COMUNICAÇÃO
MÍDIA
E CONSUMO

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CATALOGAÇÃO NA FONTE

Comunicação, mídia e consumo

Foreword

In one of the many articles published throughout her career, Maria Aparecida Baccega, professor and one of the founders of the PPG-COM-ESPM, who passed away in January this year, author of a vast body of work on communication-consumption, affirmed that "the process of socialization, which involves different agencies, especially the school and the family, in addition to the religion, has found in the media apparatus (…) Another agency, which (…) Involves us all". In addition to that, "in the field of these relationships, and going through all of them, arises the issue of consumption. Pilar of contemporaneity, building of identities, the consumption of tangible and intangible goods has manifesting important constitutive mediation of the subject"[1]. Such words materialize the central axis of studies developed at PPGCOM-ESPM, through which communication and consumption does not compose separate instances of social life, but central aspects that allow us to make the reading of cultural maps of our historic time, as well as the possibilities of subjectivation and constitution of citizenship. It is because of that PPGCOM ESPM has an eternal debt with the studies of professor Baccega and the articles that compose the present issue of CMC, coming from the same presuppositions, are also an homage to this basal thinking for the constitution of our research field.

1 BACCEGA, Maria Aparecida. Comunicação/educação: relações com o consumo. Importância para a constituição da cidadania. *Comunicação, Mídia e Consumo*, v. 7, n. 19, p. 49-65, 2010.

The intersections between consumption and citizenship, through an applied perspective, are articulated in the article "Desafíos para una ciudadanía inclusiva: competencia digital entre adultos mayores y jóvenes". There, the authors Ana Amaro Agudo, Erika González García and Nazaret Martínez-Heredia descriptively compare the digital competencies of youth and the elderly on the search and treatment of information in the Course of Educational Sciences of the University of Granada (Spain). In addition to proposing a methodology for the treatment of that thematic, the authors discuss the problems regarding the generational issue when evaluating the uses of new technologies of communication and information. Also in this axis, the issue brings the article "Media Practitioners' Perceptions of e-Governance and Dissemination of Government Policies/Programmes in South-East Nigeria", by Patrick Ene Okon, Cosmos Chukwudi Ndukwe, Chidinma Joan Nweke and Uzoma Chukwuemeka Okugo. Based on a research with 1,340 media professionals about their knowledge on the mechanisms of electronic governance in Nigeria, the authors discuss the factors that engender the low knowledge of these professionals about these tools and, consequently, their low vehiculation. The researches applied in the field of consumer culture are also discussed under a methodological perspective in the article of Luis Mauro Sá Martino, "Methodological issues of field research in organizational communication: a gaze through the microsociology of Goffman". The text brings the contributions of Erving Goffman for the method of micro-observation and their applications in a study on face-to-face communication in a company. The author discusses the forms of observation of microscale events when it belongs from it and the forms of elaboration of a valid description of what was seen from a Goffmanian perspective.

The intersections between the discursive aspects that articulate the consumption culture and their many media materializations compose the second thematic axis of the present issue. In the article "Diversitywashