supporters. We can still observe that the disinformation was used as a discursive strategy, in the sense of counterposing the information published by Veja. Therefore, fake or distorted information used by supporters and supporting outlets sought to combat the visibility of the original article. Still, we've seen that this discourse used several forms of legitimation, but particularly moral evaluation, related to a critique to Veja's "moral behavior" and their reasons to make the article public, more than the content itself. Disinformation, in this context, acted in a way to attain the reputation of the magazine and the journalists involved. On the other side, among the legitimation strategies of those who reproduced Veja's discourse were supported on the authority of the magazine and the parties involved (the candidate's ex-wife) and in elements of the article itself, seeking to present its veracity and credibility (*mythopoesis*, were the candidate would preach strict morals, but wouldn't have a strict moral himself). We also see that the predominant narrative in the data set was anti-Veja, much more actively propagated. That would indicate an involvement of militancy in the sense of using this discourse as a way of combating the article itself, burying it in the

middle of the discussion of the magazine's credibility (the case of the fake news of 600 million).

This study is part of a bigger study focused on Twitter conversations during 2018's presidential elections. It's a case study, focused on a specific article, and therefore, with results limited to that specific case. Other studies are necessary so that we can see the real impact of these legitimacy forms.

References

AGGIO, C. Campanhas on-line, Twitter e democracia: a interação entre campanhas e eleitores nas eleições presidenciais brasileiras de 2010. In: MAIA, R.; PRUDÊNCIO, K.; VIMIEIRO, A. C. *Democracia em ambientes digitais: eleições, esfera pública e ativismo.* EDUFBA, 2018. p. 49-76.

BAIL, C. A.; ARGYLE, L. P.; BROWN T. W.; BUMPUS, J. P.; CHEN, H.; HUN-ZAKER M. B. F.; LEE J.; MANN M.; MERHOUT F., VOLFOVSKY A. Exposure to opposing views on social media can increase political polarization. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, v. 115, n.37, p. 9216-9221, Sept. 2018. DOI: 10.1073/pnas.1804840115

BARROS, M. Tools of Legitimacy: The Case of the Petrobras Corporate Blog. *Organization Studies*, v. 35, n. 8, p. 1211-1230, 2014.

BASTOS, M. T.; MERCEA, D. The Brexit Botnet and User-Generated Hyperpartisan News. *Social Science Computer Review*, v. 37, n.1, p. 38-54, 2019. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439317734157

BOURDIEU, P. *O poder simbólico*. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 1992.

BOYD, D. Social Network Sites as Networked Publics: Affordances, Dynamics, and Implications. In: PAPACHARISSI, Z. (Ed.). *Networked Self*: Identity, Community, and Culture on Social Network Sites. 2010. p. 39-58.

BOYD, D.; SCOTT, G.; GILAD, L. Tweet, Tweet, Retweet: Conversational Aspects of Retweeting on Twitter. *HICSS-43*. IEEE: Kauai, HI, January 6, 2010.

CHADWICK, A. Web 2.0: New Challenges for the Study of E-Democracy in an Era of Informational Exuberance. *I/S: A Journal of Law and Policy for the Information Society*, v. 5, n. 1, p. 9-41, 2009.

DERAKHSHAN, H. WARDLE, C. Information Disorder: Definitions. In: *Proceedings of Understanding and Addressing the Disinformation Ecosystem*. Annenberg: University of Pennsylvania, p. 5-12, 2017.

FAIRCLOUGH, N. *Discurso e mudança social*. Brasília: Editora UnB, 2001.

FAIRCLOUGH, N. *Analysing discourse:* Textual analysis for social research. London: Psychology Press, 2003.

GRUZD, A. ROY, J. Investigating Political Polarization on Twitter: A Canadian Perspective. *Policy & Internet*, v. 6, n. 1, p. 28-45, 2014.

GIL DE ZÚÑIGA, H.,; VALENZUELA, S. The mediating path to a stronger citizenship: Online and offline networks, weak ties and civic engagement. *Communication Research*, v. 38, n. 3, p. 397-421, 2011.

HAMPTON, K.; SHIN, I.; LU, W. Social media and political discussion: when online presence silences offline conversation. *Information, Communication & Society*, 2017. p. 1090-1107.

LEEUWEN, T. V. Legitimation in discourse and communication. *Discourse & Communication*, v. 1, n. 1, p. 91-112, 2007. DOI: 10.1177/1750481307071986

MAIA, R. C. M. Deliberação e Mídia. In: MAIA, ROUSILEY C. M. (Org.). *Mídia e deliberação*. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. FGV, 2008. p. 93-122.

MENDONÇA, R. F.; ERCAN, S. Deliberation and protest: strange bedfellows? Revealing the deliberative potential of 2013 protests in Turkey and Brazil. *Policy Studies*, v. 36, n. 3, p. 267-282, 2015. DOI: 10.1080/01442872.2015.1065970

PAIVA, A. L.; GARCIA, A. S.; ALCÂNTARA, V. C. Disputas Discursivas sobre Corrupção no Brasil: Uma Análise Discursivo-Crítica no Twitter. *Rev. Adm. Contemp.*, v. 21, n. 5, p. 627-647, 2017.

PAPACHARISSI, Z. The Virtual Sphere 2.0: The Internet, the Public Sphere and beyond. In: CHADWICK, A.; HOWARD, N. (Eds.). *Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics*. London, UK, and New York, NY: Routledge, 2009. p. 230-245.

RECUERO, R. Contribuições da Análise de Redes Sociais para o estudo das redes sociais na Internet: o caso da hashtag #Tamojuntodilma e #CalaabocaDilma. *Revista Fronteiras* (Online), v. 16, p. 60-77, 2014. DOI: 10.4013/fem.2014.162.01

RECUERO, R.; GRUZD, A. Cascatas de "Fake News" Políticas: Um estudo de caso no Twitter. *Galáxia* (PUCSP), v. 41, p. 31-47, 2019.

RECUERO, R.; AMARAL, A.; MONTEIRO, C. F. Fandoms, tendencias y capital social en Twitter. In: ARANDA D.; SÁNCHEZ-NAVARRO, J.; ROIG, A. (Org.). *Fanáticos*: La Cultura Fan. 1. ed. Barcelona: Editorial UOC, 2013. v. 1, p. 225-250.

ROSSINI, P.; BAPTISTA, E. A.; SAMPAIO, R. C.; VEIGA, V. O. Redes de Ataque? Uma análise do uso de campanha negativa no Facebook nas eleições presidenciais de 2014. In: MAIA, R.; PRUDÊNCIO, K.; VIMIEIRO, A. C. *Democracia em Ambientes Digitais: eleições, esfera pública e ativismo*. EDUFBA, 2018. p. 75-96.

ROSSINI, P. Disentangling uncivil and intolerant discourse. In: R. Boatright, D. Young, S. Sobieraj, & T. Shaffer (eds). *A crisis of civility?* Contemporary research on civility, incivility, and political discourse. New York: Routlegde, 2019. p. 142-157.

SOARES, F. B.; RECUERO, R.; ZAGO, G. Influencers in Polarized Political Networks on Twitter. In: *International Conference for Social Media and Society* (SMSociety), 2018,

ARTIGO

Copenhagen, Denmark. Proceedings for the International Conference for Social Media and Society Copenhagen, Denmark, 2018. p. 1-10. DOI: 10.1145/3217804.3217909

STROMER-GALLEY, J.; WICHOWSKI, A. Political discussion online. In: M. Consalvo & C. Ess, *The handbook of internet studies*. West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011. v. 11, p. 168-187.

SUNSTEIN, C. *Echo Chambers*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

TUCKER, J. A.; GUESS, A.; BARBERA, P.; VACCARI, C.; SIEGEL, A.; SANOVICH, S.; STUKAL, D.; NYHAN, B. Social Media, Political Polarization, and Political Disinformation: A Review of the Scientific Literature. 2018. Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=3144139.

WASSERMAN, S. F. K. *Social Network Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

About the author

Raquel da Cunha Recuero - PhD in Communication and Information at Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (2006), Master's in Communication and Information at Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (2002), graduated on Communication Studies with major in Journalism at Universidade Católica de Pelotas (1998) and graduated in Law at Universidade Federal de Pelotas (1999). Professor and researcher at the Center for Languages and Communication at the Universidade Federal de Pelotas and researcher at the Post-Graduate Program in Communication at the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS).

Na superfície lisa da história: a imprensa e as formas clandestinas de informação

On the smooth surface of history: the press and clandestine forms of information

Ramsés Albertoni Barbosa[1]
Christina Ferraz Musse[2]

Resumo: *O artigo investiga as estratégias utilizadas pelos presos políticos ligados ao Grupo Colina, detidos na Penitenciária de Linhares, em Juiz de Fora, para denunciarem os crimes cometidos pelos militares e resistirem ao regime ditatorial, no Brasil, durante as décadas de 1960 e 1970. A reconstrução histórica foi possível por meio do arquivo de documentos oficiais que comprovam o que se tentou silenciar. Dessa forma, a análise procurou compreender as contradições desses documentos que refletem as atividades que lhes deram origem, pois foram produzidos na vigência de regimes de exceção. A pesquisa se articula em duas frentes complementares, História e Comunicação, cujas "afinidades eletivas" concernem à reflexão acerca das instâncias de interlocução, aos limites e às possibilidades do diálogo entre duas epistemologias.*

Palavras-chave: *arquivos; ditadura; presos políticos; história; comunicação.*

Abstract: *This paper investigates the strategies used by political prisoners linked to the Colina Group, detained in Linhares Penitentiary in Juiz de Fora, to denounce crimes committed by the military and resist the dictatorial regime in Brazil during the 1960s and 1970s. The historical reconstruction was possible through the archive of official documents that prove what was tried to silence. Thus, the analysis sought to understand the contradictions of these documents that reflect the activities that gave rise to them, since they were produced under exceptional regimes. The research is articulated in two complementary fronts, History and Communication, whose "elective affinities" concern the reflection about*

the instances of interlocution, the limits and possibilities of the dialogue between two epistemologies.

Keywords: *archives; dictatorship; political prisoners; history; communication.*

ARTIGO

Discursive Traces

During the 1960's and 1970's, in Juiz de Fora, during the civil-military dictatorship of 1964, some political prisoners, linked to the Grupo Colina and arrested in the Prison of Linhares, exposed the crimes committed by military men and resisted to the dictatorial regime, however, their actions rarely appear in the town press. Therefore, we can think, according to Barbosa (2013), that the 1960's were characterized by processes where power relationships crossed media outlets. To analyze discursive traces of what was said and what wasn't said is an important aspect in the formulation of meaning in a report, because it refers to the time of the event; however, in order for us to understand the social battle created in the field of memory, it is fundamental to avoid generalizations, stigmatizing interpretations, since the past is always conflicted and fragmented. Therefore, through the reconstruction of a few overlooked narratives, the research found registers of documents that prove the resistance to the civil-military dictatorship in 1964 and the silence of the media there, since some of these narratives were ingrained through the cracks of hegemonical discourses and almost escaped their control.

The access to the events in question happened through files of the repression itself; nonetheless, if the files are institutions of cultural memory, the same happens with places of memory invested in a symbolic aura that surpasses the mere material appearance and its functionality, whose documents reflect the activities that gave them origin; therefore, it is necessary to understand and analyze its contradictions, its veiling and unveiling, because it was produced in the moment of dictatorship, whose documental hypertrophy constitute one of their characteristics, making fraud out of operational practices inside the government, since its practices of surveillance and control agency a particular work of documentation.

When we analyze discursive powers, we ponder that we cannot speak of everything in any situation, because we don't have the right of saying everything, because the "will to truth" is, according to Foucault (2007), conducted by the way knowledge is applied on our society, how it is

valued and attributed, exerting power of coercion over other discourses, since discourse and power are intimately linked. According to the author, the production of discourses, in any society, is controlled with the designation of conjuring power and danger, weakening the efficacy of uncontrollable events, with the purpose of hiding the forces that materialize social constitution. Therefore,

> The moment had arrived to consider these facts of discourse, not only simply under their linguistic aspect, but, in a certain way and here I am inspired by the research performed by Americans as games, strategic games, of action and reaction, question and answer, domination and defense, as well as fight. The discourse is this regular set of linguistic facts in a certain level, and controversies and strategies on another. (FOUCAULT, 2003, p. 9)

That way. I order to the will to truth can be successfully performed, we use procedures that are external and internal to the discourse. While the procedures external to discourse limit the production of discourses, banning the word, and defining what can be said/unsaid in each circumstance, through the "object taboo" and the privileged or exclusive right of those who are speaking; internal procedures to the discourse have the role of classifying, ordering and dictating its distribution.

Therefore, discourse does not only reflect the power control, but is equally, power itself that demands individuals a questioning about the pursuit for truth, owing an attribution to discourse the character of the event, always effective in the field of materiality, because it has the space and time very well set. When we enterprise the inquiry of the meanings of silence as something that means and is distinguished from the implicit, that needs what's "said" to put themselves under meaning, it would be possible to think of silence as an agent of censorship that refers to what cannot be mentioned on certain circumstances.

The Military Police Inquiries (IPMs) analyzed by us, are built as intertextual narratives, because what constitutes intertextuality is the relationship of co-presence among two or more texts. The origin of these forms, in the end of the 19th century, happened in parallel with

the formation of a certain number of political and social controls. Consequently, IPM, according to Fronza (2017). Enables the Military Public Ministry to appreciate the practice of the criminal fact with all its circumstances, and refers to the cursory verification of the fact and its authorship which, in legal terms, would configure military crime, having a character of provisional instruction, whose goal is to supply elements for the proposition of the penal action; however, the inspections, exams and evaluations are instructional of this action and must observe the legal formalities as to its performance, whose responsible for the inquiry must restrict oneself to the complete verification of the facts defined in their designation.

Inquiry, according to Foucault (2003), is a form of truth defined through the judiciary and penal practices and the study demonstrates how social practices engender dominions of knowledge beyond building new objects, concepts and techniques, engender new forms of subjects and subjects of knowledge that have a history in their relationship with the object, since truth itself has a history. The author points out that there are two stories of truth, the internal story of truth, which is corrected through self-regulation, the external story of truth, formed in other places of knowledge through a certain number of rules defined, as the judiciary and penal practices, therefore

> Judiciary practices – the form through which, amongst men, were arbitrated damages and responsibilities, the form which, in Western History, is conceived and defined the form men could be judged according to the errors they had committed, the form imposed to certain individuals the reparation of some of their actions and punishment of others, all these rules or, if you will, all these regular practices, of course, but also modified without fail throughout history – seem to me one of the forms in which our society defined types of subjectivity, forms of knowledge and, consequently, relationships between men and the truth that need to be studied. (FOUCAULT, 2003, p. 11)

Inquiry, thus, is the most characteristic form of truth in our society, whose creation happened in the Middle Ages as a form of investigation of truth in the core of judicial order.

Therefore, when entering the archives of "institutional memory", we perceive that in its configuration evidences a plurality of memories that transform and happen as new information come to public, subsidizing changes in the knowledge existing so far about the dictatorial regime, because knowing about knowledge is having the awareness that its origin is found in power relationships and in the way men want to exercises, one over the other, power relations (FOUCAULT, 2003). Therefore, the investigation and analysis of every material taken during the research wants to identify, consequently, discursive strategies used equally by the press and by clandestine productions to narrate events that pertain to the city of Juiz de Fora, interpreting what was the criterion used to narrate or hide facts, because analyzing the role of censorship during the period of dictatorship is to look for establishing a dialogue with the memory built around the interference over the press and the criminalization of those who were opposed to the power of State. Consequently, it will be necessary to map social relations, its reconfigurations and different forms of production, evaluating their impacts on production, circulation and consumption of news, establishing the facts and agencing the construction of a sense of past in the present, guaranteeing the problematization and intelligibility of representations of the past that remain in the collective memory and that helped consolidate certain narratives instead of others.

The handling of documents of these institutional archives require methodological care that would consider the nature of functioning of the dictatorial regime, processes of mediation used and, most importantly, their conditions of production in these regimens the documental production reproducing criminal practices, whose scope is to create evidences against their enemies, and, concomitantly, self-defending from accusations that are being inflicted. This way, all this information must

ARTIGO

be read with suspicion, since it was produced in situations marked by the violence of extreme situations.

It is necessary to highlight that the article is articulated in two complimentary fronts, History and Communication, whose "elective affinities" refer to the reflection around the instances of interlocution, the limits and possibilities of dialogue among two epistemologies, being taken, in strict sense, as an expression of cultural configurations. Consequently, the elective affinities between History and Communication are the result of an unique arrangement and an inter-relation of parties, which constitutes a new entity that reveals the (de)continuities between these two forms of operationalization and understanding of the social society. Therefore, this concept opens possibilities for the understanding of complex realities and relations, expanding the field for the surpassing of an strict reductionism that erases the nuances of meanings attributed to established social relations.

Therefore, as we build the theoretical path through files of institutional memory of 1964's dictatorship in Brazil, the concepts of Communication, History, Truth and Power will be conjugated with the notion that an archive is not only a register of utterances, but equally its hierarchical order in many discursive series. Consequently, it is essential to have a critical reading of these archives, discovering gaps, erasures and neglects, proposing, even, a deconstruction of this concept that is hosted as something static and fixed in its ontology, in a way that is transformed, in its materiality, in a set of documents established as the positivity of truth in the historical experience (DERRIDA, 2001). While rescuing some Foucauldian concepts, Derrida (2001) make up a re-interpretation of a classic version of the archive present in the discourse of History, uttering an original conception, considering the archive as something incomplete, symptomatic and discontinuous, per passed by oblivion.

The archive, through the space in coins or medals destined to engrave a date or an inscription, commits an "archival violence", a violence of power that puts and conserves the right,

> [...] Because all the archive […] Is at the same time a settlor and a conservative. Revolutionary and traditional. Economical archive in this double meaning: keeps, put away, conserves, but in an unnatural way, in other words, making the law (nomos) or obeying the law. As we used to say, nomological. It has a strength of law, of a law that is homely (*oîkos*), house as a place, domicile, family or institution. (DERRIDA, 2001, p. 17-18).

Enterprising the critical literature of the archive and proposing its deconstruction implies, therefore, not only articulating a new interpretation of the past and the tradition, but mainly, a different reading of the conception of history. The archive will be interpreted as something incomplete and symptomatic, a de-continuity per passed by oblivion and erasure, since the discourse and power are linked in the concept of archive, since the truth is not dissociated from the singularity of an event, because it is built in a specific time and space.

Therefore, it is up to the researcher to rebuild the dispersed parts, creating histories for their herkunft (origin) and Entsenhung (emergency), because nothing exists beyond the historic dissemination of the event that is constantly deviated, because the conflicting historical forces are fighting in the chance of the fight, being necessary to interpret the sediments hidden under the veil of visibility. The researcher submits, thus, historical truths to an exegesis, seeking to unveil the "power strategies" with the pretention of truth, since the truth itself is an event. Therefore, it is necessary to clarify which are the connections that can be observed between the mechanisms of coercion and the elements of knowledge (FOUCAULT, 2018).

Consequently, we consider that every form of knowledge has a positivity that is not conditioned to the scientific nature and it cannot be judged by a reference other than knowledge itself. It is necessary to specify, thus, a method of investigation that aims at understanding an internal order that constitutes a certain knowledge, because of that, the archeological analysis needs to transit through different conceptual formulations, belonging to different knowledges, because History had the disposition to "memorize" the past, transforming it into documents

> [...] And making these traces speak, which, by themselves, they are rarely verbal, or say in silence a different thing of what they say: in our days, history is what transforms documents into monuments and unfolds, where traces were deciphered by men, where they tried to recognize the depth of what they were, a mass of elements that should be isolated, grouped, turned into pertinent, inter-related, organized into sets. There was a time in which archeology, as a discipline of mute monuments, of motionless traces, of objects without context and things left in the past, turned to history and only had meaning through the reestablishment of a historical discourse; which we could say, playing a little with words, that history, in our days, works towards archeology - to the intrinsic description of monument. (FOUCAULT, 2008, p. 8)

Foucauldian archeology is a way of making history that considers all discursive practices through the statute of happening, because what was said creates a discursive reality that allows to unravel as a man builds his own existence, since the subjects and objects do not exist a priori, but they are discursively built over what is said about them. While archeology is a method of analysis of "local discursivities", genealogy is the tactic that makes intervene the "de-subjectified knowledges", that become separated from the analysis because they were qualified as non-conceptual knowledges insufficiently elaborated by an hierarchy of knowledge (FOUCAULT, 1999). Therefore, in the moment you rescue these fragments of genealogy, they suffer the risk of being re-codified and re-colonized by the knowledge of power. Because of that, the researcher needs to be aware of the "battle of knowledge" versus the implications of power in the scientific discourse. Through the analysis of a set of documents, it is consented to the researcher to establish a certain number of relations and interpret every material available

> [...] To apprehend behind it a type of social or spiritual reality hidden in it; their work consist in manipulating and treating a series of homogenous documents concerning to a particular object and a particular time, and the internal and external relationships of this corpus of documents constitute the result of the historian's work. (FOUCAULT, 2008, p. 291)

The documental archeology would be gear towards, then, to the study of interpretations, appropriations, creations and regulations of knowledge on the behalf of societies in certain historic moments, enabling the formation of utterances that would be contained within the discursive formations oriented by a regimen of truth.

Therefore, our proposition is to analyze the judicial-military processes in the civilian-military dictatorship not only in its patent and ostensive traces, but also in the multiple readings authorized by the condition of posteriority of the interpreter. When we analyze the archeology and genealogy of the judicial-military processes perpetrated in the Auditory of 4ª CJM, we can ponder that they configure a penal practice that builds a form of truth in our societies, whose origin can be found in a political and administrative practices, even in the judiciary practice.

The apprehended manuscript

Due to the process 73/69, there was a collective interrogation of 12 political prisoners linked to Grupo Colina detained at Penitenciária de Linhares, between March 19th and 20th 1970, in the 4ª CJM headquarters in Juiz de Fora, and it took 27 hours. The session was presided by the judge Mauro Seixas Telles with the presence of military judges from the Permanent Council of Justice, whose object of accusation of this military process investigating 20 people in total, refers to the provocation of a subversive war, sabotage and terrorism, paramilitary groups, subversive propaganda, illicit possession of weaponry, apology to crime against national security, mutiny, attempted aggravated murder and real favoritism.

The political prisoners that were interrogated were Ageu Heringer Lisboa, José Raimundo Jardim Alves Pinto, Marco Antônio de Azevedo Meyer, Marcos Antônio Rocha, Pedro Paulo Bretas, Nilo Sérgio Menezes de Macedo, Afonso Celso Lana Leite, Ângelo Pezzuti, Júlio Antônio Bittencourt de Almeida, Maurício Vieira de Paiva, Murilo Pinto da Silva and Irany Campos. However, these political prisoners used the

interrogation to report the tortures committed by the dictatorial system, in addition to question the military court that were interrogating them.

Despite the grave accusations pronounced by the military court, the newspaper Diário Mercantil, two days later, in March 21st 1970, published the fact briefly and hid the severity of the report, made by the prisoners, of abuse, torture and murder committed by the dictatorial regime, according to the following quotation:

> In an environment of great tension, allied with the visible fatigue of the judges, the prosecutor Simeão de Faria Filho and the other servants of justice, the 14 accused were heard, and some of their depositions lasted over 3 hours each. According to information of the auditor, there are 28 people accused, but not everyone was present, and others were accused as criminals in other processes. (Permanent Council heard members of the Grupo Colina. *Diário Mercantil*, Juiz de Fora, p. 8, March 21st 1970)

On April 2nd, 1970, the 2nd tenant of PM Mariano was on duty at Penitenciária de Linhares, on the day of visits to political prisoners. The brothers Ângelo e Murilo received a visit of their father, Theofredo Pinto da Silva, and some relatives. During the visit, the Sargent Edmundo noticed that Ângelo was carrying a piece of paper that he gave to his father when he hugged him goodbye. The Sargent waited until all the visitors were out of the room and instructed the substitute military Iguatemir to intercept the paper. Therefore, the military sent Theofredo to the Reserva do Contingente, a room next to the interview room, and handed the paper to Sargent Gomes. This paper was the clandestine newspaper Farewell 3.

The manuscript of Farewell 3 consisted on 11 sheets of white paper, without lines, numbered from 12 to 24, stapled, with a cover in a yellow paper, handwritten with a blue pen, imitating typography presenting as title the following words: "Farewell 3 – Special Edition – Biweekly Magazine: Debates – February – March/1970 – The dictatorship in the defendant's seat – H. Expect" (PROCESSO 32/70, p. 381). The first page of this manuscript had a foreword in which the author H. Expect accuses the dictatorship of imperialism, saying that during the

interrogation that happened in march, there was a tense mood in which all those responsible for the judgement were submissive to the "´pigs" and the defendants had their defenses obstructed since the Penitenciária de Linhares, place where their written reports were confiscated. In this foreword, he affirms an attempt of reconstitution of the most important aspects of the collective interrogation and concludes calling the court a sham.

After analyzing the manuscript Farewell 3, it was possible to verify that the interrogated built a discourse of conformity in their evaluations and judgements, since they denied the content of their previous interrogations, formulated under torture and duress, in addition to reporting those responsible for the abuse in several institutions and mistreatment received on the penitentiary. Through the registration of the Processo 73/69, where the depositions referred on the manuscript of Farewell 3 are located, it was also possible to make a cross referencing between two discourses, the official and the clandestine, and noticing the similarities with slight changes in tone.

Captain Walter, director of the Penitenciária de Linhares, was only informed of the apprehension of the manuscript of Farewell 3 at 7 o'clock of that same day, by the public servant of the state Afonso José, and on April 3rd 1970 communicated, in a reserved manner, to the general Itiberê, commander of the 4th Military Region, that on the previous day, April 2nd, a document was apprehended by the security at the penitentiary with "subversive information" (PROCESSO 32/70, p. 10).

After receiving this information, the general emitted the Decree 06/J, on April 7th, determining the instauration with possible urgency of the IPM and designated the captain Verlangieri as the responsible for the investigation. The first action of the captain was to send, on April 15th, 1970, a warrant for the arrest of Theofredo and on April 25th, due to the suspicion of other forbidden objects owned by political and regular prisoners, to perform a scanning process at Penitenciária de Linhares in which was possible to characterize the continuity of criminal activity on the behalf of the prisoners. However, with the goal of not to disturb

the investigation of the Process 32/70, the captain decided not to indiscriminately retain the documents and objects apprehended, leaving the interpretation and analysis for another, more specific, IPM (PROCESSO 32/70, p. 221).

On May 7th, 1970, the Report of Captain Verlangieri was published, indicting all the people involved in the process and sending to the general commander. On May 15th 1970, the general Itiberê sent the Solution of the IPM to the judge-auditor Mauro Seixas Telles who, within the following month, clarified that Ângelo and Murilo had their penal action cancelled due to being banished from the national territory, according to AI-13, on September 05th, 1969. Ângelo and Murilo were among the 40 political prisoners exchanged by the German embassador Ehrenfried Anton Theodor Ludwig von Holleben, kidnapped by the urban guerrilla, on June 11th, 1970 and were sent to Algeria.

After several diligences and apprehension of documents, the substitute military prosecutor of the Auditory of 4ª CJM, Joaquim Simeão de Faria Filho, on July 23rd 1970, offered a report against Theofredo, Ângelo, Murilo and, later, Ângela Maria Pezzuti, accused of bringing intel to her nephews and Erwin Rezende Duarte, accused of subversive propaganda and incitement of crime against national security (PROCESSO 32/70, p. 232).

On that same day, the military prosecutor requested to the auditor judge a handwriting comparison of the manuscript *Até Sempre* 3 with the handwriting of the political prisoners Nilo Sérgio Menezes, Délio Fantini, Erwin Rezende, Jorge Batista Filho, Pedro Paulo Bretas and Júlio Antônio Bittencourt to reveal the author of the manuscript, whose fault would fall over Erwin, who denies the authorship of the apprehended manuscript, requesting a new handwriting comparison, even more strict than the last. However, the experts determined "perfect convergence of morpho-kinetic-structural graphic characteristics between the handwriting that was confronted, affirming, categorically, the graphic precedence in common between these two pieces" (PROCESSO

32/70, p. 382). However, by the end of the Processo 32/70, the author of the manuscript *Até Sempre* 3 will continue to be unknown.

The final judgement of those accused, with the absolution of everyone involved in the process, happened between August 10th and 23rd 1971 on the headquarters of Auditory of 4ª CJM, in the Session Room. Theofredo, Ângela, and Erwin's trial took place on August 10th, 1971 in an open court. The members of the Military Council argued that the Processo 32/70 versed about a few political prisoners accused of terrorism and leaded by Ângelo. According to the Council, these political prisoners kept having "communist/subversive" activities within the Penitenciária de Linhares through "an aversive psychologic war, a common practice" aiming to take to common knowledge, in a distorted way, "a truncated idea of what was a processual act" (PROCESSO 32/70, p. 501). Finally, the Military Council concluded that as the manuscript of *Até Sempre* 3 couldn't achieve the desired publicity, which would consummate the crime, they decided to understand that the fact didn't get to go against the law and, by an unanimous vote, judged unfounded the report, recognizing that the narrated facts did not typify a crime. Later, the punishability of Ângelo was extinct on the other military processes he was responding to, due to his death, in France, on 1975. In September 3rd, 1979, eight years after the closure of Process 32/70, the Military Council decreed the extinction of punishability of Murilo, due to the Law nº 6.683/79, the Law of Amnesty.

What is left is silence

When we analyzed the vast documentation available, it was possible to determine that the press in Juiz de For a explored the fact that the civil-military coup began in Juiz de Fora, and notwithstanding all their commitment in defending the civil-military coup became silent facing the atrocities committed by the dictatorial regime. Therefore, according to Barbosa,

> Despite having to consider that the political censorship in moments of authoritarianism acts in an intermittent form, not constant and in a different manner in relation to media outlets, since the 1964 coup there were different mechanisms installed to control the information that is published. The argument frequently presented to the institution of censorship in all dimensions of cultural life of the country puts in evidence the role attributed to the media: besides informing, they should orient the population, guided by the state. The content that could serve as a stimulus to the opposition of militaries should be kept out of these publications. (BARBOSA, 2013, p. 296-297)

The standard argument used by certain press to justify the actions of dictatorship, is that they are living in a time of "war" promoted by the communist "terrorists".

With regards to the military justice, the admiral Júlio de Sá Bierrenbach, former minister of STM during the dictatorship, comments that the most complicated case he faced was referring to the political prisoner Paulo José de Oliveira Moraes, member of a group of bank robbers and a defendant in several processes. According to the military,

> Generally, I believe this was the best service I've made for the Military Justice. [...] It had a wide repercussion, and, I don't have any doubt, reduced a lot the torture and abuse in police stations of several states in the country. [...] I heard different lawyers say that in Court the judges must be restricted to what is on the document. Even after filling this position, I heard: "What isn't in the documents, is not in the world". This case was a good service because the police saw we've checked everything. (BIERRENBACH, 2010, p. 4-6)

The minister Bierrenbach became famous for being respectful of the political prisoners and for acting in an ethical manner.

According to Antônio Modesto Silveira, lawyer of several political prisoners that were judged in Juiz de Fora, there were two types of judges in town, one, frequently seen drunk and frequenting the zone of prostitution in the city, and

[...] A judge called Antônio Arruda Marques, he was an auditor judge, very correct and dignified. [...] […] This dignified judge […] Simply sent a letter to […] High Military Court, informing what had happened and more, while they did not sent a legal judge he doesn't have any ethical or legal condition to raise a court hearing and said "I am with a closed audit until the law is obeyed". [...] What happens next, the dictatorship decides to take away the rights and the position of the judge. (DEPOSITIONS, 2017, p. 7-9).

Consequently, when we retrieve the content of judicial-military processes, in which judgements are narrated of different political prisoners and cross-referencing it with the news published by the press in Juiz de Fora, we see the lack of capability of the press in telling the abuse of the repressive forces, and, in some cases, even the explicit support.

In a deposition to CMV-JF, the photographer of the newspaper *Diário Mercantil*, Antônio Geraldo Carvalho, also known as Toninho Carvalho, comments on his work routine at the time of dictatorship:

[...] Because we, as photographers, we are more… almost a machine, see. [...] So, different interviews were made with me there, I was with the reporter at the Penitenciária de Linhares, I was in different judgements there at Praça Antônio Carlos to photograph the judgement of some political prisoner, right. And at the Penitenciária de Linhares, practically half of the people there were political prisoners. So, there are different moments where I was in the Audit of War of the Military Justice and I was forbidden of taking pictures. (DEPOSITIONS, 2017, p. 2-3).

The journalist Wilson Cid, a correspondent at the time in Juiz de Fora for the newspaper *O Globo*, in a deposition to the CMV-JF, mentions that he also watched some judgements in the Audit of 4ª CJM and he saw some interesting things, however, to our surprise, he affirms he didn't have any access to information about mistreatment to political prisoners. According to him,

We knew that there were arrests, especially when the trials of Audit began, because the prosecutor used to enter complaining and the lawyer would make the defense, and we used to see that. [...] However, to know directly

from the prisoner, someone is getting hit, someone was indicted, at the time was complicated. We didn't have access to this type of information. [...] But to deal with censorship, that was awful, it leaves a mark that you don't even want to know. The most serious mark in all of that is that we created a generation of journalists concerned… in the writing "according to what was said, someone declared", the journalist sometimes is afraid to commit to an information. He attributes to others. (DEPOSITIONS, 2017, p. 4-5)

We get the impression that the journalist was strongly marked by censorship.

However, the lawyer Antônio Modesto reinforces the version of the political prisoners when he says he heard, from his clients, several stories about torture in Juiz de Fora.

I sought to hear through (stories) my clients, they weren't as serious as I've seen on other places as, for example, the Casa da Morte de Petrópolis, the DOI-CODI at Rio, the DOI-CODI at São Paulo and many other places in Brazil. In any way, I've seen something and until today I'm curious to know. I used to hear references of a house where people were tortured and people even suggested that there were people disappearing after being seen there, a house by the river [Rio Paraibuna], something like that. It may be that there were a house by the river, I don't know where, but a house where serious things used to happen and even today I haven't heard what was the address of this house, as it happened in other states too. (DEPOSITIONS, 2017, p. 9)

Another lawyer for political prisoners had confirmed the cases of torture in Juiz de Fora was Winston Jones Paiva, in a deposition to CMV-JF. According to the lawyer:

I've seen cases of torture, often it wasn't physical torture, but psychological, which can be even worse than physical torture, as the case of Avelino Coque Torres who was hooded, put naked in a refrigerated place and threatened to take his family to Ilha Grande. So, these threats happened frequently, and I can give these two examples so you can understand that, in fact, torture did happen. No one can deny that there was torture. [...] It seems, I'm not sure, but it seems to me that Avelino was to QG, the

General Headquarters. Here, there were three places, QG, 10° BI, 10ª Brigada de Infantaria and the Penitenciária Edson Cavalieri. (DEPOSI-TIONS, 2017, p. 3)

The professor and playwright José Luiz Ribeiro, in the 1960's, worked as a journalist at the newspaper *Diário Mercantil* and said, in his deposition to the CMV-JF, that:

We knew what was happening, cursed and all, but when we write, there was an editor. [...] This process, then, could be modified because things happened because Juiz de Fora received political prisoners; they were judged here, so, a lot of things happened, many people were arrested. (DEPOSITIONS, 2017, p. 3)

Therefore, it still wasn't possible to confirm successfully the truth of the information about cases of torture happening in Juiz de Fora, because, for now, we only have stories of people involved directly with the repressive process.

Another professional of the press to talk about the period was the journalist Paulo César Magella who clears up, in his deposition to CMV-JF, some questions about censorship and self-censorship, because there were the job of repression and fear, but there were also the financial interest of communication companies.

It is nice to understand that we were in a context of fear at the time. Was it self-censorship? Yes, it was, but people used to live in fear. But with the Geisel government, with this decompression, people began to be a little bit bolder. There was a lot of fear of losing the concession, too. But the newspaper began to advance. [...] And then you had to cover, the radio stations were almost obliged to do it. September 7th they had to transmit. And before that, you had to go to the military headquarters to get the order of the parade, you had to stay on the stage "now this is the troop x". It was a lot of pressure. [...] Fear and even interest, at that time, of being… advertisement mass… Pressure. I can't say we weren't… Newspapers weren't as resistant. Many weren't. Many were in it too, knew what was happening and covered it. [...] Newspapers, especially in country regions, where were a huge economic pressure. If you didn't do an appropriate coverage, you would get retaliation. (DEPOSITIONS, 2017, p. 6)

Therefore, when we analyze the discursive powers (FOUCAULT, 2007) of press, of official documents and clandestine newspapers, it was possible to perceive how you lead the will of truth in our society, because the form how the legal and legitimate knowledge is produced, applied, valued and attributed, allows that a power of coercion is exerted upon other discourses, considered illegal and illegitimate, interdicting the word and conjuring them the efficacy and threat, whose goal was to hide forces that materialize the social constitution, since the discourse does not only reflect the control of power, but is, equally, power itself.

Therefore, it is necessary to clarify that it is not like the professionals of the press didn't know or were censored by the repressive system instituted on 1964, but that many professionals were silent, due to fear or for supporting the dictatorship, facing incisive revelations, while others were complicit with the crimes committed. It is clear to us, consequently, that the silence, even after decades of what happened, and, in some cases, the adhesion was the characteristic brand of the press during the 1964 civil-military dictatorship in Brazil.

References

BARBOSA, M. *História da comunicação no Brasil*. Petrópolis: Vozes, 2013.

BIERRENBACH, J. S. *Depoimento*. 07/06/2006. Rio de Janeiro, CPDOC/SUPERIOR TRIBUNAL MILITAR, 2010. 14p. Disponível em: http://www.fgv.br/cpdoc/historal/arq/Entrevista1522.pdf. Acesso em: 8 maio 2018.

CMV-JF. *Comissão Municipal da Verdade*. Disponível em: www.ufjf.br/comissaoda-verdade/2016/09/21/livro-da-comissao-municipal-da-verdade-ganha-segunda-edicao. Acesso em: 30 nov. 2017.

DEPOIMENTOS. *Depoimentos à Comissão Municipal da Verdade de Juiz de Fora*. Disponível em: www.ufjf.br/comissaodaverdade/depoimentos. Acesso em: 30 maio 2017.

DERRIDA, J. *Mal de arquivo – uma impressão freudiana*. Rio de Janeiro: Relume-Dumará, 2001.

DIÁRIO MERCANTIL. Setor de Memória da Biblioteca Municipal Murilo Mendes. Juiz de Fora, Minas Gerais.

FOUCAULT, M. *A arqueologia do saber*. Rio de Janeiro: Forense Universitária, 2008.
FOUCAULT, M. *A ordem do discurso*. São Paulo: Loyola, 2007.
FOUCAULT, M. *A verdade e as formas jurídicas*. Rio de Janeiro: NAU, 2003.
FOUCAULT, M. *Em defesa da sociedade*. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 1999.
FOUCAULT, M. Qu'est-ce que la critique? Critique et Aufklärung. *Bulletin de la Société Française de Philosophie*, v. 82, n. 2, p. 35-63, avr/juin, 1990. Disponível em: http://portalgens.com.br/portal/images/stories/pdf/critica.pdf. Acesso em: 3 abr. 2018.
FRONZA, D. *Inquérito Policial Militar*. Disponível em: http://www.direitonet.com.br/artigos/x/30/99/3099/. Acesso em: 8 jun. 2017.
PROCESSO 73/69. Auditoria da 4ª CJM – STM.
PROCESSO 32/70. Auditoria da 4ª CJM – STM.

About the authors

Ramsés Albertoni Barbosa – Literature professor. Master in Poetics at UFRJ. Master student in Communication at PPGCOM-UFJF. In this article, the author worked on the research of the files, on the interpretation of the data collected, on the library review and writing the text.

Christina Ferraz Musse – Master's in communication and Culture at Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (2001) and PhD in Communication and Culture at Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (2006). Professor/Coordinator of the PPGCOM-UFJF and leader of the Research Group COMCIME. In this article, the author worked in the conception of the research outline and the development of the theoretical discussion.

Quando a imagem é corpo: modos de sobreviver à máquina colonial

When image is body: ways to survive the colonial machine

Fernando Resende[1]
Roberto Robalinho [2]
Diego Granja Amaral[3]

Resumo: *Este artigo parte dos vestígios de uma escrava africana enterrada na região portuária do Rio de Janeiro e do filme "Era o Hotel Cambridge" (Brasil, 2016), sobre uma ocupação no centro de São Paulo, com o objetivo de discutir como a imagem configura um corpo a partir de situações liminares. A proposta é observar a emergência intermitente das imagens e daquilo que é relegado à posição de resto, rastro, e vestígio na estrutura do poder colonial. Dos ossos humanos, que clamam um acerto com um passado escravagista, ao esqueleto de um edifício abandonado pela especulação e reinventado como corpo político por refugiados e sem-teto brasileiros, a imagem é a instância que conduz as demandas políticas no tempo. É a insistência de uma memória marginalizada, violentada, mas que recusa o apagamento. Como gesto de criação, persistência e (r)existência, a imagem nos serve como instrumento analítico para pensar contextos pós-coloniais e suas sobrevivências.*

Palavras-chave: *corpo; tempo; imagem; pós-colonial; sobrevivência.*

1   Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF). Niterói, RJ, Brasil.
    https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7878-4840 E-mail: fernandoaresende1501@gmail.com
2   Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF). Niterói, RJ, Brasil.
    https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7642-9805 E-mail: rrobalinho78@gmail.com
3   Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF). Niterói, RJ, Brasil.
    https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1785-5131 E-mail: diegoamaral000@gmail.com

ARTIGO

Abstract: *Having as a starting point the human remains of an African slave buried in Rio de Janeiro's harbour and the film "Era o Hotel Cambridge" (Brazil, 2016), about a squat in downtown São Paulo, we will discuss how an image configures a body in extreme situations. We aim to observe the intermittent emergence of images and what is considered rest, trail and remains of colonial power structures. From human bones that claim reparation from their slave past, to the skeleton of an abandoned building reinvented as political body by refugees and Brazilian homeless, image is the instance that carries political demands in time. It is the insistence of a marginalized and violated memory that refuses to be erased. As a gesture of creation, persistence and re-existence, image becomes an analytical tool to understand postcolonial contexts and its surviving remains.*

Keywords: *body; time; image; postcolonial; survival.*

Image in an exhausted geography

This article begins from two radical experiences of violence and anni-hilation of life to think about how it is possible to create, out of the motionless mud, a body, a life and an image. As a way of thinking our colonial trajectory, we will first look towards the traces of slavery: bones found in the port region of Rio de Janeiro. These remains configure an image, and thinking about them is thinking of the image and its complex layers which, as Didi-Huberman indicates, must be "understood at the same time as document and as object of dream, as work and object of passage, as monument and object of montage, as not knowing and an object of science" (2012, p. 209). In other words, in Rio's port, the bones of enslaved African people are what shouldn't exist, are the image of the unimaginable, the image of a genocide that insists in becoming present. However, as we will also see, through multiple agencies, they find a way to the surface, becoming a body that exists, despite of everything.

Looking these bones, images that remain from slavery, will serve us, in a second moment, to understand how *Era o Hotel Cambridge* (Elia-ne Caffé, Brasil, 2016) also elaborates a body, through those that are the remainders of the world's capitalism: refugees from different coun-tries and homeless from Brazil, which under the shelter of a body of concrete, the hotel, can produce a common experience that defies the constituted powers. They are from the northeast region of Brazil, from Congo, from Palestine and even nurses, street cleaners, administrative assistants, among so many others, people who the Frente por Luta de Moradia (Movement for Fight for Housing) calls in the film as "the base". In conditions of extreme expropriation, they constitute themsel-ves as a body through the hotel and the film itself.

The bones, in the Port of Rio, the refugees and the hotel, in the film, are here understood as operators of a bodily and subjective invention, tributary not only of the composition of a body, but an image capable of constituting a body, dilacerated, often, through multiple agencies. As remainders, they share a relation of power that subjugate them to a sub-jective zero degree we can call "precarious" (BUTLER, 2004).

Through this point of view, the suggestion is to think both on the constitution of a body through bones, but also about "the refugee being" as a condition of political resistance, a process that goes through the articulation of an image and the reinvention of a body, being both, at the same time, survival to the annihilation and evidence of a historical process of symbolical and material extermination. Part of our objective is to align the thought around a "process of Africanization of the world", where Mbembe (2003) understands as being the precarious and the objectification of the other, with the "We, the refugees", from Hannah Arendt (2013), in which the condition of the refugee as a stateless person becomes a historical condition of forefront to compose any other and multiple subjectivity.

Under this perspective, we come from the premise that, facing a mechanism of colonial power to which we belong, and which as base the invention and domination of the other, it is possible, despite of everything (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2003), produce images of the unimaginable. That said, we defend the hypothesis that is possible to produce a thought about our colonial experience, through a reflection about how the remainders, the traces, the gaps, the margins of the colonial machine, be them bones or a film over a occupied hotel, configure images all the time. Thus, we propose to think about this unfinished remainders through the image, since their survivals are all the moment, intermittently, reverberating and producing other images.

Irit Rogoff (2006) says that the contemporary global capitalism engenders "exhausted geographies" which demand different thoughts, approaches and other analytical instruments, distinct from those who help them become what they are today. In these geographies, we understood, the unfinished remainders of the colonial machine converge, through constant power disputes. And it is from the same broken ground, we suggest, that bloom forms of life that will, at their own manner, produce fissures, in an open process that is never finished.

In this sense, if the image is capable of "creating, at the same time, a symptom (interruption of knowledge) and knowledge (interruption of

chaos) (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2012, p. 214), we suggest that it is the appearance on the port of Rio de Janeiro and its confirmation in the film of Caffé that also produces other geographies. That demands permanent attention and also allow us to say that, with it, the image, it is necessary to think. Through this path, much more than brushing (BENJAMIN, 2008), what we seek to do is to *dig* against the grain the survivals around our colonial machinery.

Bones – or what remains of our colonialist project

The ethnographic research performed by Simone Vassallo (2017 and 2018) reveals a complex and multiple process of discovery of bones in the port region of Rio de Janeiro. The year is 1996, when a middle-class family begins a renovation in their home. As soon as the floor is broken, in the middle of the debris, dirt, pieces of bricks and bones begin to appear. The amount and diversity of bone fragment is so impressive that surprises that surprises the family which then interrupts all the work, suspecting that there, where now is located their house, a mass murder had happened. After investigating with neighbors the history of the neighborhood, the couple calls the archeologists of Museu Nacional (RJ), who came to inspect the place and collect the bones. The conclusion: there once was a cemetery destined to the storage of bones of African people. Trafficked to Brazil, they were all newcomers – hence the name "new blacks" – that couldn't survive to the cruel voyage through the Atlantic Sea.

    This discovery collided, later on, with the "2016 Olympic Games", which promoted a huge process of urban renovation of the port of the city of Rio. Among other actions, the renovation unveiled, through excavations, the so-called "Cais do Valongo", an old port where landed approximately five hundred thousand to one million enslaved African people destined to the Americas. In the midst of trash, the bones in the Valongo region became, since then, a part of the colonial history of the city of Rio de Janeiro, the most precise proof of the African genocide that happened in the Americas.

Let's look into the pile of bones that emerge from the ground of that house as an image of the colonial experience, which, according to Mignolo (2017), would be the "dark side" of modernity. According to Mignolo, it isn't possible to separate a process of clarification and material abundance that mark the foundation of the modern project without conceiving the America's discovery, which revealed not only an abundant source of material resources, but also the base for a new commercial circuit and, in an equally important manner, a new articulation of relations of power-knowledge.

In the terms of Mignolo (2005), the emergency of the Atlantic commercial circuit is the event that founds the imaginary of the so-called "modern/colonial world". Supported on Glissant (1997), which understands imaginary as a symbolic construction through which a community – racial or national, for example – defines itself, Mignolo offers the term "imaginary" an artifice of "geopolitical character" (2005, p. 35). What is in question, to Mignolo, is the construction of the idea of a "Western hemisphere". In its perspective, the imaginary is, overall, a political construction that favors the articulation of cultural differences in favor, for instance, of gestures of racial, economical and sexual domination.

In this sense, when we imagine as white, male and Christian, the "West" is set apart from the rest of the world it wants to dominate. And thus, the imaginary would be the cohesive element of fiction that is understood as a "Western world". The west, therefore, does not represent here a strictly geographic notion. In the geopolitical connotation employed by Mignolo, the exclusion of Africa, for example, and consequently the idea of the black body as the Other's body, is fundamental for the constitution of this imaginary. And in this sense, the traces of bones do not only incorporate the evidence of colonization, but a modern episteme capable of producing remainders while grinding black bodies.

The Atlantic circuit also presents a strategic character in the articulation between the social-political imaginary and the economy. And in this sense, "imagining" black people as the other is part of a wider project of constitution of margins to be explored by the capitalism, which

begins to consolidate along with modernity. In this process, images also begin to be produced and articulated of what is considered undesirable, marginal, lead to oblivion or erasure (QUIJANO, 2005; MBEMBE, 2014). The colonialist project foresaw and demanded the existence of forms of domination that would be necessary to their subsistence, thus, it is in the crossing of these systems, that create forms of life, that the slave-owning project also finds support.

Today, the family house is the Institute of New Blacks (IPN), a place where the bones that appeared from the ground are exposed. In the entrance, a text describes what is there: a pile of bones – of black bones – discarded without funeral, in open ditches with trash, food and carcasses. In this sense, the bones exposed on the ground of a house located in the downtown area of Rio de Janeiro – this waste that remains – are the remainder of the colonial machine. It is from this rubble that comes to surface the image of our horror; revealing image of the mass destruction of human bodies, transformed in pieces and dust of bones. Image which, as pointed by Didi-Huberman, "is characterized by its intermittence, its frailty, its interval of apparitions, of disappearances, re-apparitions and re-disappearances without end" (2011, p. 86);

The body, its name and the image that shouts

The extreme violence of the African genocide in Brazil is not only in the annihilation of bodies, but in the constant attempt of erasing the evidence of the massacre. These bodies, and any other remainders, could no longer exist; as excrescence, they are all unimaginable in the opacity of our modernity. However, in 2007, the archeologist Reinaldo Tavares decided to scrape and dig deeper into the terrain of Instituto dos Pretos Novos (VASSALLO, 2018). When he removed the earth of one meter deep, to his surprise, where there seemed to exist only rests of trash and pieces of bone, he discovered a complete skeleton of a young woman.

Exactly there, where there was implemented a policy of obliteration of bodies, in that ground, where before was the ditch of common men and where today we witness the massacre, there is a body-image that is

born in the intermittence that she produces, an image that is born out of the effort of its own erasure. This time, the Afro-Brazilian movements got to prohibit the removal of the skeleton; it stayed there, and it is there until this day, since then, through a religious funeral, this place became considered its place of burial.

One of the archeologists give the skeleton the name of the first black and enslaved saint: Josefina Bakhita[4]. According to the register in an interview made by Vassallo (2018), Tavares' desire was that Josefina Bakhita could scream loudly so everyone could hear and say what happened there. As Rancière argues,

> Everything is a remainder, vestige or fossil. Every sensitive form, from the rock to the shell, speaks. Each one of them brings, inscribed in their grooves and volute, the marks of their history and the signs of their destination (2009, p. 35).

In this sense, it is necessary to see and listen to Josefina Bakhita. Her bones had a new meaning and her skeleton, exposed and framed as a painting that we see when we look into the ground of the house, is the image that we incorporate here to be, herself, both the witness of our genocide and the unfolding of other journeys that we also witness in our times.

Under this perspective, our challenge is to unveil the history inscribed in this body-image that is, as images always are, a trace. After all, inversely, every trace, every vestige, every fossil is a symptom of a story, and, therefore, of another image. As Didi-Huberman says,

> Because the image is something else than a simple cut practiced in the world of visible aspects. It is an impression, a trace, a visual trace of the time it wanted to touch, but also from other supplementary times – fatally anachronic and heterogeneous between them – that cannot, as the art of memory, glue together (2012, p. 216).

---

4   Este processo, contudo, não se dá sem alguma ambiguidade, visto que se trata da reinserção do corpo da ex-escrava na ordem simbólica, justamente pela sua nomeação como santa católica (OLIVEIRA, 2017).

The skeleton has a face, a history and a body – all of it creating, in the end, an image. An image of the body, that is now alive as subject of its own image. In this process, that we choose to call "r-existence", the apparition of Josefina Bakhita is political, because as an image and as a body, it incorporates the singularities of existence of every body that were crushed with her; an existence articulated with multiple agents and events that compose the Cemetery of New Blacks, in the downtown region of Rio de Janeiro.

When we think about the image process of the apparition of a nation – which, for us, also mean the apparition of Josefina Bakhita –, Didi--Huberman says that there it creates

> A space where the relationship between differences begins to constitute, creating a permanent conflict between what Benjamin would call 'barbarism and culture'. A conflict that reports, as if in a new perpetual montage of spaces and times, all the tragic history of exposition and dispute of the human being (2014, p. 23).

Thus, the unimaginable present in the image of Josefina Bakhita is the interval that it, the image, produces between bodies and times: an image woven by a skeleton, a story, fragments of bones, debris and ashes; an images that carries a whole port, a city and a group of people. An image, beyond everything else, that configures an ocean, the Atlantic, that served as a path of men and women rejected by their own countries, subordinated and treated as precarious objects in the world of other. It is in this image, we want so suggest, of its own intermittence – of histories, fights, times and spaces it brings out – that we begin to think about other images, surviving and resulting from the same effort of erasure that are submitted the subject-excrescence – the leftovers – of the system of modern-colonial-world.

The hotel – or the living bodies in the city of São Paulo

Chasing the traces of images that survive in/with the cinema, our attention was driven to the film *Era o Hotel Cambridge* (Eliane Caffé, 2016).

Showing inhabitants of an abandoned building talking about themselves in front of a camera, the movie makes it impossible to separate between the genres of documentary and fiction, activating a gesture that refers to the powers of the false by Deleuze,

> What is opposed to fiction is not reality, it is not the truth that is always about the dominant or the colonizer, it is the storytelling role of the poor, as far as it gives to the false the power creating a memory, a legend, a monster (2009, p. 183).

This film, that deals about a squatting movement in downtown São Paulo, on behalf of migrants, refugees and members of the *Homeless Workers Movement (MSTC)*, opens with an overview of downtown São Paulo. Little by little, the camera let in the graffiti, the urban noise and the grey concrete to later fixate in one of the buildings with a red flag of the Movement Fighting for Housing (FLM). After locating the viewer in the city, the camera travels inside the building, where we see pipes, wiring and cracked walls that reveal, from the start, one of the main characters of the film: the building itself, the old Hotel Cambridge[5]. Near disappearing, it reappears, in the film as the leading character.

As a character, the building sews and frames the different bodies and lives found there. More than that, it is in it (and with it) that it becomes possible the reunion of so many different bodies: different languages, nations and landscapes, shown there at every moment, through pictures framed by the poor physical condition of the hotel itself: spiral staircases, windows without glass, crammed apartments, a basement. It is in this set of remainders that the Hotel's body becomes a space of juxtaposition of differences.

Era o Hotel Cambridge brings up an urgent and wide debate. Either putting us in front of the problem of (lack of) housing in big urban centers or the own issue related to migration and refuge, what this film evokes, first and foremost, is the precariousness of the human. It talks

---

5   Located in the Avenue 9 de Julho, in downtown São Paulo, Hotel Cambridge was one of the big hotels in the region. Founded in the 1950, time of important growth of the city, the hotel would receive guests of all corners of Brazil and the world.

about the existence of undesirable bodies, of remainders that do not fit into an aseptic utopia of modern projects.

In one of these scenes, in which some of the characters gathered in a circle discuss themes for an improv activity, the Congolese Pitchou Luambo suggests a situation: "a boy in an airplane wheel". Facing the perplexity of the audience and the person responsible for guiding the activity, the character explains it was an autobiographical story. Pitchou Luambo, in an attempt of fleeing the bloody conflict in his birth land, held on to a plain wheel; in an unsuccessful attempt that didn't make Luambo give up his journey. In another moment, when he sought to migrate to the United States, Luambo got in the basement of a ship, the same one that brought him, without him knowing, to Brazil. Repeating in a symptomatic way the tragic story of millions of Africans, Luambo crosses the Atlantic and arrives, through different forces from those that operated in the regimen of slavery, to an unknown land.

In Brazil, the Congolese finds other individuals that, in the process of squatting at the Cambridge Hotel, share the same precarious condition. This process, which crosses bodies, spaces and times, bringing precarious memories, disputes and forms of life together, is precisely what we see in *Era o Hotel Cambridge*. This is a film, as we want to show, whose images, also intermittent, produce gaps between bodies and times, because they are composed of a story, of fragments of bodies and debris, different cities and different nations. It is a film whose images, most importantly, reconfigure oceans that work as a bridge for men and women that, once they are rejected from their own countries, are subordinated and treated as a remainder in the world of others.

In another emblematic scene of the film, a man looks melancholically to his phone screen. Obeying the touch of his finger, a picture moves, centralizing on the screen a face of a smiling boy. Over the photo, there is a voice that says: "Walikale, I think you will go, but pay attention: beware, because, you know… anything can happen". Since then, the fingers navigated through other pictures, other memories of a couple, a group of friends. The voice continues: "If you find out, for

example, something wrong with the army of Congo, do you see what I mean? You'll get in trouble".

At this point the screen abandons the reminiscence of an apparently happy life, making a cut to a group of black men working on a mine. Enters the voice that narrates the bloody circle that involves the Revolutionary Democratic Forces in Congo, the business owners that control the mines of coltan and tin, and the conflict financed by the export of these goods. This voice, now embodied in a man that speaks over candlelight, tells us that these goods leave Congo towards Ruanda and other African countries, following, then, the path to Europe, where they are used in the manufacture of telephones; the same telephone that carried pictures of a fragmented past. The narrative continues with the harrowing image of a group of black men huddled together in a dark mine. The only light is the one coming out of their helmets and the sound mix conversations in their native language with the shrill sound of metallic tools on rocks.

The man we see is woken by his neighbor, after what is revealed to be a dream. Out of the context of our character's life, however, the pictures refer to landscapes that are not so dreamlike. It's a scene of the documentary *Blood in the Mobile*, from Frank Poulsen (Denmark/Germany, 2010) which explores the relationship between the war on Congo, responsible for the death of millions of people, and the exploration of ore.

The use of intertextuality, a resource to tell the story of a Congolese refugee in Brazil, reveals itself as symptomatic. In an intermittent manner, intertwining different times and spaces both the composition of scene in *Era o Hotel Cambridge* as Poulsen's documentary, what we have is the return, or more precisely, the continuity of a colonial nightmare that rests over bodies that became vulnerable. In both cases, we recognize the ghost of "coloniality of power" (QUIJANO, 2005), of the spoliation of black bodies and their territories; a process increasingly intense of global distribution of inequality.

The image of a black man that explores a mine in Congo, therefore, is pertinent both in a documentary about the manufacture of cellphones

in Europe and in the Brazilian film discussing the precarization of life in a squatting territory that shelters subjects seeking housing and in defense of their rights. A black man in a mine is the image that takes place in the event itself, because what we see in it is a synthesis of the processes of production and power relations. If in the conflict of Congo, financed by the international capital, in the process of exclusion and production of remainders, is the precise exercise of necropolitics (MBEMBE, 2003), this image is, on its own, what's left from the system of spoliation of the other.

In addition to that, that same image, whose main character is a black man, references the reasoning of Mbembe (2014) to whom, for the first time in history, it is in our times that the term "black" stops referring only to the African origin, beginning to refer to the maximum condition of a life lived in a state of precarization, or even, paraphrasing Butler (2015), of a precarious life, without the power of mourning. Black, in this sense, is the "naked migrant" (GLISSANT, 2008), the one who is responsible for being the workforce in America and whose memories of traditions and gods are progressively being erased.

Both for Mbembe and for Glissant, the black body is a victim of a violence process of material and symbolic dispossession. It inaugurates a subjective violence from which the refugee, today, becomes an heir. In our times, the bodies of Congolese, Palestinian, Venezuelan refugees, homeless and poor Brazilian people, gather precariously on Hotel Cambridge, are the Josefinas with no name in the 21st century. These are bodies that try to escape the management of death implemented by the binomial State-capita, which is represented, in the film, by the police that is always lurking to fulfill the warrant for their eviction.

Maybe the most emblematic image of this dispossession would be the gesture of the Palestinian refugee Isam Ahmad Issa, that in a dream--memory sweeps the sands of the desert in a refugee camp in Jordan. Soon after sweeping the sand, he sits, with the desert on the background, and smokes a cigarette with his legs crossed. The scene is cut, and he is, once again, on Hotel Cambridge, legs also crossed and smoking a

cigarette. The collage proposes a continuity between the desert and the hotel. Isam remains, in São Paulo and in the desert, sweeping infinite sand. The image of Isam, in Jordan, just like the mine in Congo, is an intertextual resource used on *Era o Hotel Cambridge*. It is a part of another documentary, *A chave da casa*, by Stela Grisotti and Paschoal Samora (Brazil, 2009) showing the same character, Isam, in Jordan, days before his departure to Brazil. It is another resource that creates the same spatial continuity of the desert of the Hotel. Not only that, because it is the same body that crosses both spaces. And it is with this image we have a glimpse of the synthesis of the modern delirium, and, in the generalization of its condition of precariousness, the most exact translation of the form of neoliberal domination.

Under this perspective, the refugee is configured as a group of individuals forced to leave their condition of citizens in a determined society to occupy the position of outcasts, of remainders, in a radically different culture. When we transit from an economy based on the exploration of human workforce, in the industry and in the field, and another, based on algorithms (MBEMBE, 2014), what is left is the unimaginable of an image where we see the precarious – the infinite of the desert – as a vector.

In this sense, what we see is a process of dispossession, which is, also and at the same time, the process of construction of a subjectivity that directly evokes the excluding economic process of the globalized modernity. In the borders of society, what we have is the subject relegated to the ghetto, whose lives are worth something close to nothing. Lives that can be, and often are, buried by the mud that not only guarantees the export of tons of iron, but also the continuous production of wealth of others.

From slavery to refuge (thinking about different space-time instances) from bio- to necropolitics, from the society of control (DELEUZE, 1992) to the neoliberal algorithmic performance, what's left – or what is common – is the process of subordinance and objectification of the other. What we see, in what is and "was the Hotel Cambridge" is an

amalgamation, an unequal accumulation of times and bodies. What previously was a part of the scenario and also a stage of the colonialist project, that in the 1950's was inscribed in the bodies of big cities, the architecture, the rhythms and the systems of exclusion, the building of Hotel Cambridge, nowadays with its façade marked by the abandonment, graffiti and cracks, its apparent wiring and piping, becomes, in the film, the "dirty" body, the excrescence that occupies and inhabits downtown São Paulo.

In the neoliberal modern economy, poverty approximates the remainders and forcefully expands the notion of "refugee". It becomes the description of those who don't have a name, since it is ex-centric, a subject that, because he is a remainder, a leftover, lives inside, however, always on the border of the neoliberal project. United by the "lack of rights" – as, still in the same meeting, points out Carmem Lúcia, character of the film and leader of the Homeless Movement – and amalgamated to the building where it used to be a hotel, are the decaying and unwanted bodies. All miserable, obligated to form new bodies through the experience that is common to them around the precariousness.

It is in this body – and these bodies – that the film weaves and reconfigures when narrating the experience of the hard harmony between solidarity – forced by the precariousness of life – and the construction of another way of living. In the images the movie produces are Palestinians, Africans and Northeastern Brazilians, all without a home. Despite the differences they have and that emerge in the hard endeavor of coexisting, what is left is a precarious, fragmented and threadbare life into several threads that compose and weave a microcosmos created both by the images in the film and the materiality of the building itself.

It is in the gesture of occupying the old hotel, however, that these "Josefinas with no name" also recognize themselves and create names for themselves. When gathered in a meeting, two of the residents get into a dialogue in which one of them, who is Brazilian, opposing to share the space with refugees and migrants, hears from Isam Ahmad Issa: "I want to say something", he says, pointing to himself. "I am a

Palestinian refugee in Brazil", and then points towards the group, "and you are Brazilian refugees in Brazil". In this scene, one of the most important scenes in the film, Issa – character of himself, since he is, in real life, a Palestinian refugee in Brazil – at the same times synthetizes the contemporary problem of structural precariousness, proposes a name that offers them the possibility of sharing and constituting a community.

In the final scenes, outside of the building, the police officers, protected by shields and helmets, throw tear gas bombs initially against the building, and later, in the sequence presented by the film, against men and women that are left and do not fit into the streets of downtown São Paulo. During the confrontation, a series of images are piled up in a overwhelming way. In the filmic plan, there are images inside the hotel of parents trying to protect their children from the gas thrown by the police. On the other side, the camera, positioned in the streets, reveals coconuts thrown by the residents against the battalion.

In the transposition of the battle to the street, recurring scenes of protests in large cities, especially Brazilian cities, take shape. Protesters with their faces covered by T-shirts throwing rocks against police officers that begin to act in a less articulated manner and more focused on specific targets. Buses catching on fire, we see smoke and spray-painted buildings, generating images that could be anywhere (or nowhere).

Those who don't fight are dead, that is the chant of FLM when the police arrive to evict them. We notice that, within the narrative, the battalion arrives when the Hotel constitutes a community in the difference, when after a series of discussions, Congolese, Northeasterners, Palestinians and Colombians are lovingly affected to one another, even though they don't speak the same language. Luambo defines what is love in French to a Brazilian woman; the two of them kiss. Gilda tells her sad story to a Palestinian young man that doesn't know how to speak Portuguese, but comforts her with an Arabian lullaby, while Lucia Pulido, through the computer, sings a Colombian song that touches everyone listening.

The singular languages no longer matter, the differences are a part of this new community of dispossessed that, in order to survive, need to fight. In a gesture of resistance to the invasion of the Battalion of São Paulo, we see them united in favor of their own bodies and names, which reinforces the hypothesis that we raised: if they are all refugees, it is as homeless-refugees that everyone is articulated.

The image that precedes the attack is the hotel seen from the outside with numberless different bodies in the windows. That is an intolerable image to the power, the image of living bodies creating a community out of differences. It is in this point that there is no alternative to the government other than to beat this body, like in other times they used to, as a state practice, the black bodies. That is how the Hotel, that was Cambridge, becomes a body of bodies – diverse and with dense geographies and temporalities, as it is the body of Josefina Bakhita as well.

Intermittence and (r) existence – an image that looks at us

We began with the bones and skeletons of the black genocide in Brazil, arriving to the bodies that occupy a hotel in downtown São Paulo: we can't say that these fragments of different times and spaces, juxtaposed, reconfigure the geography of a African Atlantic (GILROY, 2017). Furthermore, how to watch these scenes of men and women throwing rocks in an attempt to defend their housing, their territory, without remembering the several images we see daily about Palestine and their occupied territories? When we see the desperation of men and women, especially black and northeasterners, but also African and Arabian refugees, in a crowded place, improvising stairs to get to the ceiling to Hotel Cambridge, how we cannot think about the few but dense images we have of slave ships or even the several images about the wars on slums which, through the news, daily invade our territory?

These multiple territorialities, reveal and expose undesired unimaginable and forgotten subjectivities, bodies and temporalities. The image that is formed, through the multiple agents presented here, incorporates and gives visibility to forms of existence destined to invisibility. But

before, and at every moment, they are bodies and images that bring to the surface undesirable pasts and possible futures of resistance. Therefore, it is in the juxtaposition and the counterposition of these multiterritorialities (HAESBAERT, 2016), that we want to think that coexist unequal aesthetics, affection and time.

In the intermittence of these images, that come and go, crossing different times and spaces, it is what is seems possible to find the resistances. They are bodies – and bodies are images – that insist in emerging; they are collective traces and remainders of small flames that light fires in the darkness. Just like fireflies, these bodies and images survive, in an intermittent form, disappear and continue to appear, despite everything (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2011).

Therefore, if from an exhausted geography (ROGOFF, 2006) like the one we are immersed in, a demand for a reflection is created seeking resources from other analytical instruments, this article, in some way, bets on the image as a fundamental resource in the context of post-colonies. The challenge is to dig the image that looks at us, in a way of making it, as an analytical instrument, can also be capable of making us see.

References

AGAMBEN, G. *Means without end: notes on politics.* Miniapolis: University of Minessota Press, 2000.

_____. *O que resta de Auschwitz.* São Paulo: Boitempo Editorial, 2008.

ARENDT, H. *Nós, os refugiados.* Covilhã: Universidade da Beira, 2013.

BENJAMIN, W. *Obras escolhidas volume 1: magia e técnica, arte e política.* São Paulo: Brasiliense, 2008.

BUTLER, J. *Precarious life: the powers of mourning and violence.* New York: Verso, 2004.

DELEUZE, G. *A imagem-tempo.* São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 2009.

_____. Sobre as Sociedades de Controle Post-Scriptum. In: DELEUZE, Gilles. *Conversações.* São Paulo: Editora 34, 1992.

DIDI-HUBERMAN, G. *Images malgré tout.* Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 2003.

_____. *Pueblos expuestos, pueblos figurantes.* Buenos Aires: Ediciones Manantial, 2014.

_____. *Sobrevivência dos vaga-lumes.* Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2011.

_____. Quando as imagens tocam o real. In: *Pós.* Belo Horizonte:, EBA UFMG, v. 2, n. 4, p. 204-219, 2012.

GILROY, P. *O Atlântico negro.* São Paulo: Editora 34, 2017.

GLISSANT, E. Creolization in the Making of the Americas. In: *Caribbean Quarterly*, v. 54, n.1-2. p. 81-89, 2008.

_____. *Poetics of relation.* University of Michigan Press, 1997.

HAESBAERT, R. *O mito da desterritorialização: do "fim dos territórios" à multiterritorialidade.* Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2016.

MBEMBE, A. *Crítica da Razão Negra.* Lisboa: Antígona, 2014.

_____. Necropolitics. *Public Culture*, Duke University Press. 2003, p. 11-40.

MIGNOLO, W. D. Colonialidade: O lado mais escuro da modernidade. In: *BCS*, v. 32, n. 94, jun. 2017.

_____. A colonialidade de cabo a rabo: o hemisfério ocidental no horizonte conceitual da modernidade. *CLASCO*, Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, 2005.

_____. *Histórias locais - projetos globais*: colonialidade, saberes subalternos e pensamento liminar. Belo Horizonte: Ed. UFMG, 2003.

OLIVEIRA, C. História desenterrada. *O Globo*, 2017. Disponível em: https://oglobo.globo.com/sociedade/historia-desenterrada-21532191. Acesso em: fev. 2019.

QUIJANO, A. A colonialidade do saber: eurocentrismo e ciências sociais. Perspectivas latino-americanas. *CLACSO*, Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, 2005.

RANCIÈRE, Jacques. *O inconsciente estético.* São Paulo: Ed. 34, 2009.

_____. Politics, Identification, and Subjectivization. In: *The Identity in Question*. The MIT Press, v. 61, p. 58-64. October, 1992.

ROGOFF, I. *Terra infirma: geography's visual culture*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

SERRES, M.. *Narrativas do humanismo.* Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2015.

VASSALLO, S. Entre objetos da ciência e vítimas de um holocausto negro: humanização, agência e tensões classificatórias em torno das ossadas do sítio arqueológico Cemitério dos Pretos Novos. *Interseções – Revista de Estudos Interdisciplinares*, v. 20, p. 36-66, 2018.

_____. Entre vidas objetificadas e vítimas da escravização: a trajetória das ossadas do Cemitério dos Pretos Novos no Rio de Janeiro. *Sexualidad*, *Salud y Sociedad*, Rio de Janeiro, p.277-297, 2017.

Filmes

A CHAVE da casa. Direção: Stela Grisoti e Paschoal Samora. Brasil, 2009.

BLOOD in the Mobile. Direção: Frank Piasecki Poulsen. Dinamarca/Alemanha, 2010. TV (52 min).

ERA o HOTEL Cambridge. Direção: Eliane Caffé. São Paulo: Aurora Filmes, 2016. 1 DVD (93 min).

About the authors

Fernando Antônio Resende – Professor at the course of Media Studies and the Post-Graduation Program in Communication at the Department of Media and Cultural Studies at Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF) and professor of the Cátedra João Guimarães Rosa of Cultural Studies and Communication in Brazil (Universität Tübingen, Germany). Coordinator of the Post-Graduate Program in Communication (PPGCOM/UFF). PhD in Communication Sciences at Universidade de São Paulo (2002), Post-Doctorate at School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS University of London – England – 2013), master's in Literary Studies at Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (1995) and graduated in Communication Studies – Journalism at Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Minas Gerais (1988). In the current article, the author participated of the conception of the research outline, the development of the theoretical discussion, the collection and interpretation of data, writing the manuscript and proofreading the text.

Roberto Robalinho – Post-doctorate student in Communication at the Post-graduate Program in Communication at the Instituto de Artes e Comunicação Social at UFF. Participated in the program of post-doctorate of Teach@Tübingen at the Tubingen University as visiting professor. PhD in Communication at PPGCOM-UFF, Master's at PPGCOM-UFF. In the current article, the author participated in the conception of the research outline, the development of the theoretical discussion, collection and interpretation of data, writing the manuscript and proofreading the text.

Diego Granja Amaral - PhD student at the Post-graduate Program in Communication at Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF) with the University of Tübingen (EKUT), Germany. Master's in Communication at Universidade Federal de Pernambuco. In the current article, the author participated in the conception of the research outline, the development of the theoretical discussion, the collection and interpretation of data, the writing of the manuscript and proofreading the text.

A R T I G O

Consumo, estética, técnica e religião em *Cloaca*, de Wim Delvoye

Consumption, aesthetic, technique and religion in Wim Delvoye's Cloaca

Icaro Ferraz Vidal Junior[1]

Resumo: *Cloaca (2000-2010), de Wim Delvoye, consiste em um conjunto de máquinas desenvolvidas para produzir "merda real industrializada" em museus e galerias de arte. Após descrição sumária da série, desdobramos nossa análise em três eixos: o primeiro baseado na articulação psicanalítica entre merda e dinheiro; o segundo na diferenciação formulada geneticamente por Gilbert Simondon (1989) entre estética, técnica e religião; e o terceiro no conceito de máquina, formulado por Gilles Deleuze e Félix Guattari (1972). Por fim, comparamos Cloaca e Anal Kisses (2011), projeto do mesmo artista, e buscamos identificar alguns vetores culturais que incidiram na recepção desigual dos dois projetos.*

Palavras-chave: *consumo; analidade; técnica; arte contemporânea; Wim Delvoye.*

Abstract: *Cloaca (2000-2010), by Wim Delvoye, consists of a set of machines developed in order to produce "real industrialized shit" in Museums and Art Galleries. After a brief description of the series, we unfold our analysis on three axes: the first one is based on the psychoanalytical articulation between shit and money; the second one on the differentiation genetically formulated by Gilbert Simondon (1989) between aesthetics, technics and religion; the third one on the concept of machine, formulated by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1972). Finally, we compare Cloaca and Anal Kisses (2011), a project by the same artist, in an attempt to identify some cultural vectors that affected the uneven reception of both projects.*

Keywords: *consumption; anality; technique; contemporary art; Wim Delvoye.*

The series

The Cloaca project, created by the Belgian artist Wim Delvoye, consisted in a set of machines produced between 2000 and 2010 after over ten years of research of the artist with scientists of different areas. Endorsing the argument of Isabelle Wallace (2011), it seems fundamental to consider *Cloaca* as a series. The attention given to the design and logo of each version of the machine was a central aspect in the development of the project, through which the mode of post-industrial production acquired the statute of language. Even though Cloaca culminated in machines of industrial features; when we look to the series, we get to the conclusion that the process of production of parallel value to the development of different versions of a machine concentrated in these two aspects: design and branding.

Wallace presents the project in the following terms:

> Described by the artist as a "shit machine", *Cloaca Original*, 2000, like the seven works that quickly went after it, is simply that: a computerized machine created with the objective of creating real shit, machine made, in the open context of an art gallery or a museum. (WALLACE, 2011, p. 217, *all the translations are ours).*

Delvoye's machines receive food twice a day. These meals go through different recipients through which they are submitted to mechanical processes and the contact with chemical substances that mimic those excreted in our digestive system. The synthetic shit excreted in the end of this journey preserves an unsettling similarity with human feces. The product of these machines is widely responsible for the repercussion of *Cloaca*, but we cannot neglect that the machinery itself is extremely seductive, and that the aesthetic choices found in its origin play a crucial role in its seduction. If we only analyze *Cloaca Original*, we would probably hyper dimension the technical virtuosis of the installation. But if we look towards the set of machines produced between 2000 and 2010, we can observe the separation between form and function, operated by the artist in the opposite way of productivism and industrial efficacy.

The design of the machine varies on every version, while its function remains the same: to produce shit.

This parodic duplication of marketing procedures appears on Wallace's essay, when she compares the two earliest machines of the set:

> As we could wait due to its title, *Cloaca New & Improved* is similar to the first machine, although it follows the trajectory of the series as a whole, *Cloaca New & Improved* is more compact and apparently more high-tech. While the aesthetic of *Cloaca Original* reminds a openly ambitious scientific project, *Cloaca New & Improved* has a more elegant, industrial design, with its neglectable parts (tubes, wires, etc.) elegantly kept in square windows of stainless steel that hide, more than confess, the details of the process. Even so, the production of the first and the second machine is essentially the same: as its predecessor, *Cloaca New & Improved* produces between 200 and 400 grams of shit every day at the same moment. (WALLACE, 2011, p. 218)

The development of the series witnesses the awareness of the artist around the fact that design and marketing would have been converted, on our time, into language. After *Cloaca Original* (Images 1 and 2), whose logo mixes the blue eclipse of Ford and *Coca-Cola*'s typography; *Cloaca New & Improved (*Images 3 and 4) adds to these two iconic references the image of Mr. Clean – the character from Procter & Gamble – with his intestines exposed in the lower part of the image.

Image 1 - *Cloaca Original*, 2000.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2GyxV0H>. Accessed in April 9[th, 2019].

Image 2 - *Cloaca Original*, 2000, *Museum Kunst Palast*, Düsseldorf, 2001.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2GyxV0H>. Accessed in April 9th, 2019.

Image 3 - *Cloaca New & Improved*, 2001.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2GttYKs>. Accessed in April 9th, 2019.

Image 4 - *Cloaca New & Improved*, 2001, *Ernst Museum*, Budapest, 2008.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2GttYKs>. Accessed in April 9th, 2019.

An intestine also appears inside a coat of arms, in the logo *Cloaca Turbo* (Images 5 and 6), which parodies the brand Harley Davidson and reminds us that the coat of arms, distinctive emblems of noble and military people, are a part of the genealogy of this curious mode through which logos of multinational companies became fundamental parts of the repertoire of signs through which we contemporary subjectivize. The design of *Cloaca Turbo*, 2003, follows in general lines the design of Cloaca New & Improved, but introduces, instead of the six cylindrical recipients of glass, three washing machines, highlighting the mechanical organ that gives title to this edition of the machine and defined by the great velocity of rotation.

Image 5 - *Cloaca Turbo*, 2003.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2WUmsfO>. Accessed in: April 9th, 2019.

Image 6 - *Cloaca Turbo*, 2003, *CAPC*, Bordeaux, 2004-2005.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2WUmsfO>. Accessed in: April 9th, 2019.

The compartments of the type washing machine are also present in the fourth version of the machine (Images 7 and 8) from 2004-2005, whose logo presents, once again, the image of Mr. Clean, this time without the ellipsis of Ford. The verticality of the anthropomorphic Mr. Clean is mimetized by the machine, which presents two superposed compartments and the output through which the synthetic excrement is evacuated in its inferior part. This verticality, similar to us, bipeds, is also explored in Cloaca Nº 5 (Images 9 and 10), with a more elegant design matching the logo, a parody of the brand of perfume Chanel Nº 5, which has its Parisian origin replaced by China, emphasizing the process of offshoring. This phenomenon, important in the new geopolitical order of work, marks the own trajectory of the artist that, impeded of tattooing live pig on Belgium in another controversial project, moved to China.

Image 7 - *Cloaca Quattro*, 2004-2005

Source <https://bit.ly/2EeBRRC>. Accessed in April 9th, 2019.

Image 8 - *Cloaca Quattro*, 2004-2005, *BOZAR*, Brussels, 2005.
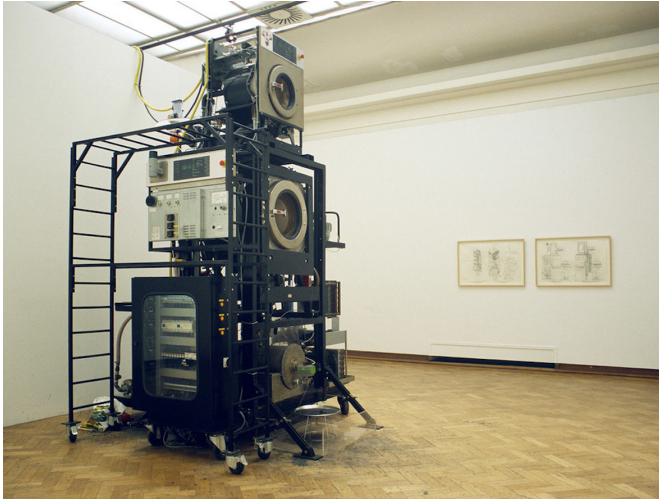
Source: <https://bit.ly/2EeBRRC>. Accessed in April 9th, 2019.

Image 9 - *Cloaca Nº 5*, 2006.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2TRxpxF>. Accessed in April 9th, 2019.

Image 10 - *Cloaca Nº 5*, 2006, *Glenbow Museum*, Calgary, 2008.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2TRxpxF>. Accessed in April 9th, 2019.

Other tendencies marking the technological development in our time are explored through the sixth version of Cloaca, titled *Personal Cloaca* (Images 11 and 12). This version, in a more modest size, consists into a washing machine that receives meals through a compartment located in its upper side and *defecate* through a tube located in the lower side. Its logo, created based on the brand of condoms Durex, evokes more intimate relations with the machine, in a domestic scale. Delvoye reproduces, thus, the process through which machines of monumental dimensions and exorbitant cost become, over the years, objects of personal use.

Image 11 - *Personal Cloaca, 2006.*

Source: <https://bit.ly/2ST4xrA>. Accessed in April 9th, 2019.

Image 12 - Personal Cloaca, 2006, *Marta Herford*, 2008.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2ST4xrA>. Accessed in April 9th, 2019.

One year after the production of *Personal Cloaca*, Delvoye produces *Super Cloaca* (Images 13 and 14) which goes back to the large scale, but, this time, in a relation of proportionality with its productive efficacy. Instead of producing the modest 200g-400g of excrement, *Super Cloaca* produces kilos and more kilos of shit. The logo superposes the name *Cloaca*, written with *Coca-Cola*'s typography, to the emblem of Superman, in a clear allusion to the American consumption society. This allusion is reiterated by the clothing worn by the performers manipulating the machine, clearly inspired on the uniform of employees in fast-food chains;

Over a table, *Mini Cloaca* (Images 15 and 16) from 2007, also explores the issue of scale. In contrast with *Super Cloaca, Mini Cloaca* can only ingest small portions, that is why its logo takes back the design of Chiquita Banana, transformed by the insertion of Mr. Clean's face Instead of the character with fruits in her head, inspired by Carmen Miranda, present in the original version of the brand.

Image 13 - *Super Cloaca*, 2007.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2N8jJM6>. Accessed in April 9th, 2019.

Image 14 - *Super Cloaca*, 2007, *MUDAM*, Luxembourg, 2007-2008

Source: <https://bit.ly/2N8jJM6>. Accessed in April 9th, 2019.

Image 15 - *Mini Cloaca*, 2007.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2Id6Gds>. Accessed in April 9th, 2019.

Image 16 - *Mini Cloaca*, 2007, *Casino Luxembourg*, Luxembourg, 2007-2008
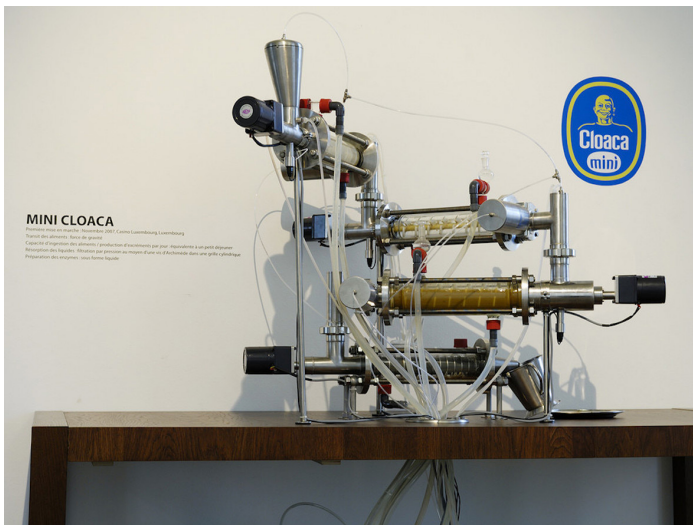
Source: <https://bit.ly/2Id6Gds>. Accessed in April 9th, 2019.

The last two versions of the machine, produced in 2009-2010, approach the segmentation of the consumer market. *Cloaca Travel Kit* (Images 17 and 18), as the title implies, consists in the installation of the machine inside a travel bag. Therefore, Cloaca becomes portable. The logo of *Cloaca Travel Kit* appropriates the graphism present on Montblanc's logo. *Cloaca Professional* (Images 19 and 20), the last machine of the series, presents a design that evokes the dominion of high technology. It is not about a design like *Cloaca Original*, related to the imaginary of scientific-industrial experimentation of pioneer inventors. *Cloaca Professional* embodies the alliances between scientific and technologic development. The design preserves the linear horizontal structure more frequently associated with the industrial production, but the depuration of forms may evoke the pharmaceutic industry or the new technologies of medical treatment. The logo of *Cloaca Professional* is composed by an elegant and serifed typography, and by an almost abstract image that evokes the bones of the pelvis.

Image 17 - *Cloaca Travel Kit*, 2009-2010.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2S4UPOs>. Accessed in April 9th, 2019.

Image 18 - *Cloaca Travel Kit*, 2009-2010, *Pushkin State Museum*, Moscow, 2014.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2S4UPOs>. Accessed in April 9th, 2019.

Image 19 - *Cloaca Professional*, 2010.
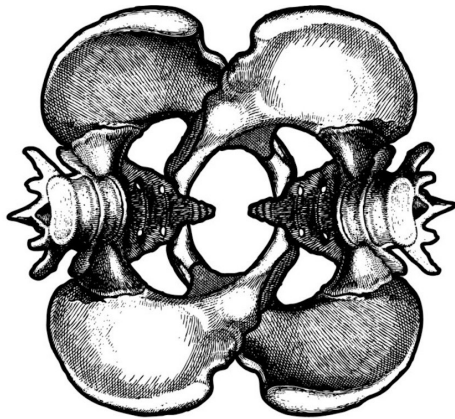
Source: <https://bit.ly/2EfydHr>. Accessed in April 9th, 2019.

Image 20 - *Cloaca Professional*, 2010, MONA, Hobart, permanent collection.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2EfydHr>. Accessed in April 9th, 2019.

Shit and value

About *Cloaca Professional*, the website *The Conversation*, specialized in scientific divulgation, published an article by Kate Patterson, expert in the relations between science and art, where the author describes her experience with the installation:

> In the depth of the iconic MONA, I was excited to see *Cloaca Professional* first-hand. The room was quieter than I imagined, and very, very calm. They said the defecation was programmed to take place at 2pm and I arrived several minutes before […]. Obviously, others had the same thought as me, because there were several small groups of people waiting when I arrived. Some had their arms crossed, looking defensive while others remained standing, changing their weight through their feed, not wanting to be present longer than the absolute necessary. Occasionally, someone would whisper something inaudible or let an embarrassed sigh go out. Many held their noses, clearly offended by the unavoidable smell.

Everyone watched and waited. At the time, we, strangers, were united in the anticipation. So, without warning, the fecal receptacle began to move in a circular motion, ready to receive the deposit of the machine. Then, in a soft action like an ice-cream machine, the movement took place. The receptacle, then, stopped, and people quickly got out. Job done. (PATTERSON, 2016)

Patterson's brief article documents particularly well a dimension of Cloaca that is hard to access: the experience of the audience, who relates with the project in an ambiguous manner. At the same time there is a rejection to the production of the machine, experimented in the register of abjection (KRISTEVA, 1982), we observe a desire to see, modulated by affections that are looked with some suspicion on the behalf of the criticism of art and contemporary aesthetic theory. Jacques Rancière, for example, articulates two affections, attention and curiosity – to which he attributes an emancipatory potential – an impossibility of anticipation of the visible and thinkable. Such affections would point, at this point, in the direction of new politics of the sensible – "a policy based in the variation of distance, in the resistance of the visible and the uncertainty of the effects" (RANCIÈRE, 2009, p. 105). The issue, therefore, consists in knowing whether the wide mediatization and the punctual automatization of Cloaca don't end up reducing the desire to see a gaze that waits and follow the events only to confirm something that is already known that will come, impeding that the curiosity installs and unfolds an experience marked by uncertainty and indetermination.

Patterson's description witnesses, in some level, the complexity of the relationships established with Delvoye's machine. At the end of her article, she highlights a fact that, despite its predictability, doesn't stopped being interesting: "Cloaca Professional is apparently the most hated exposition at MONA, however, it is also the installation where people spent most of their time. It is in this conflict that we have a huge opportunity for public debate" (PATTERSON, 2016).

Our goal in this article will not be to psychoanalyze this audience. However, it is hard to neglect the fact that the theoretical repertoire

coming from psychoanalysis has become unavoidable, in a cultural point of view, in the approach of the relationship with excretion and the anality within what appears in Freud (1934) with the name of *civilization*. Considering some ideas dear to the father of psychoanalysis, we observe a double movement on Delvoye's part. On one hand, he puts in evidence the economic relations that found the sources of their development in the repression of anal erogenous relations in the course of process of genitalization of sexuality, through which anal erotism can transform in the anal character (FREUD, 1928). The economic aspect associated to the repression of anal erotism results in a process of reallocation of sexual drive that configurate the psychic development of a subject. According to Freud (1928), the interest that children have for excrement continues in the adult life, but it invests in new objects: it transforms, on one hand, in the interest in money, on the other hand, in the desire to have a child.

Beyond this analytical landscape, it is fundamental to observe that money, just like excrement, is always an excess, an *other* whose alterity we can never suppress. After all, what is *shit*? It is everything that, in my nutrition, I can transform in my body. Money doesn't exist differently from that. It, in itself, remains unassimilable. A long history was needed so we could count with a system of exchange whose abundance of merchandise and services becomes interesting the idea of saving money so we can never go without. In a society with a rudimentary exchange system, we would starve with filled vaults.

On the other hand, through technology and art, Delvoye ends up sublimating the excretory experience the same way it is lived physically and psychically by the subjects. Despite the strongly symbolic dimension of psychoanalysis, we can observe that Freud – even though he neglects the odor of feces in the erogenous relations that the kid entertains with them and their excretory organs – approaches the excretion from a perspective that considers its materiality:

> The stool bulk – or *stick of excrements*, following a patient's expression – is, per se, the first penis; it excites a mucous membrane: the rectum.

> There are people which the anal eroticism remains strong and intact un-
> til the pre-pubescent age (ten to twelve years old); these people teach us
> that, since the pre-genital phase, they would constitute, in the ghosts or
> in perverted games, an organization similar to the genital phase, the penis
> and the vagina being only replaced respectively by the stool bulk and the
> rectum. (FREUD, 1928, p. 614, *our highlight*)

The cultural background evoked by Freud when he formulates his
classical analogies between money and excrement reappears, subverted,
in the core of Delvoye's project. That happens because the artist intro-
duces excrements in another system, whose function do not articulate
culturally and psychically around the retention and accumulation, but
around consumption, and even of certain waste. Throughout the 20th
century, the relation between excrement and money were taken back
and reformulated in different dominions. Georges Bataille evoked these
relations to problematize the principle of utility as an organizing axe of
economy.

> It isn't enough that jewelry are beautiful and stunning, what make possi-
> ble its replacement for falsification: the sacrifice of a fortune to which we
> prefer a waterfall of diamonds is necessary to the constitution of the fasci-
> nating character of this waterfall. This fact must be related to the symbolic
> value of jewelry, generally in psychoanalysis. When a diamond has, in a
> dream, an excremental meaning, it is not only about the association by
> contrast: in the inconscient, jewelry as excrement are the cursed material
> that run from a wound, the parts of self-destined to an ostensive sacrifice
> (they work, in fact, as sumptuous gifts charged with sexual love). The
> functional character of jewelry demands its immense material value and
> explains on its own the casual nature made by beautiful imitations, which
> are practically useless. (BATAILLE, 1970, p. 305-306).

The radical nature of *Cloaca* consists in the exploration of a matter
whose absence of *value of use* seem to be socially consensual. If it is true
that we cannot suppose that excrements do not have, in fact, *a value of
use*, because, as Dominique Laporte (2000) reminds us, they were fun-
damental fertilizers for the development of agriculture; we are forced to

come to the conclusion that this property was widely repressed by our culture.

The symbolic dimension of shit is dislocated in Delvoye's installation as this sign – which is the thing itself (PROSS, 1980, p. 14) – whose production depended on a body and played a central role in establishing limits between the subject and the other, is transformed into a symbol of lack of meaning and use. The disproportion between the level of scientific research and investments that are found in the basis of the project and its practical result depends on the lack of meaning socially attributed to the fecal matter. Despite the development, the level of design and visual communication, of one version of the machine to the next, they all have the same and disturbing goal: to produce shit. The consensus around the lack of value in *shit* allows Delvoye to employ it to activate a device that is presented as the teleological demise of the consumption society.

But Delvoye's gesture doesn't only invest in the "devouring" of the art system by consumption capitalism; it also approaches aspects tangential to these two fields. For example, through reflections around relations between science and religion, or the limits of what we consider, for now, proper to the human race.

Aesthetic, technique and religion

One of the paths opened by Delvoye's project allows to claim the delegation of producing excrement to the machine in the key we will call post-humanist hypothesis, that emphasizes the obsolescence of the human body facing technical development. If there is nothing absurd in this hypothesis, it seems to fall, at times, in a rhetoric excess to which we very quickly adhere. Two perspectives that will help to review this hypothesis: the first is systematized by Gilbert Simondon in *on the mode of existence of technical objects*; the second one is formulated by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari in *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, notedly through the concept of *machine*.

Regarding Simondon's book, what helps us think of Cloaca beyond a humanistic technophobia and a post-humanist technophillia is the revision, through the concept of technicity, of the logic that opposes the culture to technique and the man to the machine.

> Culture is unbalanced because it recognizes some objects, like the aesthetic object, and it gives right to the city in the world of meanings, while it represses other objects, particularly technical objects, in the world without structure of what doesn't have meaning, but only one use, one useful function. Facing this defensive refusal, pronounced by a partial culture, men that know technical objects and feel its significance seek to justify their judgement giving the technical object the only statute valued outside the aesthetic object, the sacred object. (SIMONDON, 1989, p. 10)

What calls our attention, in the text above, is Simondon's categorization of three types of object: technical, aesthetic and sacred. Later, in that same work, the ontogenesis of these three forms of existence is described by Simondon in the terms of a discrepancy of a "unique, central and original form of being in the world, the magic form" (SIMONDON, 1989, p. 160). In this discrepancy, emerge two other types of being in the world: the technical and the religious mode. Between these two new phases – technical and religious – we can find, destituted from the statute of phase, the aesthetic object, whose form of existence is characterized by the remission of the lost originary unit, from which derived technique and religion. In the words of the philosopher:

> The primitive magical unit is the relation of vital connection between men and the world, defining a universe at the same time subjective and objective before all the distinction between object and subject, and consequently also all the apparition of the separate object. We can conceive the primitive mode of relation between men and the world as previous not only to the objectivation of the world, but also the segregation of objective units in the field that will be the objective field. It is a universe experimented as a media that the man finds himself connected. The apparition of the object is made by the isolation and fragmentation of the mediation between men and the world; and, according to the principle, this subjectivation of a mediation must have the correlation, in relation to

the primitive neutral center, the subjectivation of a mediation; the medi-
ation between men and the world is objectivated in a technical object as
it subjectifies in a religious mediator. (SIMONDON, 1989, p. 163-164)

Cloaca mobilizes two dominions which, according to Freud and
Simondon, respectively, were repressed by culture: excretion and the
technical object. These two fields share an operation of objectivation,
linked to the rupture of an originary unit which, in Freud, assumes the
form of a pre-civilized stage of a child and, in Simondon the form of
magical existence in the world, previous to the arrival, for discrepancy,
technique and religion. Therefore, *Cloaca* installs a third cut, which
exteriorizes, empowers and automatizes the digestive process, and cre-
ates an axis that complexifies the Simondonian scheme, as the technical
objects that compose the series could, due to Delvoye's choices, but also
historical contingencies, be thought as sacred and/or aesthetic objects.

On Freud's text (1928), the point of view of the parents that wait for
the child's excrements is not a focus of analysis. When we observe *Clo-
aca*, that gains relevance as the position we put ourselves in Delvoye's
device is not about the child that sacrifices (or not) a part of themselves
as a gift to their parents, but rather about the parents waiting for this gift.
And this place of waiting, at the same time, comfortable and destituted
of power, also seem filled by us in our relations, frequently alienated,
with technical objects.

If the technique corresponds to an objectivation of the world, the
subjective correlation of this process is found, according to Simondon,
on religion. In Delvoye's universe, these two phases will be tensioned
until the belonging of objects installed in the expositional space to one
or the other mode of existence approach the indecisiveness. It isn't ran-
dom that some of the big machines that compose *Cloaca* were installed,
more than once, within gothic buildings, or beside other series of works
of the artist where X-rays of the insides of a body are transformed into
gothic stained glass. The relations between science and religion are,
today, much more complex than what we could glimpse through an

oppositional dualism. The belief, the faith, the demands of protection against suffering seem equally addressed to both dominions.

Valentin Nussbaum (2008) proposed a reading of the set of Wim Delvoye's work through the concept of *sacred*, mapping a series of religious references that cross numerous projects of the Belgian artist. Regarding *Cloaca*, the author writes:

> In the specific frame of a machine that produces shit, the evocation of the sacred could surely go through an absolute contradiction. But if we know the artist that the artist wants to install this type of machine – which he qualifies as the "new God" – in gothic chapels, to the image that already exists in New York, the analogy becomes even more pertinent. (NUSSBAUM, 2008, p. 83)

Cloaca's installation within gothic buildings can be better understood if we take back the relations of the artist with the catholic religion, to which he can live the rituals in his childhood. On one hand, religion (such as *marketing)* transforms itself in a language to the Delvoye adult, that even conceives a "religion kit, like design kits, with churches, hymns, liturgies" (DELVOYE, 2007 *in* NUSSBAUM, 2008, p. 84). On the other, some of the religious practices seen by the artist during his childhood remain as a source of haunt.

> When Delvoye remembers the old women in his childhood that kiss statues' feet or that turn Saint Anthony's statue upside down when they lose a scissor, is not only the perplexity of a child that is expressed facing the intrinsic strangeness to this dogmatic, or even idolatrous, practices. It is also an interrogation that is put in front of paradoxical and surprising cultural phenomena in more than one sense. (NUSSBAUM, 2008, p. 84)

The inscription of a sacred and precious dimension over "spoils at time repulsive" (NUSSBAUM, 2008, p. 85) produces a gap that will precisely nurture the artist's research regarding the *mise-en-scène* of these extremely discrete and trivial objects that become a target of adoration and a vehicle of transcendence.

> In a sense, the problematic linked to Wim Delvoye's *Cloaca* machines
> is not very far from this issue. When the superlatives are employed to
> qualify these machine that produce the abject sold as one of the most
> precious goods and to which we can speculate as an art object, there is a
> huge paradox put in place. If we consider, in parallel, the cult of relics,
> its ostentation and reunion as the infancy of principles that will rule some
> centuries later, the value of art objects in collections and the speculation
> of which they are currently subject to, it seems that the economy and dy-
> namic of *Cloaca* is comparable to a true factory of relics. (NUSSBAUM,
> 2008, p. 85)

If we follow Simondon's thought about the genesis of the technical,
aesthetic and religious modes of existence, *Cloaca* puts us in front of
a problem. That is because, in Delvoye's project, both modes – tech-
nical and religious – cohabitate the machine that, beyond that, is an
aesthetic object. The technically mediated defecation effectively im-
plies a process of objectivation, as postulated by Simondon after the
rupture of the unit that originated the world. However, *Cloaca*, in its
insertion in the space of artistic institutions, is inscribed in the sacred,
either because the canonic configuration of the device of contemporary
exposition – the white cube – creates a context close to other places of
cult (O'DOHERTY, 2012); either because the artist deliberately opts for
exposing his machines in gothic cathedrals or beside works that have a
religious visual repertoire.

Delvoye approximates the technical and religious object in a way we
can explore, synchronically and speculatively, the limits of the forms of
existence that emerge in Simondon's formulations around the genesis of
technicity. These limits are found, especially, in the separation between
both phases –technical and religion –, that go through, today, number-
less inflections, mediated by culture, by art and by politics. If we can
suggest the hypothesis that *Cloaca* is also an aesthetic object is because,
tensioning technique and religion, the *shit* machine may remind us, by
contrast, of the moment where all these cleavages still didn't exist.

Flow and cut

Anti-Oedipus, by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, fundaments an important axis of our analysis, despite the harsh criticism the book makes to the Freudian theory, evoked more than once in the scope of this study. The development of the concept of *machine* was fundamental to the proposition of the French authors of a way of operating desire, through which they put under suspicion the Oedipian triangulation, structure of the psychism dear to Freud, through which desire was fundamentally postulated as something missing.

> It works everywhere, sometimes without stopping, sometimes discontinuous. It breathes, it heats, it eats. It shits, it fucks. What an awful thing to be said of it. On every side they are the machines, not metaphorically: machines of machines, with their couplings, their connections. An organ-machine is connected to a source-machine: one emits the flow, the other cuts it. (DELEUZE; GUATTARI, 1972, p. 9, *author's highlight*)

This proposition presents two consequences that are interesting to explore. The first is regarding our analysis of *Cloaca*, but it could equally work to a wider reflection around the statute of consumption. That is why it derives from the omnipresence of machines (source-machines and organ-machines) the impossibility of preserving the cleavage that separate production and consumption as autonomous and relative independent circuits. "Because in fact [...]There are no relatively independent spheres or circuits: the production is immediately consumption and inscription, inscription and consumption directly determine the production, but they determine in the breast of their own production" (DELEUZE; GUATTARI, 1972, p. 11).

Cloaca seem to become a privileged place for us to verify the primacy of production, or, in other words, the fact that the inscription and consumption are not exterior and/or posterior to production. The meal consumption of *Cloaca* machines already is the production of another flow: the flow of *shit*. Delvoye's machine allow us to see, in a very schematic way, what Deleuze and Guattari call "law of production of

production". Not fortuitously, the artist invested in the same *topos* that fed the French philosophers: digestion.

> The machine produces a cut on the flow only if it is connected to another machine that produces the flow. And without a doubt it is, in turn, a cut. But it isn't in relation to a third machine that ideally produced, or relatively, an infinite continuous flow. Thus, the anus-machine and the intestine-machine, the intestine-machine and the stomach-machine, the stomach-machine and the mouth-machine, the mouth-machine and the flow of the flock ("and, and, and…"). In summary, every machine is a cut of flow in relation to the one it is connected to, but flow or flow production in relation to the one connected to them. (DELEUZE; GUATTARI, 1972, p. 46)

The machine of machines of Delvoye reverberates some of the thought-provoking conceptions of the world and desire formulated by Deleuze and Guattari. Firstly, due to its literally machinelike dimension; but also for two other dimensions that are thought by the philosophers as a factory: nature and the inconscient. There isn't in *Anti-Oedipus*, a distinction between men and nature. Desire becomes an immanent principle in the relations of production that link men to nature – the human, organ-machine connected to nature, flow-machine or power-machine. The second field conceived as a machine is the inconscient, which stops engendering representations to become a machinic agency and, therefore, cut and production of flow.

This bet in the immanent productivity of the desiring machine calls into question the most nihilistic analysis of *Cloaca*. The moralistic perspective that reduces to consumerism the fact that the shit produced by Delvoye's machine are available for sale becomes unsustainable facing a taking back of the criticism of Deleuze and Guattari to the platonic division that separates *production* from *acquisition*. The desire, thought on this key, could only (1) have as an object something engendered by a producing-subject (2) be designed over an object missing that is necessary to acquire. The issue that remains open consists in knowing whether, in the case of the acquisition of the *shit* produced *Cloaca*,

facing a process of *production* or *consumption*. The synthetic excrement symbolizes something missing or its acquisition comes from a productive drive, like the one that originates collections2?

Anal kisses and final considerations

It is interesting to observe how the theme of anal resurfaces in *Anal Kiss* (Image 21), project by Delvoye in 2011, which does not become an object of public debate, as it was the case in Cloaca. In *Anal Kiss*, the anality assumes a less spectacular form than *Cloaca*, even though it is more explicit; but the relations between economy, art and sacrality resurface. The series consists in a series of interventions of the artist on hotel letterheads. As the title indicates, it is a series of impressions of kisses whose particularity is in the fact that instead of inscribing the shape of lips on paper, it is the anus of the artist that is printed. Despite these images of anus are figurative and indicial, *Anal Kiss* did not have the repercussion obtained by *Cloaca* throughout the ten previous years. Issues related to the scale of work and media used may help understand why these kisses never got to the first pages of newspapers.

Image 21 - *Anal Kiss*, 2011, lipstick on letterhead.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2SGCnkm>. Accessed in April 9th, 2019.

Anyway, it is interesting to observe that in the 2011 series we find some issues that were being formulated in *Cloaca*. In *Anal Kisses*, the logos reappear in hotel letterheads and come into tension with the images of the artist's anal kisses. The impersonal and globalized architecture of hotels is virtually inscribed in the work, through the institutional sign that cohabitates the composition with the anal kiss. *Anal Kiss* reiterates the existence of an exteriority in relation to the logic of consumption,

but it seems to try to open a gap through reframing the anus painted as lips. If *Cloaca* sublimates the anus in an industrial machinery producing shit, *Anal Kisses* coincides the anus with the lips, place of articulation of *logos* and, especially, part of the body authorized to manifest itself on the public space, either by using words or giving a kiss. In an effort of understanding the treatment given by the art critic and public opinion to these artistic projects we can observe that many factors come into play so that a project overflows from the system of art to the field of culture. It is essential to recognize that, beyond the aesthetic, technical and philosophical foundations found in the basis of *Cloaca*, there is an architectural, expographic, spectacular, and evidently, marketing dimension that incites in its reception.

The discrete reception of *Anal Kisses* could indicate, comparatively, a bigger disruptive potential in the synthetic shit of *Cloaca* than in the re-functionalization of a kissing anus. But we will bet that this context only supplies some clues about the historic, cultural and mediatic complexity, and the heterogeneity of factors that now incite on the experience and critic of art. Costs of production, institutional prestige and *instagramability* of works of art reverberate in the aesthetic experience, along with the sediments that constitutes the ground of our culture – among them, the strange coexistence of *technophilia* and *technophobia* in relation to technique; the banishment of the *shit* and the *asshole* from social life; the artificiality of the cleavage between production and consumption.

References

BATAILLE, G. Œuvres complètes I: Premiers Écrits 1922-1940. Paris: Gallimard, 1970.
BELO, F. R. R.; MARZAGAO, L. R. Avareza e perdularismo. *Psyche*, São Paulo, v. 10, n. 19, p. 109-128, 2006.
DELEUZE, G.; GUATTARI, F. *L'anti-Œdipe:* Capitalisme et schizophrénie I. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1972.

FREUD, S. Malaise dans la civilisation. *Revue Française de Psychanalyse*, v. 7, n. 4, p. 692-769, 1934.

_____. Sur les transformations des pulsions particulièrement dans l'érotisme anal. *Revue Française de Psychanalyse*, v. 2, n. 4, p. 609-616, 1928.

KRISTEVA, J. *Powers of Horror*: An Essay on Abjection. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.

LAPORTE, D. *History of Shit.* Boston: Massachusetts Institute of Technology e Documents Magazine, 2000.

NUSSBAUM, V. Wim et la sacrée reliquerie. Enfance de l'art et reliques du sacré dans l'œuvre de Delvoye. *kritische bericht*, n. 3, p. 83-92, 2008.

O'DOHERTY, B. *Inside the White Cube*: L'ideologia dello spazio espositivo. Monza: Johan & Levi Editore, 2012.

PATTERSON, K. Blending science, art and other excremento. *The Conversation*, 11 fev. 2016. Disponível em: https://bit.ly/2GsvHjk. Acesso em: 15 fev. 2019.

PROSS, H. *Estructura simbólica del poder*. Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gilli S.A., 1980.

RANCIÈRE, J. *The Emancipated Spectator*. Londres, Nova York: Verso, 2009.

SIMONDON, G. *Du mode d'existence des objets techniques*. Paris: Aubier, 1989.

WALLACE, I. L. Deep Shit: Thoughts on Wim Delvoye's *Cloaca* Project. In:
WALLACE, I. L.; HIRSH, J. (Orgs.). *Contemporary Art and Classical Myth*. Surray: Ashgate, 2011.

About the author

Ícaro *Ferraz Vidal Junior* – PhD in History, Art History and Archeology at Université de Perpignan Via Domitia and Universitá degli studi di Bergamo and in Communication and Culture at Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. He performed a post-doctoral internship at the Post-graduate Program in Communication and Languages at Universidade Tuiuti do Paraná. Currently, he is a post-doctorate scholar PNPD-Capes in the Program of Post-graduate Studies in Communication and Semiotics at Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo.

Pagando para vencer, parte 2: serialização, *power creep* e capitalismo tardio em *Hearthstone*

Paying to win, part 2: serialization, power creep, and late capitalism in Hearthstone

Thiago Falcão[1]
Daniel Marques[2]

Resumo: *Este artigo discute o fenômeno de power creep no card game digital Hearthstone (Blizzard, 2012), problematizando-o a partir das perspectivas da midiatização, serialização e capitalismo tardio. O objetivo central é politizar a questão, apontando para os imbricamentos da indústria cultural contemporânea com as perspectivas epistemológicas e ontológicas do jogo enquanto chave interpretativa. Nesse sentido, empreendemos o esforço de revisar algumas teorias da midiatização, observando em particular o conceito nos videogames a partir da serialização. Partimos para uma análise empírica exploratória de relatos de jogadores profissionais no YouTube, revelando discursos que nos ajudam a localizar a agência do capitalismo tardio a partir da serialização e da midiatização. Por fim, reforçamos a necessidade de contemplar os pontos desvelados pela pesquisa na compreensão da indústria contemporânea do entretenimento, bem como a necessidade de (re)pensar os entendimentos particulares sobre jogos digitais e suas culturas.*

Palavras-chave: *card games; e-sports; jogo; midiatização; capitalismo tardio.*

Abstract: *This paper discusses power creep in the digital game card Hearthstone (Blizzard, 2012), questioning it from the perspectives of mediatization, serialization and late capitalism. The goal is to politicize the issue by pointing to the overlapping of contemporary cultural industry with game's epistemological and ontological perspectives. We undertake the effort to review some theories of mediatization, observing the particularities of serialization in games. To achieve the main goal, we set out for an exploratory empirical analysis of professional*

players discourse on YouTube, revealing traces that help us locate the agency of late capitalism and serialization in Hearthstone's power creep. Finally, we reinforce the need to scrutinize the contemporary entertainment industry, as well as the need to (re) think understandings about digital games and their cultures.

Introduction

The game, in the widest aspect of the term, is one of the central elements of culture development. The creative drive, the play and the appropriation are powerful agency catalysts, both in the action taken place and the wider structural conditions. These borderless, free game, with no rules; from an impulse that brings us closer to madness, it is indispensable in a more complete analysis of any social spectrum. This discussion presupposes that the understanding of social organizations of contemporaneity shelters an observation through epistemological conditions that privilege the game as a reading key. This rhetoric suggests a deviation of the idea of the game, which, when it presents itself as a mediator for a sociological comprehension, it modifies it. We intent, therefore, to rescue the notion of status of irrelevance conferred to it by the positivist reasoning and by Modernity, contexts that still echo in their representations, and positioning it beside the contemporary epistemological pillars; the keys of reading that we use to understand today's society. It is a wide discussion, a long-term effort about affectations in the weave of social that call a scrutiny of agency and material practices involved in this process.

Therefore, at the same time they seek to enterprise an effort of understanding micro agency dynamics when discussing the phenomenon known as *power creep* and the form it happens in the card game *Hearthstone*[3] *(*BLIZZARD ENTERTAINMENT, 2012), this article seeks to outline the role of dynamics common to Late Capitalism (JAMESON, 1991) and how they are particularly relevant in the study of the contemporary culture of games.

The *power creep*, a phenomenon that happens in games published as a series, is similar to the idea of programmed obsolescence and happens when certain resources within these systems become obsolete and demand a replacement that can only be executed through consumption relations. The issue illustrated by this phenomenon is about the serialization of the experience of media in a wider form, and refers to two processes that are widely discussed in the field of sociology of media:

A
R
T
I
G
O

(1) the production of symbolic goods in an industrial scale, discussed through the notion of cultural industry and the derivations of the concept and their problems; and (2) the phenomenon of mediatization, through which institutions and social practices are being modified for communicational ubiquity.

This article offers a continuity to a previous research (FALCÃO; MARQUES, 2017), that connects two aspects of the contemporary experience of a game: one in a social order, wider and more generic, creating echoes and cultural references; and other in a technical order, committed with the internal aspect of media, its materiality. Our proposition is to show how the *power creep* phenomenon emerges as a direct consequence of the process of mediatization experimented by the current games and reaffirming the intention of problematizing the relation between the game industry and marketing dynamics that imply power relations. To do so, it becomes necessary to observe a chain of practices that go from game design to Blizzard's institutional policies, going through the conformation of discursive environments mobilized by the game. We observe these practices from an explorative analysis of YouTube videos on the phenomenon of the *power creep:* stories of professional gamers, commentators and Blizzard employees discussing the theme and its implications. Around the conclusion, we point towards the connection of the phenomenon of obsolescence inherent to Hearthstone to structure of global agencies, to game culture and the market of contemporary entertainment.

Mediatization and the logic of media

The concept of mediatization have been widely being worked in the field of communication during the last decades, producing polysemic understandings about their presuppositions and applications. The studies on mediatization begin after the recognition of the growing overlapping between institutions and social fields – religion, politics, education, etc. with media, its logic and practices (COULDRY, 2004). The different approaches to the theory of mediatization produce particular

affectations of the concept. Verón (2014), for instance, begins from the understanding of mediatization under a semiology/anthropological bias, being "an operational result of a nuclear dimension of our biologic species, more precisely, our capacity of semiosis" (VERÓN, 2014, p. 14). This operationalization results into a constitution of media phenomena, that would be the exteriorization of mental processes in form of material devices. Mediatization would consist in, to Verón, the stabilization of these media phenomena as its configuration, use and practice is institutionalized. We create, therefore, "a private space and time around a communication device" (VERÓN, 2014, p. 16). It is important, however, to consider the implication of mediatization theories in the analysis of games nowadays. The experience of "playing" and, consequently, the productive chain – from the design to consumption via streaming – is affected and tensioned by the mediatized environment of the game. In order to a digital game gain commercial success, therefore, it is necessary to appropriate themselves of the mediatized environment where culture objects circulate nowadays. *Hearthstone*, for instance, currently figures as the fourteenth most popular game on Twitch[4], along with other games from Blizzard. *Overwatch* and *World of Warcraft*, other games from the same company, occupy the seventh and eighth place, respectively. These data aren't at all random, and they point towards an intent – *by design* – on behalf of Blizzard in mediatizing their game experiences.

The pursuit for the mediatization of corporations like Blizzard points towards processes of stabilization treated by Verón, suggesting a particular operationalization that coalesce in the idea of *institutionality*. Under this bias, it is understood that media begins to figure as a social institution whose processes are not only based on established social fields, but it begins to have their own legitimacy and autonomy. It begins, thus, to affect and tension other points of the social fabric. To Braga (2012), the imbrication of media with social fields presupposes the reflection

4   It is the most popular streaming platform widely adopted by streamers and professional players. Data and metrics can be found here: https://www.twitchmetrics.net

around the concepts of media circulation, mediation, reception, production and ambiance. The research on mediatization, therefore, would work as a type of umbrella term, capable of comprising different communicative logics, mediations, circuits and devices coming from the institutionalization of media and the production of new mediatic environments. This hypothesis come from the principle that we inhabit a mediatized world (BASTOS, 2012, p. 68), marked by the influence of media in the constitution of culture and society. The "mediatization" of the world, therefore, presupposes not only the recognition of the logic of media in social artifacts and institutions, but also the material link of media devices in the structure of contemporary phenomena.

In a mediatized world we would no longer be capable of analyzing social fields, their processes and products separated from the action of media: it is a complete and indelible hybridization. In the game industry, generally, it is possible to verify the presence of this hypothesis. More and more, the game design seeks the integration of processes of mediatization. This imbrication is deep and materially observable, moreover, in contemporary consoles. Joysticks of consoles such as PlayStation 4 and Nintendo Switch have buttons dedicated to content sharing (Image 1), and the operational systems of these consoles tend to seek an integration with platforms such as YouTube, Facebook and Twitch. Material changes, therefore, in the physical structure of consoles and in how their operational systems and interface works points towards the naturalization of the phenomena of mediatization when we consider its presence on game design.

Image 1 - Buttons of content sharing on consoles

Source: https://boards.fireden.net/v/thread/369558869/

There is always a negotiation between what the authors call the logic of media to other institutional logics of culture and society. It isn't only about admitting a superposition or colonization of institutional logics by the media but understanding that the formation of new media environments produce affectation as much in media and in the other fields. An interesting example is documented by Turtiainen *et al.* (2018), who evidences the "sportification" on e-Sports, as defended by Falcão and Marques (2018), in a way to approximate them from the logic of traditional sports. The authors (TURTIAINEN *et al.*, 2018) create an analysis on the coverage of Overwatch World Cup 2016, comparing it to FIFA World Cup 2014, exposing similarities and differences in the way both phenomena approach practices related to media.

On one hand, the *modus operandi* of sport events – *sportification* – appears in the effort of Blizzard Entertainment to approximate Overwatch World Cup's format to championships and sports competitions traditionally recognized as such, in order to facilitate the practices of reception and circulation of the audiences involved (BRAGA, 2012). That is materially verified on the championship structure, in the formation of

teams, uniforms, division by countries, phases, methods of classification, etc. It also makes us feel the logic of media – mediatization–, as there is a wide effort in approximating the transmission of Overwatch World Cup from other mediatic products in the field of sports. The format of studio, the enunciation of hosts and commentators, the graphic-visual interfaces of presentation of moves and scores, etc. This format of broadcast is also a result of the hybridization of logics of media with logics of sports.

The path through the theories of mediatization help us understand that it isn't about a techno deterministic phenomenon: understanding the mediatization presupposes observing its institutionalities (HJARVARD, 2014), its semiotic character (VERÓN, 2014), the daily social practices (HEPP, 2013), and the hybridization between society and technique (COULDRY; HEPP, 2016). This polysemic view helps us understand the social – as well as communicative – phenomena in a contextualized manner, observing the configuration of mediatic environments and mediatized worlds in its materiality.

Mediatization and game and play experience

Stig Hjarvard, in The mediatization of culture and society (2013), spends one chapter talking about the discussion on how play[5] was mediatized, both directly and indirectly, which implies in the notion that the act of playing was transposed to a horizon where there is no conditions of doing it away from the media. What is interesting to us is to make a criticism on how the author suggests the videogame is experienced in a hegemonical level, to the point of its consumption be compared to the practice of play per se. We reflect on Hjarvard's argument through two positions that are certainly imperative to the reduction undertaken on playful activities.

---

5   Play, in the original, which is a word without a simple translation, having more meanings than the Portuguese language can condense. See Juul (2005) and Falcão (2010), regarding the "problem of language".

The first is about a dimension of representation and is related to the way how, nowadays, products for children are always related to the sphere of mass media. We can observe this phenomenon, even, amongst products commonly addressed under the name of *geek*, designed for an audience that Hjarvard considers *adult*, even though they *remain young for longer* – ASYL[6] ☐ and outlines, for example, that "toys nowadays hardly resemble objects from the real world" (2013, p. 167) and "belong in a fantasy world" (p. 168), in a movement that ignores both the historical construction of game practices, in its wider aspect, and recent discussions around the materiality of it. It is necessary to consider that the relationship between play and fictional attributes is not particularly new, or even, a product of the process of mediatization: it subsist on mimicry, representations and dialogues with contemporary audiovisual franchises, but we cannot forget that we always were, in our plays, pirates, astronauts, knights.

The second position is about a reading that identifies, in Hjarvard (2013) reasoning, what Bruno Latour (2012) classifies as purifying thought. Despite the given argument is expressed in a factual form, as a reading of a specific social context, it is sensitive a clear urgency in categorizing the relationship between work and leisure on the author's argument. It is not fortuitous, for instance, that he discusses his analysis of the process of mediatization of play through an idea of expectation associated to the specific age group listed. Being aware of these positions is essential so one can rethink the place of the game as an object of communication. The issue here says less about the formation of outlines to a field that is relevant to games, and more about the need of recognizing that one of the big accomplishments of late capitalism (JAMESON, 1991) was to rearrange boarders and perceptions regarding what we perceive, today, as dichotomies of modernity. Thinking this way implies recognizing that the speed and immediacy which we experience contemporaneity is a direct consequence of the form how the dynamics of capital spread through all spheres of social life.

6   Acronym for Adults staying Young longer.

Thus, the urgency in noticing how the game becomes an imperative object for epistemologies compromised with the interpretation of social lies in the simple fact that this dominion, previously *free*, in the sense it was not mandatory; *separate*, as it is circumscribed to a limited time and space; *uncertain*, because its course cannot be determined and *unproductive*, because it doesn't create goods or wealth, today is presented as one of the many contexts colonized by the capitalist reasoning. Hjarvard (2013)'s argument, when he performs the same purification found in authors of early 20th century, underlines the market aspect imbued in the game experience when simplifying its relation and the form how this is a powerful agency vector in today's society.

Hearthstone, for example, at the same time it makes use of characters and stories weaved through decades by different products of the *Warcraft* franchise (Blizzard Entertainment, 1994-2018), it is projected as a product of continuous use and frequently updatable. This type of mechanic seeks to transform the game's experience not in a moment of consumption, but in a longitudinal experience in which the player is, somehow, always dialoguing with the product. Blizzard has a series of strategies that give way to this behavior, enabling the production and circulation of the game through a relationship created along with the community. This behavior is prescribed by the company, in other words, it integrates their program of action (LATOUR, 2012). Furthermore, it uses the materialities produced by the spreading of the phenomenon of mediatization, as we've previously discussed. The relationship that particularly interests us in this study, however, is one with a more direct order: the relation established between the player and the game in a more systematic way, not contemplating the paratextual possibilities, narratives embedded in the product, but which belongs, too, to this movement of commercial mediatization.

We take back our hypothesis, however, that the *power creep* experienced in a game such as *Hearthstone* is a direct consequence of the serialization imposed by late capitalism dynamics, and that the most adequate form of understanding this phenomenon and its repercussions

is to notice how, in this relationship between game and player, is performed a dynamic that is easily recognized as mediatization.

Interlude: on serialization

Hearthstone, as discussed in Falcão and Marques (2017), is a card game published and continuously updated by Blizzard Entertainment since 2012, which offers the player a collection of hundreds of cards that can be acquired through forms ruled by solid economic relations between game time and *pay to play* dynamics, to, later, organize 30 of them into a deck, and, then, be able to compete with other players. It is a competitive game (*agôn*), whose objective is victory through a series of strategic movements, but it has different elements of randomness (*alea*) into its gameplay, which level the decisions, strategies and philosophies of the game itself.

Each expansion of *Hearthstone* transforms the game just *a little bit*. Enough so that the change can be felt, but not so as one can say it's another game. This logic on *game design* creates a very strong connection between *Hearthstone* and other dominions of the cultural industry. The game does not only dialogue with Blizzard franchises, but it connects to a whole cultural spectrum, establishing a rich dialogue with game culture, with mass culture and with their own history. When it appropriates of the fictional world of *Warcraft*, discussed by Falcão (2014) and Aarseth (2009), among others, *Hearthstone* gains a rich universe that, little by little, is being worked on through different nuances which (1) paratextualize the game experience and, finally, (2) offer a narrative support to what could be only a simple game of cards.

By being subscribed into a serialization dynamic, *Hearthstone* publishes, every three months, new cards, which, at times, make other cards obsolete about the competitive participation of the player in the context of the game. It is important to consider that the competitive dimension is strongly prescribed by the phenomenon of mediatization of *Hearthstone*, *streamers*, *youtubers* and other *digital influencers* of the game are, commonly, *pro players*. This dimension would be interesting on its own

if discussed only from the design perspective; and when you add a layer of political problematization – here discussed through how the game is consumed, it becomes a legitimate and imperative issue to the understanding not only of the relationship between game and player, but a social nuance that involves legitimate power relationships that are deployed through decisions that affect the status of the game, and, thus, agency behaviors around it. From now on, we will discuss this dimension in a more systematized manner.

Methodological procedures

This study, thus, in addition to establishing an epistemological discussion about current practices of contemporary game, it is based on an explorative theoretical-methodological bias. Our observation was performed through a descriptive analysis of content which take as a cut-out videos published on YouTube that have the terms *"power creep"* and *"Hearthstone"* as keywords. Although an initial search revealed a larger amount of videos, we chose to analyze only those with, at least, 40,000 views and recorded in English, which offer, in our opinion, a bigger consistency to the sample, once it concentrates in a content with bigger relevance to the users. It is possible to view the complete list of videos on Board 1.

Board 1 – Analyzed videos

TITLE	VIEWS	USER	PROFILE	DURATION	DATA
Power Creep in Hearthsto-ne - What It Teaches Us About Games - Extra Credits	643.448	Extra Credits	Informative channel with content about games, history, sci-fi and mythology.	07:08	Set/15
[Hearthstone] Ben Brode & Kripp On Bad Cards	624.337	Kripparrian	Streamer and com-menter of HS. And, currently, one of the most popular in HS on Twitch.	30:46	Jun/15
[Hearthstone] How I'd Im-prove HS	319.814	Kripparrian	Streamer and com-menter of HS. And, currently, one of the most popular in HS on Twitch.	21:12	Dez/15
[Hearthstone] Power Creep & Buffing Bad Cards	255.012	Kripparrian	Streamer and com-menter of HS. And, currently, one of the most popular in HS on Twitch.	14:22	Ago/15
[Hearthstone] Doing Your Best With Trash	230.379	Kripparrian	Streamer and com-menter of HS. And, currently, one of the most popular in HS on Twitch.	17:27	Jan/17
Designer Insights with Ben Brode: The Dark Side of Releasing New Content	195.986	Hearthstone	Blizzard's oficial profile with content on HS.	6:53	Set/15
Hearthstone: Trump Talks - Card Design, Po-wer Creep & The Grand Tournament	159.275	Trump	Professional player and streamer of HS.	13:03	Ago/15
POWER CREEPIN' MY HEARTHSTONE	76.564	Noxious	Former HS pro-fessional player. Currently Works with MTG Arena.	17:30	Ago/15
Thoughts on Power Creep in Hearthstone	41.064	Noxious	Former HS pro-fessional player. Currently Works with MTG Arena.	26:08	Nov/14

Source: Author's study

The analysis didn't begin through already established categories. On the contrary, our analytical objective lies on the observation of which positions these video producers – in their majority, professional gamers and analysts of *Hearthstone* – take on regarding the *power creep* phenomenon, In other words, which general meanings these subjects attribute to the phenomenon? How does this production of meaning help us problematize aspects of the politics of production, circulation and negotiation of virtual goods on *Hearthstone*? And, beyond that, how does these speeches help us locate the agency of late capitalism through game serialization and mediatization.

We believe the analysis of the content offers an important understanding on how the power creep phenomenon is perceived by the community of users, which help us problematize their role on content politics and Blizzard's political-economic strategies. In this sense, we believe that this work expands and complements the research effort previously performed (FALCÃO; MARQUES, 2017), because it clarifies another dimension of circulation of virtual goods in *Hearthstone*. As well as in the previous work, we understand *Hearthstone* and virtual goods coming from this device as network-objects (LATOUR, 2012), whose agency and mediation is felt beyond its immediate materiality, even though it is inseparable from it.

Power creep in Hearthstone

The phenomenon of *power creep* is not exclusive to *Hearthstone*. It's about a process that tends to affect every digital game that go through cycles of updates and expansion. The process, however, becomes more critical in games that have focus on a *multiplayer* competition, since the power difference only begins to be felt regarding the performance of other players. In the case of *Hearthstone*, it is possible to see the occurrence of *power creep* when the release of new cards makes players give up old decks and cards with the goal of remaining competitive. A clear example of power creep can be seen on Image 2.

Image 2 - Example of power creep in *Hearthstone*

Source: Adapted from Blizzard Entertainment

Both cards have the same basic attributes: five attack points and four life points, in addition to the taunt skill. However, it is possible to perceive that the first one – *Evil Heckler* (EH) – requires one mana cristal less than *Booty Bay Bodyguard* (BBB) to be played. This difference makes EH objectively better than BBB in any possible scenario of the game, since it needs less resources to be activated. In case the player has both carts and wants to fit any of them in their deck, EH is the obvious choice. The crucial difference is in the following aspect: while BBB composes a collection of basic cards of the game, which players can have access to without mobilizing financial resources, EH integrates a paid expansion (*The Grand Tournament*, released in 2015). Either with money or with monetary resources within the game7, the acquisition of

EH will demand time and effort of the players. Although none of the cards discussed above are used in a competitive scenario, the example helps us understand the phenomenon and illustrate some issues. The monetary barrier is one of them, as Noxious (ex-pro gamer, analyst and commentator of *Hearthstone*) points out:

> An argument that is brought up very frequently when I read people defend the power creep that happen over basic cards (…) People are like: "Booty Bay Bodyguard is a free card, Evil Heckler is not a free card so it's fine if it's a bit better than the free card because than you realize that free cards are not the best". Well that has nothing to do with the game balance itself! (NOXIOUS, 2015)

> On the receiving end of the design, they basically throw cards that obsolete older cards. They have it thrown in my face, especially when there is a monetary barrier between BBB and the 5/4 with taunt. (NOXIOUS, 2015)

The relationship pointed out by Noxious between free and paid cards is established, as we've said, through the system of expansions. This system corroborates so that the game environment is in constant update, with new decks and competitive strategies coming and going. Here is the first clue to view the phenomena of mediatization and, consequently, serialization in *Hearthstone*. The monetary barrier described by Noxious is surrounded by a media shell produced by Blizzard in a way of darkening the processes of monetization involved in the acquisition of new cards. In addition, it isn't about, as Noxious points out, issues of balancing the game, but rather the philosophy that rules the modulation of *Hearthstone*'s environment.

The mechanic of expansions contributes to a device, a network that mobilizes Blizzard, the team of *Hearthstone* and the community of players in different practices. An effort of communication and narrativization – term coined by Hjarvard (2013) – is performed so that new expansions are desired: releasing promotional videos on YouTube, partnership with popular players to reveal new cards, releasing new comics and short stories that contextualize the narrative universe of the next expansion, etc.

There is a strong link of what is recognized as media logics and the expansion system. This effort is recognized by *streamers* as Kripparrian:

> Blizzard is actually doing a really good job pushing up content. This expansion has 132 cards and well, at regular expansion time (…) What is that like, an average of like 3 or 4 cards a day? They are popping up pretty big time. (KRIPPARRIAN, 2015a)

Kripparrian explores this argument when he proposes a way out for the problem of *power creep*: updating old cards, increasing their power (buff). According to him, players would be mainly interested in the introduction of new cards, which, in turn, produce new types of deck and game strategies: either by new cards or old cards that were redesigned and/or improved. Following his argument, this result would be easier to reach through the increment of power in old cards that may have fallen into oblivion. While doing so, argues Kripparrian, Blizzard would propel the dynamic of the game, since the realization of quality increase (*buffs*) or decrease (*nerfs*) in the power level of certain cards would help produce this "chaotic" and "creative" environment which Kripparrian is referring to.

This position seems interesting to us, because it dislocates the attention of players from a narrative connection with the universe of the game – and, consequently, the strategies of serialization of the fictional content – for the sensation of novelty, having redesign cards on display at the moment of building the decks. An argument in favor of buff in cards with low level of power, therefore, disregards narrative aspects mobilized by new expansions:

> (…) I think that most players who play Hearthstone in the long end don't really care if the expansion introduces new cards like Ragnaros or Nefarian, they only care if new cards are being introduced (…) I think that would be very easy to do by just changing bad cards. (KRIPPARRIAN, 2015b)

In response to this argument, Ben Brode – former CEO of *Hearthstone* – problematizes the idea that improving an old card would be easier and/or simpler than producing a new one. Ben Brode's argument implies that if there's a new interesting design feature for the ecosystem of *Hearthstone* – mechanical, skills, gameplays, etc. –, Blizzard prefers to introduce this element as a new content. New cards that integrate new expansions, therefore, make the environment and ecosystem of the game consistently grow. In other words, to Ben Brode, it would be more interesting to expand the total amount of content available for players instead of reorganizing old content.

This dispute between Blizzard and Kripparrian helps us understand a few issues. It seems to us that both Blizzard and the player community have interest in maintaining *Hearthstone* a flexible, creative and organic environment, in which game strategies are always being developed and being modified throughout the time. However, while Blizzard defends this process through the constant release of new content, Kripparrian and other interlocutors (such as Noxious and Trump) suggest that changes in old cards would produce similar effects, in addition to creating a smaller economic deterioration on behalf of players.

It is clear that the implementation of *buffs* and *nerfs* does not corroborate with Blizzard's economic strategy: capitalize through serialization. At every new expansion released, there is a big investment on promotion and commercialization of promotional packs, through which players can have access to exclusive content, a bigger amount of new cards, cosmetic items, etc. Nonetheless, we perceive processes of naturalization of *power creep* by Blizzard: we can observe the phenomenon as materialized in the game design philosophy of the company. Thinking this way implies conceiving that there is an agency relation with great strength, considering how important Blizzard is as an actor in this sociotechnical network.

In this sense, it is clear that Blizzard blurs its marketing interest, involving it in a discourse geared towards the technical aspects of game design and the idealized well-being of the game community. At times,

Ben Brode's arguments verse about material aspects of the object (balancing, narrative content, new mechanics, etc.), at times it verses about the player's perceptions and their satisfaction with the state of things on *Hearthstone*. On the other hand, we never see Ben Brode mentioning the impacts that new cards and expansions produce in the scenario of the game, establishing, thus, a system of demand for more competitive cards. Kripparrian clarifies this point:

> There are some things that really prevents new players from playing Hearthstone and one of those things is the amount of money and the amount of commitment you really need to get to an acceptable level to play somewhat of a fair game of Hearthstone. This is something that Blizzard constantly overlooks with every single expansion. With much more cards to get, with the cards being hard to access in different types of card packs (…) With every single expansion every single player that plays Hearthstone will have a harder time catching up, a harder time meeting an adequate level of fair play. It really sucks for them. (KRIPPARRIAN, 2015c)

Beyond thinking of power creep as a phenomenon related to the balancing dynamic of the game, we need to politized it, problematizing it through the economic strategies of the developers. This point is absent on Ben Brode's discourse, the design defines power creep through a purely mechanical perspective:

> Power creep means when we either make a card that is better than old cards, it is just more powerful, or we make a card that kinda increases the overall power level of the game and make old cards better. For example, when we released Grim Patron, all of the sudden Warsaw Commander and Battle Rage, underplayed cards before (…) became more powerful (HEARTHSTONE, 2015)

Ben Brode doesn't mention that the release of more powerful cards doesn't only produce an effect of increasing the power in the game, but also mobilizes the creation of new decks with high performance and competitivity. As it becomes clear in the *Extra Credits* video, the release of new cards forces competitive players to buy new expansion packs.

To Ben Brode, it is fundamental that more powerful cards are released throughout time, otherwise Blizzard's commitment of keeping the game always exciting, doesn't occur.

Noxious positions his discomfort with Blizzard's posture, treating the problem purely as a balancing on game design. According to his line of thought, in a digital game, there wouldn't be any difficulty in altering an old card, contrary to analogic card games. The release of EH (paid card), for instance, makes BBB (free card) indefinitely obsolete. Certainly, Blizzard's decisions on the release of new content are not taken only from a balancing perspective. As the own Noxious points out, the phenomenon derives from an intentional instruction on game design:

> (…) a creeping increase in power level in content related to older content. (…) As new content is released, older content becomes obsolete. This can be design for or against. Or sometimes it's an unintentional result of game design, somebody tries to make a piece of content that is supposed to be so awesome, but it renders everything else obsolete (…). (NOXIOUS, 2015)

The multiple voices put in perspective different layers of power creep. It is evident that Blizzard mobilizes a powerful media apparatus for the naturalization of serialization in its logic of expansions, at times narrativizing the problematic, on other times, treating as issues of balancing. The fluctuation of the *metagame*, however, helps us locate the *power creep* in a material dimension, inscribed in the game's game design, but it's something that politicizes Blizzard's philosophy and the own idea of serialization. The gamers and comentator's discourse, in turn, reveals clues that escape the hegemonic argument postulated by Blizzard, in a species of resistance to the corporation marketing practices. The revelation of agencies and materialities that produce the power creep, therefore, is fundamental for the politicization of the practice.

Final Considerations

Researches on the relation between consumption, virtual goods, highly competitive game environments (e-Sports) and late capitalism already

begin to arise internationally (GIDDINGS; HARVEY, 2018). Even though they are still scarce in Brasil, it is possible to locate other studies that go through this discussion. However, many still occupy themselves in treating the phenomenon through a bias of symbolic consumption (MACEDO; VIEIRA, 2018), highlighting, thus, the role that virtual goods fill in the construction of meanings through the coupling gamer-game, or offering an initial taxonomy for treatment of virtual goods in competitive games (MACEDO; VIEIRA, 2018). However, we believe that still there isn't a general preoccupation in politicizing the machinations that, first of all, give origin to the so-called virtual goods. In this sense, the mapping developed before (FALCÃO; MARQUES, 2017) was fundamental to reveal the traces that gave origin to this article.

We believe, therefore, that this research presents some general contributions for game studies, as well as for studies in mediatization and consumption. First of all, we sought to politicize the cultural industry of entertainment nowadays, locating the action of agency structures of late capitalism. The competitive and professional scenario of videogames is in its infancy, as well as the political-economical strategies that underlie this market. This fact makes urgent the localization of the structures of agencies and material-discursive devices (BARAD, 2007) which enable the action of late capitalism. It is certain that the phenomena of mediatization and serialization gain new outlines in the field of videogames, being the new power creep one of their conformations. It is also necessary to illuminate and politicize other practices, such as systems of microtransactions, loot boxes, payment through streaming, etc.

Finally, it is important to point out that the present research corroborates not only with the issue of videogame consumption but comes from a bottom-up perspective that produces issues on the ontological and epistemological status of what we consider a game. The conformation of this network of consumption, appropriation and technique in games puts in cause (a) what is perceived as game/non-game and (b) how we have access to these phenomena. Unfoldings and effects of this network are felt with more and more intensity, either on mass dismissal

of workers, in boycotts performed by professionals to championships and social movements in favor of the unionization in the industry. These clues point towards the urgency of the politization and problematization of the issue.

References

AARSETH, E. A Hollow World. World of Warcraft as Spatial Practice. In: H. G. COR-NELIUSSEN, H. G.; RETTBERG, J. W. (Eds.). *Digital Culture, Play, and Identity. A World of Warcraft Reader*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2009.

BAILEY, Hearthstone player count has grown by 30 million in the past 18 months. *PCGamesN*, 2018. Disponível em: <https://www.pcgamesn.com/hearthstone/hearthstone-player-count>.

BARAD, K. *Meeting the Universe Halfway*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.

BASTOS, M. T. Medium, media, mediação e midiatização: a perspectiva germânica. In: MATTOS, M.; JANOTTI, J.; JACKS, N. (Orgs.) *Mediação & Midiatização*. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2012. p. 53-77.

BATESON, G. A Theory of Play and Fantasy. In: BATESON, G (Ed.). *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1972.

BRAGA, J. L. Interaction as a context of communication. *Matrizes*, São Paulo, v. 6, n. 1-2, p. 25, 11 dez. 2012.

COULDRY, N. Theorising media as practice. *Social Semiotics*, Londres, v. 14, n. 2, p. 115-132, ago. 2004.

COULDRY, N.; HEPP, A. *The mediated construction of reality*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2016.

FALCÃO, T. *Uma incursão sobre as estruturas comunicacionais em mundos virtuais: estudo sobre a mediação dos diálogos pela figura do jogo*. Dissertação de Mestrado – Programa de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação e Cultura Contemporâneas, UFBA. 2010.

FALCÃO, T.; MARQUES, D. Pagando para vencer: Cultura, Agência e Bens Virtuais em Video Games. *Contracampo*, Niterói, v. 36, n. 2, p. x-xx, ago./out. 2017.

GIDDINGS, S.; HARVEY, A. Introduction to Special Issue Ludic Economies: Ludic Economics 101. *Games and Culture*, Ahead of Print, 11 fev. 2018.

HEARTHSTONE. Designer Insights with Ben Brode: The Dark Side of Releasing New Content. *YouTube*, 2015. (6m53s). Disponível em: <https://youtu.be/EGc6hAr8r6c>.

HEPP, A. The communicative figurations of mediatized worlds: Mediatization research in times of the 'mediation of everything'. *European Journal of Communication*, v. 28, n. 6, p. 615-629, dez. 2013.

HJARVARD, S. Mediatization: conceptualizing cultural and social change. *Matrizes*, São Paulo, v. 8, n. 1, p. 21, 24 jun. 2014.

KRIPPARRIAN. [Hearthstone] Ben Brode & Kripp On Bad Cards. *YouTube*, 2015a. (30m46s). Disponível em: <https://youtu.be/f1ioYlKO79A>.

KRIPPARRIAN. [Hearthstone] How I'd Improve HS. *YouTube*, 2015b. (21m12s). Disponível em: <https://youtu.be/Cs3H5NYQKVo>.

KRIPPARRIAN. [Hearthstone] Power Creep & Buffing Bad Cards. *YouTube*, 2015c. (14m22s). Disponível em: <https://youtu.be/Ov4P8rSIPjw>.

JAMESON, F. *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Londres: Verso, 1991.

JUUL, J. *Half-Real*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2005.

LATOUR, B. *Reagregando o social*. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2012.

REUTERS. Hearthstone announces $4 million prize pool in 2019. *ESPN*, 2018. Disponível em: < https://www.espn.com/esports/story/_/id/25410787/hearthstone-announces-4-million-prize-pool-2019>.

MACEDO, T.; VIEIRA, M. D. C. Dinâmicas de consumo de bens virtuais: práticas e valores no universo de League of Legends. *E-Compós*, v. 21, n. 1, 26 abr. 2018.

_____. Muito além dos pixels: experiências de consumo e cultura material em League of Legends. *Comunicação Mídia e Consumo*, São Paulo, v. 14, n. 41, p. 146, 15 dez. 2017.

NOXIOUS. POWER CREEPIN' MY HEARTHSTONE. *YouTube*, 2015. (17m30s). Disponível em: https://www.dropbox.com/s/51lltc1klqysawy/powercreep8.mp4?dl=0.

NOXIOUS. Thoughts on Power Creep in Hearthstone. *YouTube*, 2014. (26m08s). Disponível em: <https://www.dropbox.com/s/h0xs8x1dogt536k/powercreep6.mp4?dl=0>.

TURTIAINEN, R.; FRIMAN, U.; RUOTSALAINEN, M. "Not Only for a Celebration of Competitive Overwatch but Also for National Pride": Sportificating the Overwatch World Cup 2016. *Games and Culture*, Ahead of Print, 27 ago. 2018.

VERÓN, E. Mediatization theory: a semio-anthropological perspective and some of its consequences. *Matrizes*, São Paulo, v. 8, n. 1, p. 13, 24 jun. 2014.

About the authors

Thiago Falcão - Professor of Journalism at Universidade Federal do Maranhão. Throughout his story, he was an assistant professor (replacement) at Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF), and a professor at the Bachelor's degree in Radio, TV and Internet at UAM. He is a PhD in Contemporary Communication and Culture at Universidade Federal da Bahia. His research is currently

intended to understand the agency forms of late capitalism on games and contemporary entertainment. In the current article, he worked in the conception and general outline of research, development and review of the theoretical discussion, writing and proofreading of the final manuscript.

Daniel Marques – Assistant Professor at the Center of Applied Culture, Language and Technology at Universidade Federal do Recôncavo da Bahia (CECULT/UFRB), PhD in Contemporary Communication and Culture (Póscom/UFBA), researcher at Lab404/UFBA and Caminhos da Criação/ UFRB, coordinator of LAG - Laboratory of Game Development and Analysis (CECULT/UFRB). Master's in Culture and Society at the Multidisciplinary Post-Graduate Program in Culture and Society (PósCultura/UFBA). Specialist in Strategic Design (UNIFACS/LAUREATE) and with a BA in Design (UNI-FACS/LAUREATE). In the current article, he worked in the development of the methodology, collection and interpretation of data, development and review of the theoretical discussion, writing and proofreading the final manuscript.

O monstro que não se vê e a cultura da participação em Bird Box

The monster that cannot be seen and participatory culture in Bird Box

Fernanda Manzo Ceretta[1]
Silvio Antônio Luiz Anaz[2]

Resumo: *Bird Box, filme de terror e um dos maiores sucessos da Netflix, tem entre os protagonistas um monstro cuja imagem não é revelada. Tal estratégia narrativa resulta em amplo engajamento da audiência, que busca preencher a lacuna deixada no processo de criação do filme. Neste artigo, analisamos como a construção da ideia do monstro se dá também por meio de recursos não visuais, sobretudo sonoros, e é complementada por um imaginário que explora o tema do apocalipse, a metáfora da cegueira e a oposição arquetípica claro-escuro. A investigação fundamenta-se nas relações imagem-som propostas por Altman e Iazzetta e na teoria do imaginário de Durand. Os resultados mostram como esses elementos fomentam o engajamento da audiência, convergindo para a ideia de cultura da participação de Jenkins.*

Palavras-chave: *Bird Box; monstro; imagem sonora; imaginário; cultura da participação.*

Abstract: *Bird Box, a horror film and one of Netflix's greatest hits, has among its protagonists a monster that is not imagetically revealed. Such narrative strategy results in broad audience engagement, which seeks to fill this gap left in the creative process of the film. In this article, we analyze how the construction of the monster idea is also based in non-visual resources, especially sound, and is*

1   Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (PUC-SP). São Paulo, SP, Brasil.
    https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8162-789X E-mail: fmceretta@gmail.com
2   Centro Universitário FIAM-FAAM (FIAM-FAAM). São Paulo, SP, Brasil.
    https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4851-4903 E-mail: silvioanaz@hotmail.com

complemented by an imaginary that explores the theme of apocalypse, the metaphor of blindness and the archetypal opposition between light and darkness. The investigation is based on the image-sound relations proposed by Altman and Iazzetta, and in the theory of the imaginary by Durand. The results show how these elements foster audience engagement, converging on Jenkins' idea of participatory culture.

Keywords: *Bird Box; monster; sound image; imaginary; participatory culture.*

Introduction

In *Bird Box* (2018), a horror film directed by Susanne Bier based on the book with the same name by Josh Malerman, a type of monster travels around the world and creates a suicidal drive in the character that see it directly or through camera. Terrible memories and unbearable fears, shaped according to individual experiences, would be the consequence of the effect of the monster. The form through which the creature creates the suicidal drive is originated from an immediate state of deep depression, which dialogues with the character's experiences. That becomes obvious through what is said by the victims. Lydia (Rebecca Pidgeon), when she sees the monster (after it calls her name), remembers her mother, dead years before. The character, after being affected, says: "Mommy? Please, don't go". Olympia (Danielle Macdonald), character with a happy and simple life, when she sees the monster, reacts by saying "It is not so bad". Both commit suicide afterwards. In order not to succumb the self-destructive effects of the monster, characters cover their eyes or isolate themselves in closed environments.

While the characters can avoid looking directly towards the monster, the viewer do not have that alternative, the moment of revelation of the creature, recurring in other movies of the genre, never happens.

The decision not to show the creature was not simple. The screenwriter Eric Heisserer tells he was pressured by the producers to reveal the creature (TOPEL, 2018), which led him to write a scene in which one of the versions of the monster would appear. Susanne Bier explains that the sequence was recorded and later abandoned, because it had a comical bias. Finally, they decided to take off the scene with the monster in the editing room, because, as Bier describes:

> Whatever these beings were, they activate your biggest fear. The biggest fear of someone will be different from another person. [...] When the concept is so strong, trying to illustrate it lose its meaning. Therefore, it would be a wrong decision (TOPEL, 2018).

In this case, keeping the mystery through visual absence means to deposit on other narrative resources the construction of the image of the monster. The teamwork, as we see, is unfolded, overall, in the composition of sounds. Through the sounds emitted by the creature, we can understand its threatening presence. However, as the revelation of the monster is a canon in the genre, *Bird Box* works in the incompleteness around the character that has the biggest potential to generate curiosity among viewers. Even so, it has great popularity and it reverberates online.

The movie is among the greatest hits produced by Netflix. It was watched in its debut by approximately 45 million people, according to the company. The relevance of *Bird Box* is given not only for the size of the audience but also due to their engagement to it.

Despite not being released as a transmedia product (JENKINS, 2009), fans took care of steering it into the direction of transmedia. Excited in building theories that would explain the enigmas of the narrative, they formed fandoms, created fan fictions and published them on blogs, sites, social networks and on YouTube channels. Only in one of the platforms of fanfic creation, *Wattpad.com*, there were around 68 thousand stories registered by fans from the Netflix movie[3], including crossovers. The propagation of information related to the movie took Netflix to warn their fans of the risks of participating of some of the challenges promoted on Twitter (#birdboxchallenge) motivating people to make a cosplay of the lead character, which would mean to walk on the real world with a blindfold (SHOARD, 2019).

One of the paths to understand what leads to the high fan engagement on *Bird Box*, even though the movie is not well praised neither by critics, nor by the audience[4] and it is characterized as one more production within Hollywood narrative standards, is to understand which elements in the narrative stimulate that. Within the hypothesis we developed

3   A série Black Mirror, por exemplo, tinha cerca de 4 mil fanfics na mesma plataforma.
4   No Metacritics (https://www.metacritic.com/movie/bird-box), a avaliação média dos críticos é 51/100. No IMDb (https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2737304/), a nota média dada pela audiência foi de 6.6/10.

below, the audience participation is the result of the combination of a few key-factors: (i) decision in the creative process of not revealing the monster; (ii) use of resources, especially sonorous, to build the idea of its invisible existence; and (iii) the construction of an imaginary centered around the theme of apocalypse, within the metaphor of blindness and in the archetypical opposition light-dark.

Apocalypse and the archetypical opposition light-dark within the imaginary of Bird Box

Bird Box is inserted in the lineage of apocalyptical narratives that reaches global success since the end of the 1970's, such as *Mad Max* (1979, 1981, 1985 and 2015) *Independence day* (dir. Roland Emmerich, 1996), *Armageddon* (dir. Michael Bay, 1998), *War of Worlds* (dir. Steven Spielberg, 2005), *Cloverfield* (2008, 2016 and 2018) and the TV series *The walking dead* (created by Frank Darabont, 2010-today). To Ostwalt Jr. (1995), the traditional model of apocalyptical narratives brings the end of times and history as an immanent and imminent reality defined by God (or by the gods), while the contemporary model offers the notion that the end of times is avoidable: "[...] Modern imagination about the apocalypse removes the end of times of the sacred kingdom of gods and put the apocalypse firmly under the dominion and control of humanity" (OSTWALT JR., 1995, p. 63).

In successful audiovisual narratives, the apocalypse happens due to different causes, such as alien invasion, natural mega catastrophes, contamination of the environment, genetic mutation, scarcity of resources and the appearance of monsters. *Bird Box* is affiliated to the last category, but throughout the creative process the idea of revealing a monster as the cause for the apocalyptical scenario was abandoned in favor of a source of threat that become visible to the viewers.

The idea that there is something *invisible* in the diegetic world that in order to be seen by the character become source of suicidal or murderous impulses and it is one of the main resources to motivate the

engagement of the audience in *Bird Box*. The narrative effect that aris-
es when they do not reveal this something that is responsible for the
apocalyptical threat is decided in the creative process when the team
of creation and production opted, in the editing phase, for cutting the
scene where the monster appeared (TOPEL, 2018). The decision was
efficient for the generation of narrative challenges in *Bird Box* that lead
to the audience engagement.

With a monster that we don't see as the lead character, *Bird Box* re-
curs to the update as the metaphor for blindness, ancestral theme that is
present in mythologies of different cultures. Among them, we highlight
that are aligned with the perspective adopted in *Bird Box* and explore
the paradoxical premise that *blindness – not looking* or *not seeing* – is a
source of wisdom, or that the act of *looking* or *seeing* is threatening. It
is present in Greek myths such as Medusa, creature who kills whoever
looks at her, and Narcissus, handsome young man that, when he looks at
his reflection, is taken by the *hybris* which lead him to suicide.

The paradox also appears in the dramaturgical production of Sopho-
cles, which made his blindness as a constant motive for his plays. Buxton
(1980), when analyzing the seven dramas of the Greek author that ar-
rived to us, understands that the theme of absence of vision is a constant
in his tragedies. The visual absence of the god Athens when talking to
Ulisses and the visual disorientation provoked in Ajax, darkening his vi-
sion so that he confuses animals for men, in the tragedy *Ajax* (445 a.C.),
"emphasize a recurring and crucial characteristic in the Sophoclean
dramatic universe: the feeling that human vision and comprehension
are limited when compared with the vision and comprehension of the
gods (BUXTON, 1980, p. 23). But in the tragedy Oedipus Tirannus (or
Oedipus King) that the metaphor of blindness gets a bigger relevance
when highlighting the paradox that, as paradigm for humanity, Oedipus
has the vision, but not the comprehension of the world, while Tiresias,
the blind prophet of Thebes, presents a comprehension superior to any
human with vision. Buxton (1980) shows that, in other five dramas from
Sophocles (*Antigone, Oedipus in Colonus, Electra, The Trachiniae* e

Philoctetes), the paradox vision = ignorance and blindness = wisdom is always present.

Bird Box updates the metaphor of blindness, in its paradoxical form, present in the previously mentioned Greek plays, and inserts them into the archetypical narrative of end of time. To do so, he doesn't recur to sophisticated resources that make a complex story. The element that stimulates the engagement is simply the enigma about which is the cause of threat to humanity, once it does not reveal the monster to the viewers – and only suggests clues about how he would be from drawings made by a character and other elements of image and sound – the narrative opens other interpretative possibilities, as it begins evident in the different theories created by fans, analyzed later on.

The audience engagement in *Bird Box* happens through a conventional narrative structure, with the resource of flashbacks to show the beginning of the apocalyptical scenario in which the lead characters are inserted. The spine of the story is the *hero that overcomes the monster in order to save something,* in this case, the *hero* is Malorie Hayes (Sandra Bullock), who *overcomes the monster,* completing her journey, without succumbing to the threat of something that, seen by the character in the diegetic world, becomes deadly to them, *in order to save* Tom/the boy (Julian Edwards), her biological son, and Olympia/the girl (Vivien Lyra Blair), her adoptive daughter. The hero's relationship with motherhood – from reluctance/rejection to acceptance – establish the premise of the movie that the maternal instinct defeats all evil.

The imaginary emerged is built mainly from this premise inserted into an apocalyptical scenario, in which we highlight the great oppositions between *good and evil, order and chaos, light and shadows.*

The apocalypse is a common image to different cultures. The theme of the end of the world, represented by narratives such as doomsday, appears in mythologies of the main religions, such as Christianism, Judaism, Islamism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Confucianism, Hinduism and Taoism, and in the myths of archaic civilizations (NEAMAN, 2004). The archetypical image of the apocalypse is represented by the

last clash between the forces of good and evil, preceding the arrival of a new world. In the western civilization, influenced by Christianism, the return of the messiah and the confrontation with the antichrist feed the metaphors about the apocalypse.

In *Bird Box,* with the arrival of the final day, which changes the world as they knew it, the creature that is revealed to human eyes is the Evil and damnation – this revelation is given only in the diegetic world, once the viewer doesn't see what the characters see in these moments –, remaining blindness as the only path to *good* and salvation of the characters.

If we take as reference the archetypology of Durand (2002), the imaginary of the movie is mainly built on the archetypical opposition between light versus dark, archetypes located in the most abstract field of the Durandian structure and belonging to the Daily Regime of images, ruled by the logic of opposition, combat, contradiction, exclusion and antithesis. It is important to analyze here which aspects of these archetypes prevail in the narrative and which meanings they build.

The archetype of light results in the symbolism of illumination, associated many times, as Bachelard (2001) affirms, with what is on top, because it is the same operation of the human spirit that leads us to the top and the light. Thus, as Durand (2002) shows, the celestial light, the sky-blue, the sky, celestial gods, the sun, the solar crown, the eye and the vision are symbols of the idea of clarity or luminosity. Clarity and luminosity can be associated when we think about its positive value to meanings of revelation, knowledge and clarification, or in the negative sense, when there is excessive light, to meanings of blindness and glare. In opposition to light, the archetype of dark links itself to the nictomorphic symbolism, product of our primordial experiences. The shadows, the dark, the night and the blindness are negatively valued when they refer to the unknown, the chaos and the obscure, or positively when it has its meanings inverted or transmuted in the field of the Nocturnal Regime of images – therefore, the night is euphemized and becomes divine, time of the big rest; it becomes, in this sense, a "isomorphic chain

that comes from the revalorization of night and death" (DURAND, 2002, p. 218).

On *Bird Box*, the main isomorphic chain comes from the ambivalence of the archetypes of *light* and *dark* and the inversions of their most common significances. In the film, the light is related with the vision of the creature by the characters, which results in evil consequences to them, associating, thus, to ideas of excess of luminosity and knowledge and the manifestation of evil. In turn, the archetype of dark is linked to the metaphor of blindness, that is referring to the obscure, but the only form of salvation, associating the idea of darkness or ignorance to *good*. In *Bird Box*, as with in *Oedipus Tiranus*, *light* and *vision* are negatively valued, while *dark* and *blindness* are positively valued.

These archetypical relations, which occupy the core of imaginary of the movie, feed the theories created by the audience to explain the mysteries of the movie. But before we analyze this, let's see how, from audiovisual resources, the image of the monster is brought up in *Bird Box* and how it also feeds fan theories.

Building the image of the monster in Bird Box

Culturally, depending on the context, the monster takes on different shapes and arrives in different narratives. Audiovisual productions explore different facets of monstrosity, from fantastic creatures to characters with actions considered dehumanized. The monster can be a physically uncommon creature or even a human being with attitudes considered ethically *monstrous*.

Monster derives from the latin word *monstrum*, which derives from the root *monere*, meaning warn/warning (ASMA, 2009). To Stephen Asma, the recurrence of monsters in the media happens due to its representation of everything that is unknown and/or frightening. Asma, however, reveals on his research a particular relationship between what is unknown/scary and the human curiosity. The researcher quotes an experience made by Charles Darwin: The author of *The origin of species* (1859) sought to understand the relationship between monkeys and

their instinctive fear of snakes. To do so, he put a stuffed snake in the *house* of these animals. Eventually, the monkeys realized it was a dead animal, disregarding it. Later, in that same spot, Darwin put a living snake inside a bag:

> [...] One of the monkeys immediately came closer, opened the bag carefully, took a peek and moved away very quickly. But then, in an attitude of curiosity typical of men, not one monkey resisted to give a momentaneous peek, one after another, to see the terrible animal resting quietly inside the bag (ASMA, 2009, p. 3).

The experience shows that monkeys were repelled, and, simultaneously, attracted to what provokes fear. To Asma, just like the monkeys in the Darwinian experience, "we cannot resist to take a momentaneous peek of the terrible animal" (ASMA, 2009, p. 5).

Film directors with fantastic creatures frequently build a crescent of expectation that precedes the full reveal of the scary character. That is given in different forms. In *Metropolis* (d Fritz Lang, 1927), a layer of smoke slows down Morloch's revelation. In *The Fly* (d. David Cronenberg, 1986), we follow the slow transformation of the lead character into a monster. Likewise, in *Godzilla* (d. Gareth Edwards, 2014), the revelation coincides with the screenplay climax, close to the end of the movie, in the moment of the decisive battle. These are examples which, along with others like *Jaws* (d. Steven Spielberg, 1975), *Alien* (d. Ridley Scott, 1979) and *Cloverfield* (d. Matt Reeves, 2008) point towards a canon of the genre which consists in showing a monster at some point.

Bird Box provokes the viewers and disposes of different resources to generate anticipation for the visuality of the monster. However, it breaks genre expectations and keep the monster hidden.

Imagetically, it emphasizes the reaction of the characters to the phenomenon, proposing even a different physical aspect in the eyes of the people looking at the monster. It is a way of bringing even further the curiosity of the viewers, proposing that what is seen is extraordinary. This intention is strengthened by the adjectives that the characters that are immune to the monster (*the crazy ones)* use to describe it: seeing the

monster is "seeing the truth", "it is necessary", and he is "beautiful", among others.

Image 1. Screenshot of the movie *Bird Box*. Jessica Hayes (Sarah Paulson) sees the monster.

Source: Netflix.com

About the image of the creature itself, the film suggests some characteristics. In a certain moment, one of these *crazy people*, Gary (Tom Hollander), before persuading other characters to look and succumb, disposes different drawings in a table. The illustrations can be images of the monster, and they are what the movie presents of more concrete imagetically to understand its form or one of their possible forms.

Image 2. Screenshot of the movie *Bird Box*. Illustrations of the monster.

Source: Netflix.com

In the decoupage, we perceive how the monster affects its surrounding environment. Its approximation, beyond the limits of framing, provokes the sudden movement of light elements, like leaves, treetops and hairs, that seem to be pushed by the monster and magnetized by its presence. In addition to that, when the monster approaches electronic devices, it provokes an interference. These events suggest that the presence of the monster sends some kind of energy, which also can be perceived by birds, that become agitated with its presence. From that, it would be possible to conclude that the monster is that invisible mass of energy, taking on a shape only in the mind of the potential victims. However, the movie suggests a certain concrete nature of the monster by the shadow it projects within the frame, in some sequences. The shadow gives the suggestion of the existence of a body, a shape, that goes beyond the emission of waves, and lets clear the choice of the director to not show it.

Image 3. Screenshot of Bird Box. Shadow.

Source: Netflix.com

Image 4. Screenshot of Bird Box. Shadow.

Source. Netflix.com

Frequently, in films with monsters and horror, the sound helps in the anticipation of the terrible creature and potentializes the curiosity on how is its shape. Not rarely, the viewer can listen to the monster before seeing it, as in *Predator (d.* John McTiernan, 1987) and *It* (d. Tommy Lee Wallace, 1990).

Sound has a great potential in building expectations. Baitello defines vision and hearing as senses of warning and readiness. As such, moved by fear (BAITELLO, 2012). Humans used to live on top of trees, where they had a privileged view, getting to see the environment in every direction and with great distances. "[...] Our perception would cover all spatial directions, all the sides, above and below, building an spherical perceptive surrounding […]. Vision would know no horizon […]". (BAITELLO, 2012). Later, when they abandoned trees and lived in the ground, the man's view was limited by obstacles, becoming less extensive, and with this reconfiguration of lifestyle, it is also necessary to reconfigure the role of senses. Hearing, in this new context, "becomes more important as a prospective sense, because in the dense vegetation you must hear what still cannot be seen" (BAITELLO, 2012).

Through this relationship with sounds, sound effects in horror movies are used to hide visual references as a way to generate suspense, anxiety

and fear. According to Whittington (2007), sound effects create bodies, and, therefore, also can be used to hide them.

When we see a voice or a sound in a movie before seeing the emitter, these sounds "[…] Become invested with magic powers as well as involved, even if lightly, in image" (CHION, 1999, p. 23). However, when a specific sound does not belong in our repertoire, therefore, it is not recognizable, and if the movie does not present the emitter, as it is the case in *Bird Box*, we build a mental image of that sound, through relations of proximity. The *Sound Hermeneutics* described by Altman (1992) helps us understand how strong is this anticipation. The phenomenon comprises the doubt of the viewer and the film response to the question: *who emitted this sound?* Leaving the audience without an answer for a long period of time would break one of the most traditional cinematographic resources, of identifying the emitter source and answering the question. When the incompleteness of *Sound Hermeneutics* takes place, the viewer stays a considerable time trying, incessantly, to answer the question, in other words, to find out who the emitter is, which would enlarge the moment of revelation of the monster. Hence, the importance of sound design on *Bird Box*: the sound makes different suggestions and creates doubt in the viewer, leaving the question without an answer while that proves great curiosity.

But, as we've seen from Whittington (2007), sound on its own is capable of building a body. Therefore, we can consider that the sound that follows the monster in *Bird Box* is its own image. Among authors that discuss the concepts of image, sound not uncommonly is mentioned, as shown by W. J. T. Mitchell in *Iconoly*: *image, text and ideology* (1986). For example, Ludwig Wittgenstein mentions sound mental images (MITCHELL, 1986, p. 15) and Edmund Burke says the pure sound of words is capable of producing effects and meanings (MITCHELL, 1986, p. 124).

In *The Hearing Image*, Fernando Iazzetta explains that

> [...] Image is everything that represents something, by analogy or vraisemblance, by figuration. Therefore, it wouldn't be an irregular act, not even

a mere artifice of metaphor, to use it in the representation of another field other than visual. [...] What we can say of sound as image forming? [...] What are sounds if not an acoustic representation of something? Like what happens with what we see, what we hear is the impression created by our sensory-mental apparel through external stimuli: acoustic waves of mechanical nature in the case of sounds and light waves with electromagnetic nature in case of lights that compose what we see. Sound and light are not opposed, but related in their capacities of impress our senses. Both originate from a source and are reflected in objects that physically occupy the environment. At the same time that there's a different in their natures – mechanical and electromagnetic –, there is also a similarity in their ways of operation in form of waves propagating int the environment. Therefore, it doesn't seem like a problem to take both, sound and light, as generators of images (IAZZETTA, 2016, p. 377-378).

In *Bird Box*, the construction of the sound image of the monster were given to the team led by Glenn Freemantle and Ben Barker. In an interview, Bier says that:

All use of sound is incredibly important. [...] Having creatures that are mainly composed by invisible things generates a great pressure that the sound is very distinct. Creatures mess with your head and play with your biggest fears, therefore, sound needs to suggest that (BURGOS, 2018).

The director asked the audio crew that the sounds of the monster were original. Despite every work has its particularity, the sound of the monster in *Bird Box* dialogues with the repertoire of horror movies. In an interview for the website A *Sound Effect*, Freemantle and Barker comment the three layers of sound that compose the sound image of the monster: movement, attack and communication. In order to suggest the monster's movement and attack, the team used as base the caption of sound of bees and different sounds emitted by animals and humans (ANDERSEN, 2019). However, as Bier explains, the sound effects are "actually composed by many different things, estimating around 30 sound layers superposed" (BURGOS, 2018).

The most important layer for us to understand how the monster affects its victims, communication, is composed, above all, by the sound

of whispers and a cacophony of intelligible and unintelligible voices. Freemantle explains that the guide for the recording was a sound effect of wind that would be mixed along with the voices (ANDERSEN, 2019). With that, they intended that the viewer felt that the whispers were surrounding and following the pattern of movement suggested by the other layers.

In the sequences that we assume Malorie Hayes (Sandra Bullock) point of view, we also assume the point of hearing of the character, and it is possible to better understand the action of the monster and how this affects her individually. Within the cacophony of voices and whispers, among what is intelligible, we hear the monster call Malorie and emulate voices of people close to her, like her partner Tom (Trevante Rhodes) and her sister Jessica (Sarah Paulson).

Several religious traditions have as characteristic the presence of voices in collective prayer, chanting and other manifestations. However, it those are presented in disharmony and dissonance, frequently are related to the occult. According to Altman, 1992, this notion is present in different historic moments:

> While Pitágoras was mapping the harmony of spheres, others developed a myth to explain the phenomenon of echo, transformed the ventriloquism into a sacred source of prophecy and made the process of speaking with many voices something of oracular use. In the Middle Ages, sounds kept having an important religious role. In order to express the devilish intentions of unfaithful warriors, epic poets regularly described them as producing a cacophony of non-Christian sounds. The divine presence was indicated by the calm harmonies of an angelical band (ALTMAN, 2004, p. 5).

The cinematographic repertoire consolidates the cacophony and whispers as a dark manifestation in fantasy and horror movies. To Whittington, *sound designers* base themselves in the sound imaginary established by other cinematographic works to create from it. This work considers many cultural aspects, such as the history of sound effects and conventions of the genre. "That is why ghosts still moan, storms still

whip and swirl around us, and computers chew data with audible hiss and whistles (WHITTINGTON, 2007).

Through the relation of the imaginary of *Bird Box* with the apocalypse and the archetypical opposition light-dark, along with a sound design capable of building an image, the monster takes on a shape and it is capable of telling the story. However, the breach of expectations generated from the choice of not revealing makes the movie open interpretative possibilities. The incompleteness of the monster and the lack of precision of its shape work as motivators for the generation of content on behalf of viewers. On the internet, interactors contributed with the construction of the image of the monster from a regimen of participative culture.

Recreation of Bird Box by fans: engagement, archetypes and theories

The engagement of fans of a narrative, through fandoms, production of encyclopedic content online (wikis) and the creation of fan fictions, for example, is the main indicator of what Jenkins (2015) defines as *culture of participation*. In *Bird Box*, part of the fan engagement is given by the development of theories that try to explain what the cause of the apocalypse is. Once the creature is not revealed to the audience, fans develop theories fed by clues on the invisible, which includes elements of sound, as we've seen in the previous segment.

In a sample of theories published on fans platforms, it is possible to observe that they converge into three types, among the most popular ones (Board 1).

Board 1 - Main types of theories on *Bird Box*

| Nature	Theory
Demons (or evil spirits)	Out of the theories proposed in the diegetic world by the characters of the film, Charlie's (Lil Rel Howery) is the one that echoes the most among fans. In it, they retrieve mytho-logic narratives of different cultures about the apocalipse, being the entity causing the endo f times a demon or na evil spirit. The mytho-logical elements are updated and expanded in fan theories that point towards demons or evil spirits foreseen in mythology as the cause of the apocalypse..
Monsters (and/or aliens)	In theories pointing out monsters as the cause of what is happening, we highlight the ones that indicate that these creatures would be similar to Cthulu, creation of H. P. Lovecraft, that also took people that saw him to insanity and, simi-larly as the creature in Bird Box, it cannot cross barriers, like doors and walls. The drawings made by the character Gary (Image 2) also re-fer to a Lovecraftian monster. As Cthulu is na extraterrestrial monstruous being, there are va-riations of this theory that suggest na attack of aliens being the cause of the apocalypse.
Hallucinations (and dementia)	Mass hysteria and projection of subconscious fears under the form of hallucination would be the cause of mass suicides and the violence in the film, according to part of the fans. They still propose the possibility of such hallucina-tions being caused by elements of a chemical or biological war, according to the idea proposed by the character Douglas (John Malkovich). A type of epidemia of a mental illness would've hit the population in a global scale, following this type of theory, which includes the suicidal behavior of people as a metaphor of depression. Still in this group, there is a theory that sees the narrative as a metaphor of the fear of becoming a mother, related to the lead character.

Source: Authors[5]

5   Resultado de levantamento de maio de 2019 em uma amostragem de 60 posts no Reddit.com, Nerdist.com, Insider.com e Wattpad.com em que 80% deles convergiam para esses três temas.

The main theories fans associate the cause of the apocalyptic situation to the perception (visual and sonorous) of *evil*, either embodied by supernatural creatures (demons, monsters, aliens or malignant spirits), either as a projection in hallucinations of what there is of dark within the human being. The sound elements, specially the whispers, present in *Bird Box* contribute significantly in these types of interpretations by the audience.

Fan theories are fed by references to mythological (apocalypse) and literary (H.P. Lovecraft) imaginaries and by clues presented by the audiovisual elements (sounds, voices, shadows, leaf movement). Thanks to mechanisms of the contemporary culture of participation, it is possible to observe some of the results in the field of reception in the process of (re)creation of the film by the more engaged fans.

In *Bird Box*, there are gaps left to the imagination by the creator's decisions (screenwriter, director, producers) that stimulate their filling by the audience's imagination. Therefore, not revealing the monster was an efficient decision in this sense. About the process of explaining the unrevealed element, what fans share most of the imaginary of the movie in their theories are the archetypical image of the apocalypse and the opposition between *good* and *evil*, inserted in the isomorphic chain of the archetypical opposition between light-dark.

The influence of these elements in the construction of fan theories is presented in the diagram:

Image 5: relations between archetypes and fan theories in *Bird Box*.
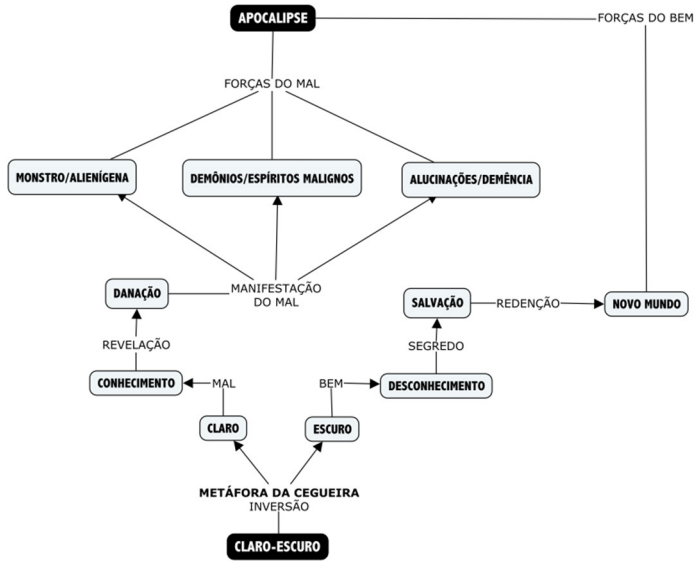
Source: Authors

The anagram shows how three groups of theories (monsters/aliens; demons/malignant spirits and hallucinations/insanity), which seek to fill the gap left in the narrative through clues (sound and visual resources) and intertextualities (references to mythological-religious and literary elements) presents in the film, are the result mainly of the influence of the myth of the *apocalypse* and the archetypical opposition *light-dark*.

The Christian myth of the final battle between forces of good and evil and the second advent and arrival of a new world – purified –, constitute itself as one of the structuring elements of the narrative, offering fans the challenge of defining which is the representation of forces of evil in this version of the apocalypse built by *Bird Box*.

Synchronically, the archetypical opposition light-dark will be another important influence. In this case, with its conventional meanings (light = good; dark = evil) inverted by the blindness metaphor, since the only person who do not see the apocalyptical creature, the ones who live in

the dark, have the possibility of reaching salvation, represented by a new post-apocalyptical world inhabited by the meek. Thus, in an opposite direction, an isomorphic chain of meanings is formed, associating light (or the excess of luminosity), that is, the possibility of seeing, knowing truth to evil, revelation and damnation, culminating in the concrete manifestation of that evil, either by monster, demon or hallucination.

Conclusion

Bird Box breaks expectations of genre when it chooses not to reveal the monster. More than an inspiring solution for low-budget films, this incompleteness acts as a motivator of an elevated audience participation.

The use of sound as the main resource of language to compose the image of the monster and the construction of an imaginary that dialogues with archetypical themes, especially the apocalypse and metaphors of blindness and the opposition light-dark, are resources that build elaborately the expectation of those watching. When it offers a sound image of the monster, the film gives sensory clues on its shape and action. When dialoguing with archetypical themes present in other works, it promotes the access of the viewer to their own repertoire of media narratives.

The fact of the monster is not seen by the viewers, not even in the climax of the movie, leaves the experience of watching *Bird Box* without a complete ending. This gap becomes, therefore, an opening to fan participation, which, when they produce diverse content and debate the aspects of the monster and the screenplay, offer to the *Bird Box experience* different motivations, explanations and endings for the mystery, as we've seen on Board 1. It is up to the viewer to interact and consume content beyond the film, choosing and debating their favorite theories.

In this case, *Bird Box* allows us to understand the importance of getting a glimpse of possibilities of fan reverberation and contribution in the conception of audiovisual works and some of the mechanism that are available to producers to stimulate the audience to participate in their stories.

References

ALTMAN, R. (Ed.). *Sound theory, sound practice*. New York: Routledge, 1992.

ANDERSEN, A. How Bird Box's quietly intense sound was created. *A Sound Effect*, 17 jan. 2019. Disponível em: https://www.asoundeffect.com/bird-box-sound/. Acesso em: 5 abr. 2019.

ASMA, S. *On monsters*: an unnatural history of our worst fears. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

BACHELARD, G. *O ar e os sonhos*. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2001.

BAITELLO, N. *O pensamento sentado*: sobre glúteos, cadeiras e imagens. São Leopoldo: Editora Unisinos, 2012.

BIRD Box. Direção: Susanne Bier. Produção: Chris Morgan. Intérpretes: Sandra Bullock, Trevante Rhodes, Rosa Salazar, Danielle Macdonald, Lil Rel Howery, Tom Hollander, Sarah Paulson, John Malkovich e Colson Baker. Roteiro: Eric Heisserer. Música: Trent Reznor e Atticus Ross. Los Gatos: Netflix, 2018. Streaming online (124 min), color. Produzido por Netflix, Inc. Baseado na obra "Bird Box" de Josh Malerman.

BURGOS, D. *How Bird Box director Susanne Bier made the movie's unseen monsters so terrifying*. 21 dez. 2018. Disponível em: https://www.bustle.com/p/how-bird-box-director-susanne-bier-made-the-movies-unseen-monsters-so-terrifying-15547101. . Acesso em: 3 mar. 2019.

BUXTON, R.G.A. Blindness and limits: Sophokles and the logic of myth. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, v. 100 (centenary issue), 1980. p. 22-37.

CAMPBELL, J. *O herói de mil faces*. São Paulo: Cultrix/Pensamentos, 1989.

CHION, M. *The voice in cinema*. New York, USA: Columbia University Press, 1999.

DURAND, G. *As estruturas antropológicas do imaginário*. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2002.

IAZZETTA, F. *A imagem que se ouve*. In: PRADO, G.; TAVARES, M.; ARANTES, P. (Org.). *Diálogos transdisciplinares*: arte e pesquisa. São Paulo: ECA/USP, 2016. p. 376-395.

JENKINS, H. *Cultura da convergência*. São Paulo: Editora Aleph, 2009.

JENKINS, H.; GREEN, J.; FORD, S. *Cultura da conexão*. São Paulo: Aleph, 2015.

MITCHELL, W. J. T. *Iconology*: image, text, ideology. Chicago, USA: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

NEAMAN, J. Doomsday (Day of Judgment). In: GARRY, J.; EL-SHAMY, H. (Orgs.). *Archetypes and motifs in folklore and literature*. New York: ME Sharpe Inc., 2004.

OSTWALT JR., C. Hollywood and Armageddon: apocalyptic themes in recent cinematic presentation. In: MARTIN, J. W.; OSTWALT JR., C. *Screening the sacred*: religion, myth, and ideology in popular american film. Boulder: Westview Press, 1995.

SCHOARD, C. *Netflix warns viewers against Bird Box challenge meme*: 'Do not end up in hospital'. The Guardian, 3 jan. 2019. Disponível em: https://www.theguardian.com/film/2019/jan/03/netflix-bird-box-challenge-meme-sandra-bullock-blindfold. Acesso em: 15 mar. 2019.

TOPEL, F. *A Deleted Scene for 'Bird Box' Actually Showed the Creature*. Bloody Disgusting. 21 dez 2018. Disponível em: https://bloody-disgusting.com/interviews/3536447/creature-almost-saw-bird-box-deleted-scene/. Acesso em 10 maio 2019.
VOGLER, C. *A jornada do escritor*: estrutura mítica para escritores. São Paulo: Aleph, 2015.
WHITTINGTON, W. *Sound Design & Science Fiction*. Austin, EUA: University of Texas Press, 2007.

About the authors

Fernanda Manzo Ceretta – PhD and Master's in Communication and Semiotics at PUC-SP under the guidance of Prof. PhD. Lúcia Leão. Bachelors in Radio and TV at Universidade Anhembi Morumbi (2008). Worked as a teacher in the course of Radio and TV at Universidade Anhembi Morumbi and is a member of the research group Communication and Creation in Media, certified by CNPq. She has experience in sound effect of mobile games (TFG Co) and webseries production (8KA Produções). In this study, the author worked in the development of the initial question, in the analysis of the sound and image presence of the monster in the film, in the final writing and formatting.

Silvio Antônio Luiz Anaz – Post-Doctorate in Media and Audiovisual Processes in the School of Arts and Communications at Universidade de São Paulo (with FAPESP scholarship). Visiting researcher at the School of the Arts, Media, Performance & Design at York University (with FAPESP scholarship). PhD in Communication and Semiotics at Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo. Master's in Languages at Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie. Professor at the Professional Master's in Journalism at FIAM FAAM. In the current article, the author worked in the development of the theoretical discussion on archetypes and the culture of participation and contribution for the object analysis, final writing and proofreading.

O autômato digital e os circuitos de afetos nas redes sociais: uma análise do conceito de autômato espiritual no Imagem-Tempo de Deleuze e seus desdobramentos nas interfaces digitais

The digital automaton and the circuits of affects in social networks: an analysis of the concept of a spiritual automaton in Deleuze's Image-Time and its unfolding in digital interfaces

Rogério da Costa[1]

Resumo: *O presente artigo investiga a relação entre o conceito de autômato espiritual, tal como desenvolvido por G. Deleuze em seu texto sobre o cinema, Imagem-Tempo, e os autômatos digitais que emergem nas redes sociais de nossa atualidade. Conceitos como autômato psicológico, automovimento do pensamento, escolha e sugestão, padrão de comportamento e perfil de usuário são explorados para compreender a atual relação que mantemos com as interfaces digitais, de modo a explicitar os novos processos de pensamento e afetos em jogo nas redes sociais.*

Palavras-chave: *redes sociais; autômato espiritual; autômato digital; padrão de comportamento; processo de decisão.*

Abstract: *This article investigates the relationship between the concept of spiritual automaton, as developed by G. Deleuze in his text on the cinema, Image-Time, and the digital automata that appear in the social networks of our times. Concepts such as psychological automaton, self-movement of thought, choice and suggestion, behavior pattern and user profile are explored to understand the current relationship that we maintain with the digital interfaces, in*

1   Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (PUC-SP). São Paulo, SP, Brasil.
    https://orcid.org/ 0000-0002-6807-4263 E-mail: rogcoxta@gmail.com

order to make explicit the new thinking and affects processes that emerge from social networks.

Keywords: *social networks; spiritual automaton; digital automaton; behavior pattern; decision-making process.*

Introduction

The present article investigates the relationship between the concept of spiritual automaton, as developed by G. Deleuze in his text about cinema, Image-Time, and the digital automata that appear on social networks of our times. It is evident that the power of capturing the attention that the universe of digital interfaces has over people. Just like cinema keeps having its magic on multitudes throughout the world, making people dream and cry with their moving pictures, digital interfaces also act directly over subjectivities, precipitating them onto labyrinths of their space-information. But what we discuss here goes beyond this capture, because what it seems to be at stake in the space-information, which is deepened with the continuous use of Internet and digital interfaces, is the way they interfere in important processes of the lives of their users. Firstly, because of the massive intensification of virtual consumption, the individuals are submitted to strategies of inducing constant choice and decision. Such induction, which also can be names as incitation, provocation or constraint, results from complex processes of calculations performed by sophisticated algorithms spread throughout the web, that will be referred in this article as *network digital automata*, or simply *digital automata*. Secondly, there would be an unfolding of these consumption inductions, that rebounds now in the affection level of social network users. It's about processes of estimate, present in platforms of social interaction, that mesh their participants in a continuous process of evaluation of themselves and others. We call that affection automaton, which characterizes the affectionate automatism with they react the individuals that frequent such platforms and chain them into an emotional circuit, induced, equally, by algorithms of personalization.

The spiritual automaton in cinema

In the chapter titled "Thought and cinema" of his book Image-Time, Deleuze understands that, with the arrival of the cinematograph, it is attained the self-movement or automatic movement within the artwork.

Movement becomes the immediate data of image, unlike the universe of painting, which would be the spirit who reconstitute them, or theatre, where movement depends of a medium, in this case, the actor, that performs it. In the cinematographic dominion, it is the image itself that moves in itself. This luminous self-movement makes Deleuze go further into the idea of emergency, in the mind of the viewer, of a spiritual automaton, as a type of effect in the brain resulting from the movie projection: "the *automatic movement* made a *spiritual automaton* in us, which, in turn, reacts about it" (DELEUZE, 2005, p. 189). Such idea would be present, in an embryonic form, in the texts of Élie Faure, renowned French art historian, in the beginning of the 20th century, quoted by Deleuze, who would be one of the firsts to correlate the automatic movement of images in the cinema with the own movement of thought:

> In fact, it is their own material automatism that creates inside these images the new universe that, little by little, it imposes to our intellectual automatism. That is how it appears, in a dazzling light, the subordination of the human soul to the instruments created by them, reciprocally. (E. FAURE, 1934, p. 9)

In turn, the writer Raymond Bellour, renowned for his analysis on cinema, establishes a correlation between the experiences at the moment the cinema was created and hypnosis in its beginnings, having as a base the fact that both explores the effects of repetition on the conscience of a viewer in alert immobility (BELLOUR, 2009). More recently, authors such as Andriopoulos (2014) and Eugeni (2002) also explore the relationship between cinema and hypnosis. In a similar manner, Deleuze understands that movie directors in the beginning of the 20th century, such as Vertov, Abel Gance and Eisenstein, advocated a form of direct action of the cinematographic image-movement over thought, such as a shock capable of communicating "vibrations to the cortex, touching directly the nervous and cerebral system" (DELEUZE, 2005, p. 190). In other words, the conception of *spiritual automaton* would be linked here with the automatic movement of images, that raise, incite in the viewer a mental automaton. It is an automatic movement that acts directly over

the brain, by vibrations. The automaton constituted by that reacts, in turn, over the automatism of images.

Occurs that the concept of spiritual automaton had already been employed, and for the first time, by Espinosa and Leibniz in the 17th century. He expressed, at that moment, the experience you have when you exercise the logical thinking, formally deducing thoughts of others. When we think, according to Espinosa, we only obey the laws of thought, which allow ideas to link themselves in an autonomous way, working as causes one in relation to the other, that give the activity of thinking the dimension of an authentical spiritual automaton (ESPINOSA, 2003, p. 85). It is about the experience of movement in the thought itself, concatenating ideas in an automatic form, depending only of their own concepts to go through the following concepts. Therefore, the meaning of automaton here includes the notion of self-movement, which is attributed to thought in its activity.

The interesting part in Deleuze's thought is that he, from the notion of spiritual automaton thought by Espinosa, concludes about a new form of automatism, which arise from the effects of cinematographic images about thoughts. In this case, there would be an essential difference in relation to the spiritual automaton of the classic philosophy, because this last one would point towards a mere logical or abstract possibility of formally deducing thoughts from one another, while in the case of the cinema's spiritual automaton, it is established a circuit that links thoughts directly with the cinematographic image-movement. The automaton would be, in this sense, "the common power of what is forced to think and what is thought under mental shock" (DELEUZE, 2005, p. 190).

But is necessary to make justice to Espinosa's philosophy and remember that the theory of imagination also understood a triggering process of images in the mind through signs of the world, which gave the flow of imagination this automatic character of chain.

> In effect, a soldier, for instance, when seeing the traces of a horse over sand, will immediately go through the thought of the hose for the thought of the knight, and, then, for the thought of the war, etc. A farmer, on the other hand, will go from the thought of a horse to the thought of a plow, of the field, etc. And, thus, each one, depending on how he was accustomed to link and concatenate images of things, will go from a certain thought to another. (ESPINOSA, 2007, II,18, sc.)

In this example, from indicial stimuli, the spiritual automaton articulates a sequence of thoughts that come from their own habits, as suggested by Espinosa. In the case of cinema, the idea of Deleuze is that the experience of image-movement induces the concatenation of thoughts, according to the own organization of cinematographic montage. It is this fact that stimulates the first big movie directors to believe they would be facing an art that, finally, would promote an authentic social revolution: "Everything goes through as if the cinema would say: with me, with the image-movement, you can no longer escape the shock that awakes the thought in you. A subjective and collective automaton for an automatic movement: the art of *masses*" (DELEUZE, 2005, p. 190). That would be the vision of Eisenstein, which defended that the cinema would produce a shock that forces the thought, imposing this shock to the masses, creating a people subject of their actions (EISENSTEIN, 1976). And this power created would reside in the core of the cinematographic montage, which would enter in circuit with the thought, inducing the intellectual process of thinking of a "whole" that surpasses the film, which gathers the parts overcoming them into a product of superior order, in a concept that overflies the film itself and gives it a bigger meaning.

There are two criticisms to highlight in this reading of the spiritual automaton associated to the classic cinema. The first is about the romantism of the first filmmakers, who believed in the revolutionary force of the cinematographic art. Everyone knows that, as Deleuze observes,

> If an art necessarily imposed the shock or the vibration, the world would have changed a long time ago, and a long time ago men would think. That is why this pretention of cinema, at least in their grand pioneers, is nowadays something to smile about (…) All hope put into cinema, the art of masses and the new thought, now seem declarations in a museum. (DELEUZE, 2005, p. 190)

To this first criticism is added a second one, which points out that cinema, precisely, has a potential of widening daily banalities. Commercial actions, sex and violence begin to occupy a new form of industrial art, and the spiritual automaton becomes a puppet of propaganda. Deleuze attributes that, partly, to the fact that the cinema is a product of techniques of reproduction in scale, proliferating a "quantitative mediocrity". However, behind that factor, something more terrible is outlined, the manipulation of the masses by the fascism of the State, in mention of Nazi propaganda in Second World War period. "The spiritual automaton made men fascists", says Deleuze, pointing towards mass human manipulations as a synonym of the grand crisis of cinema, when Hitler was a rival to Hollywood[2].

The crisis of the post-war cinema and the arrival of the world of information

The cinema crisis, according to Deleuze, will be associated to the period of fascist propaganda, but equally to the post-war world, which ends up promoting a rupture of the more conventional action films. With the Italian neorealism, for example, cinema seems to abandon their aspiration to action narratives, that would get the viewer's attention with the same question: what is going to happen? The breach of narrative comes followed by this unsettling sensation that nothing happens, which ends up bringing up the thought in a type of zigzag or spiral, remitting the spiritual automaton to the pure effort of thinking and understanding: what is happening? What has happened? The contradictory images that the

---

2   Deleuze refers to the german filmaker Leni Riefenstahl, renowned by her films of propaganda for the German Nazi Party. (Deleuze,2005, p. 199)

post-war cinema builds are a dissociative force, not the power of linking images according to an interior monologue, but linking them according to multiple voices, always a voice inside a voice. Deleuze brings up Artaud, which said about the cinema that "the thought can only think the fact that we still didn't think about, the impotence both for thinking the whole as to think about oneself, being the thought always petrified, dislocated, tumbled (DELEUZE, 2005, p. 203). The new montages, with the introduction of the fake raccord, for example, lead to the inexistence of a whole that can be thought of. Thus, the spiritual automaton won't be the one with the classical logical thought, nor the one who gets in circuit with the automatic image, but rather "the Mummy, dismounted instance, paralyzed, petrified, frozen, which documents the impossibility of thinking about the thought" (DELEUZE, 2005, p. 201). On the other hand, this paralysis, this impotence only mark the leap of thought, which is forced to get out the pre-stablished circuits of action-reaction of the classic cinema, is induced to disconnect to the common sense to directly face with the dissociative and multiple power of the modern cinema. The mark of experience of image-time in the spiritual automaton will be so grand, that Deleuze understands it being the main characteristic of the cinematographic art in the second half of the 20th century.

What happens is that in the mid-1980's it were already in course a technological and social evolution of automata. In that occasion, Deleuze already noticed that the computing automatons were already arriving. It was a change of nature, because along with the movement automata, such as pendula, clocks and engines, and also the cinema, emerged the data and information manipulation machine, which worked as automata of calculus and thought, regulation and *feedback*. The movement automaton, which represents the cinema, ended up promoting the automatization of the masses, with this phenomenon of the boss as the big spiritual automaton, or as a filmmaker Hitler. But Deleuze realized that, with the computing automaton, everything seems to be diluted "into a network of information, where 'deliberators' managed regulation, treatment, storage, through the intercrosses of insomniacs and mediums"

(DELEUZE, 2005, p. 314). To the eyes of today, we must recognize that Deleuze had a very clear vision of the future, because the computing context of the 1980's was only in their beginning. It is surprising how, at that moment, his understanding on digital images already sounded extremely current:

> The modern figure of the automaton is the correlation of an electronic automatism. (The birthing digital image) does not have exteriority (extra field) nor interiorize them into a whole: they have a right and a wrong, reversible and not passive of superposition, as a power of turning over oneselves. They are an object of perpetual reorganization, in which a new image can be born from any point of the previous image. The screen space becomes omnidirectional, where angles and coordinates always vary. (The screen constitutes now a space-information), an opaque surface over which 'data' is inscribed, with information replacing Nature, the brain-city, the third eye, replacing the eyes of nature. (...) The new spiritual automatism refers, in turn, to the new psychological automata. (DELEUZE, 2005, p. 315)

This passage could well refer to today's smartphones, this "opaque surface over which data is inscribed", a *black mirror* involving thought in its space-information, with images that can form through any point. Deleuze also notes that the vertical screen position begins to have an absolutely conventional meaning, because what we see in it are information, not the world in movement, like in the cinema, so it can then be disposed horizontally or in any other position. Probably influenced by the impact of television and video, Deleuze glimpses that the modern world is the one in which information replaces nature, becoming a big media-effect, where a brain-information or brain-city replaces the eye-nature of the cinema: when the screen is a space-information, "the image doesn't stop sliding to other images in an infinite profusion of messages, and the own plan looks less like an eye than an overloaded brain that incessantly absorbs information" (DELEUZE, 2005, p. 317)

Another important aspect that emerges from the concept of screen as a space-information is the modification of the relation with the whole. The computing automaton constantly promotes a disjunction between

image, sound and text, in a way they do not align more according to a conventional process of representation. What we see does not necessarily adjust to what is heard or what is read. It is, according to Deleuze, an "irrational" relation according to dissymmetrical directions, image and sound not reconstituting more as a whole. The whole becomes impossible, because the complexity of the space-information is "non-totalizable, 'non-representable by one only individual', which only finds representation in the automaton" (DELEUZE, 2005, p. 319).

The Internet and the dream of a Collective Intelligence

With the consolidation of the Internet, this computing automaton from the 1980's which Deleuze refers to, associated to the power of calculation, storage and information processing, gave place to a collective digital automaton, that began to distribute information in network and promoting a global communication. In this sense, the expectation that began in the first decades of the classic cinema, of promoting the revolution of masses, wouldn't also be fed in relation to the new digital media? It is important to remember that even before the Internet was globally consolidated, in the 1990's, there already were arising strongly the first virtual communities. They quickly expanded and made us believe that something like a collective intelligence would be possible, giving the possibility of people communicating amongst themselves anywhere in the planet, exchanging information and knowledge3. One can say that this period fed the romantic phase of the flourishing cyberculture, period where renowned authors wrote about the new possibilities of expansion of civilization, of anthropological mutation, where ideas could circulate freely and generate innovations anywhere. Impacts on forms of government, for instance, such as the proposition of a direct democracy and de-centralized management, were defended by the most optimists with the newborn Web. Changes in lifestyle, with the emergence of a mul-

3   The Community The Well (significando Whole Earth 'lectronic Link) was the name given to the first virtual community founded in 1985 by the editors of the magazine Whole Earth Review.

ticultural production, were predictions that fed academic and mediatic discussions, beyond, of course, the effects on the methods of education in general. Among these authors, we can quote Pierre Lévy and Howard Rheingold, for example, considered intellectuals that mobilized the debate on cyberculture and collective intelligence throughout the 1990's and in the beginning of the 2000's. As Pierre Lévy believed, in 1994:

> The instruments of communication and collective thinking will no longer be reinvented without reinventing the democracy, a democracy distributed everywhere, active, molecular. In this dangerous turning point or ending point, humanity could take the power back of their future. Not delivering their fate in the hands of a supposedly intelligent mechanism, but systematically producing tools that will allow them to constitute in intelligent collectives (…). (LÉVY, 1998, p. 15)

In this affirmation made by Lévy, one can already perceive both tendencies in confrontation at that moment: a supposedly intelligent mechanism that would control humanity's fate, or the bet in intelligent collectives that would reinvent democracy. With the advance of technologies of global communication, the collective digital automaton, operating connected through the internet, already was born inside this dilemma, which seems that define it even today: being at service of control mechanism or working to a collective intelligence. Howard Rheingold also believed in the potential of connection between people through the Internet, defending that the best search mechanism was still the direct contact between people that had the information: "Due to the fact that so many members of the virtual communities perform professions based on proper knowledge, virtual communities can be practical instruments" (RHEINGOLD, 1996, p. 77). However, despite the expectations of consolidation of a collective intelligence, product of the emerging multimedia and hypermedia space that reorganized sound and visual images, and also the means of access to the space of digital information increasingly more flexible and multiple, doubts already were present in Lévy and in Rheingold about the future of the Internet. Rheingold would ask himself:

> I wonder if the highly lucrative markets of domestic video and television will finance the infrastructure of multilateral communications dreamed by educationalists and activists? Or will everything come down to "pay-per-view", leaving few or no space available to community networks and virtual communities? (RHEINGOLD, 1996, p. 331)

Lévy would also ask himself this kind of question, as when he asks, for instance, if the "infoways" and the "multimedia" wouldn't end up being a supertelevision? Would they be advertising the definitive victory of consumption of merchandise and spectacle? Will they raise the abyss between the rich and the poor, the excluded and the 'well-positioned'? (LÉVY, 1994, p. 13). In addition to these doubts, in the final portion of the 1990's, the ampliation of pornography websites, problems with the electronic commerce, the attacks of hackers, the big amount of trash that came back on search engines at the time, in addition to the numberless cases of harassment in chats frequented by anonym users, we understand the reason which the Internet began to also be seen as an environment of threats and crimes.

It is possible to perceive, than, that the same expectation lived by the first cinematographers, which believed that the cinema would be the art that would impose the shock of thought to the people, was also dreamed by many as a real possibility of the Internet in the beginning, like the participative democracy and the collective intelligence. However, in this flourishing period, critics pointed towards cinema as an art of propaganda, of commercial figurations, of sharing sex, etc. The bad cinema. The same criticism received by the Internet at the end of the 1990's, similar even about the dominion of the masses, thar began to be translated as control of users through intelligent mechanisms. As well as power or capacity of the cinema revealed, for many, as nothing more than pure and simple logical possibility, the same way the question is put on the Internet: its capability or power to engender a real democracy or a collective intelligence wouldn't be only mere technical possibility?

An atmosphere like that wouldn't collaborate with very new enterprises to the eyes of the consumers. It was that way that in the 2000's,

the internet was struck by a serious financial crisis. This crisis happened, mainly, because of the euphoria of the investors in their so-called "dot. com" businesses, as they bet in quick and extraordinary gains that weren't confirmed. Beyond this aspect, another discussion fed business owners at that turn of century: how to make money with businesses on the Internet? The answer to this question came in a double manner: through technology and philosophy.

The digital automaton in social networks

When the discussion on the emergency of the Internet arise 20 years ago, it was already known that the researches on intelligent agents would be essential for the future development of the network. However, it wasn't expected that, throughout these years, they would simply fill all the space of software and apps available today in the market. One can say, in an illustrative sense, that everything began with the studies on how to perfect the assistants of electronic e-mail in the beginning of the 1990's, in a way to improve user experience. This line of technological research would impact the advance of Amazon's collaborative filters, which would begin its activities in 1995, and the solutions of Google's search engine, which began in 1998.

Intelligent agents, also known as knowbots, bots, or simply robots, algorithms developed for use in the Internet, rapidly evolved during the 1990's, time where e-mail users grew significantly with the creation of the World Wide Web4. The essential idea of these software was to serve as assistants to e-mail users, helping them in their daily tasks, such as automatic saving, transferring to trash undesirable messages, automatically presenting the e-mail address of a contact when they write a new message, etc. To do so, the agent should learn to compare current situations and stored information, associating various characteristics of use of the account owner, and suggesting or simply executing pre-determined tasks. The user also could teach their agent, in a way of obtaining

---

4   About the intelligent agents and their historic development, refer to J. Bradshaw, Software
    agents (1997), and S. Johnson, Interface Culture (2001).

better results of their actions. Over time, the different agents of each user began to act in a collaborative form, exchanging information, aiming to improve the so-called assistant service (MAES, 1997). Well, with all that architecture that was already working by the end of the 1990's, they had what was necessary to create the revolution that came in the 21st century. An intelligent agent that could build a user profile, storing information on their activities, exchanging information with other agents and, finally, deliberating on actions autonomously. The basis of network digital automata were released, not being only technological, but also philosophical. That is because, behind the mathematic capacity of these algorithms, there was a background issue that guided them: the choice and decision in the user's place. What to choose to build a profile? How to correlate characteristics resulting from repetitive actions of the user? How and in what moment to decide on a determined action to be taken autonomously? What information to receive and supply other agents in the network? The more an intelligent agent learns, the more it will be apt to decide for its user. Thus, the *collective digital automaton*, which would induce a supposed collective intelligence, by the end of the 1990's, gave place to the *network digital automaton*, completely controlled by network use patterns that their own users make, and it is on service for the forces of the market and systems of government, whether they are democratic or authoritarian. As affirmed by Eli Pariser, in his book, *The Invisible Filter:*

> The new generation of online filters examines what we apparently like – the things we do, or the things people similar to us like – and try to make extrapolations. They are prediction mechanisms that create and constantly refine a theory on who we are and what we will do or want to follow. Together, these mechanisms create an exclusive universe of information to each one of us, which fundamentally alters the way we face ideas and information. (PARISER, 2012, p. 14)

The intelligent agent, that was developed to help users in their e-mails, now works to follow them in everything they do on the Internet, using every type of information to build a profile of each individual.

Everyone's personal data began to be a part of a network business, and that was the way of overcoming the big crisis of 2000. But the price to be paid on the expansion of network algorithms, that we can only measure in a very embryonic way, is to be imprisoned in bubbles of information, which define what can be read and consumed, who you can relate to and how you should choose and decide whatever you want. As Pariser warns, the closed universe of filters can "affect our capacity of deciding how we want to live". And still:

> When we enter in a bubble of filters, we allow the companies that develop them to choose the options that will be aware of. Maybe we think that we are the owners of our own destiny, but the personalization can lead us to a type of informative determinism, in which what we click in the past can determine what we will see next. And, with that, we get caught in an static version, increasingly narrow, of who we are – a never-ending repetition of ourselves. (PARISER, 2012, p. 20)

In addition to that, there is the boom of social media, that began around 2004 with Orkut and was consolidated with Facebook and its branches. With these platforms, the digital automaton now begins to absorb the biggest part of people's attention, who voluntarily feed them with personal information, making their lives circulate daily with network filters. As Andrew Keen asks, in his text *Digital Vertigo*, "All the 8 billion human beings would have to migrate – as settlers in a social media promise land – to this new central nervous system of society?" (KEEN, 2012, p. 20). Or, as Pariser warns, in an allusion to the worldwide meta-brain that constitutes social media "the personalized filters cut the synapsis of this brain. Without knowing, we are going under a type of global lobotomy" (PARISER, 2012, p. 23).

The most recent step of Web robots is the incorporation of semantic processing in their filters. That gives the intelligent agent the capacity of "understanding" texts, and, equally, creating a dialogue from pre-defined themes. That capacity, even though it is still limited in deeper semantic aspects, allows the digital automaton to work online simulating a spiritual automaton. But now, unlike the cinematographic processes, that

were supported in moving images and were chained into a circuit with the viewer's thoughts, the digital automaton can act in the level of user suggestions, can interfere in more sophisticated decision processes. That results in the new network digital automata, that bring out conversations based on their users profile, translating the non-totalizable of information in specific regions of meaning, producing partial layers of meaning.

Conclusion: the new automaton of affections

In such scenario, the digital automaton induces another type of spiritual or psychological automaton in the individuals, internet users, frequent users of social media, couples to their smartphones. This other type of automaton does not chain anymore, on one hand, like the circuit of cinematographic montage, both in Eisenstein's romantic sense, the one about the revolution of the masses, and in the sense of the fascist propaganda, which alienated the masses, the automaton becoming a puppet of the grand paranoid leader. On the other hand, it is not about the automaton that sees the thought challenged due to the ruptures of montage and narrative of the modern cinema, which leads it to confront with the force of the unthinkable. It is, now, something distinct, coming from the ultra-sophisticated processes of personalization happening in the network. No longer the masses, but each individual in their singularity must be called as a psychological automaton. That is because all the strength of the network digital automaton is in deepening the individual subjectivities in their choices, making them fold over themselves in the processes of decision. This is the use of systems of personification, since such choices and processes are induced by network filters from behavior patterns and goals of induction of conducts. Firstly, it is always possible to choose. Nothing stops a network user to pick whatever they may want. However, the suggestions offered in abundance in the devices installed in websites and apps of products and services, operate precisely on their capacity of choice and decision. If before the choice would prospect an obscure depth of decision, one inside of thought that forces you to choose, the choices with digital automatons always slide

over the surface of information. There is no more inside or outside, only a surface over which slides one from the other, multiplying the angsty of the need of choosing and taking one decision at a time. Now, the decision is not drawn in the depths of being, on the contrary, it is taken in the shallowest of worlds, in the midst of daily banality. In fact, the new network digital automaton ends up banalizing every individual choice and decision. That is due, inversely, to the depth of being, excavating the subjectivity of beings and giving them the illusion of decision-making, that they really own their choices.

It is in this moment that the psychological automaton becomes an affection automaton, because the processes of choice and decision pushed within the being are triggers of emotional circuits. The network user, more specifically the social network user, begins to emotionally respond to digital affections. This affectionate automaton, whose logical chain refers to the affectionate consequences of the body, lives the relation between the logical gap of thought and the emotional precipitation. The network digital automaton, through processes they develop in their algorithms of personalization, treating the individual as a mere package of information, begins to chain spiral emotional circuits in network users, ascending or descending, love or hate, narcissism or greed. That spiral refers, in turn, to the issue of the estimate of self and the other, above or below fair, as referred by Espinosa. The world of social media is a world that demands constant estimates, of self and of others. According to Espinosa, every estimate will always range from the limits above or below fair, either it is an estimate of oneself or of someone else (ESPINOSA, 2007, p. III). If the social networks are a system of estimates, than we are always involved in affectionate circuits that come from overestimation to despise of oneself, from pride to envy of the other. The psychological automaton on social networks has, therefore, by comparison, an emotional automaton, that sees itself as a product of affections of information flows. With that, it is established a circuit of emotional reactions, that can culminate in hate speech or emotional abstentions (catatonia and somnambulism). That is the example found in the television series

Black Mirror, in the episode "Free falling", in which individuals base their lives, therefore, their choices and decisions, according to the evaluations that receive, incessantly, in a social network. And because of these same evaluations, the characters submerge in an affectional spiral of euphoria and hate with themselves and others.

That is how the digital automaton induces not only the psychologic network automaton, which establishes circuits inducing their processes of choice and decision, but simultaneously, an affectionate automaton, inducing in the individuals an affectionate dynamic of estimates of themselves and those with whom they have relationship. But when we talk about the "other" in the network, generally it is about another user defined by only one profile. It isn't about, therefore, a relationship with a concrete alterity, but simply an imaginary projection of alterity in the midst of a constant flow of information. Syberberg is the filmmaker that understood the most the role of information in the context of communication, when he says that his issue is not with the individual Hitler: "'Hitler in us' does not mean only that we made Hitler as much as he made us, or that all of us have potential fascist elements, but rather that Hitler only exists through the information that constitute his image in ourselves" In the end, anything in us, as information" (DELEUZE, 2005, p. 320). With the network digital automaton, there must emerge this new spiritual automaton, an affectionate automaton, where affection becomes simply an answer to the information that inhabit each user's profile. In the limit, the user becomes nothing more than a profile of information. But remembering Syberberg: *any information, whatever it may be, will not be enough to win Hitler.*

ARTIGO

References

ANDRIOPOULOS, S. *Possuídos: crimes hipnóticos, ficção corporativa e a invenção do cinema*. Rio de Janeiro: Contraponto, 2014.

BELLOUR, R. *Le corps du cinema: hypnoses,* émotions, *animalités*. Paris: POL/Trafic, 2009.

BRADSHAW, J. (Org.). *Software agents*. Massachusetts: Mit Press, 1997.

DELEUZE, G. *Imagem-tempo*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 2005.

DANEY, S. *La rampe*. Paris: Gallimard, 1983.

EISENSTEIN, S. *Le film: sa forme, son sens*. Paris: Bourgois, 1976.

ESPINOSA, B. Ética. São Paulo: Autêntica, 2007.

ESPINOSA, B. *Traité de la réforme de l'entendement*. Paris: GF-Flammarion, 2003.

EUGENI, R. *Le relazioni d'incanto. Studi su cinema e ipnosi*. Milão: Vita e Pensiero, 2002.

FAURE, E. Introduction à la mystique du cinéma (1934). In: *Les classics des sciences sociales*, Université du Québec, edição eletrônica. Disponível em: http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/Faure_Elie/intro_mystique_cinema/intro_mystique_cinema.pdf. Acesso em: 25 jun. 2019.

JOHNSON, S. *Cultura da interface*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2001.

KEEN, A. *Vertigem digital*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2012.

LÉVY, P. A *inteligência coletiva*. São Paulo: Loyola, 1998.

MAES, P. Agents that reduce work and information overload. In: BRADSHAW, J. (Org.). *Software agents*. Massachusetts: Mit Press, 1997.

PARISER, E. O *filtro invisível: o que a internet está escondendo de você*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2012.

RHEINGOLD, H. A *comunidade virtual*. Lisboa: Gradiva, 1996.

About the author

Rogério da Costa - Philosopher, coordinator of the Post-Graduate Program in Communication and Semiotics at PUC-SP.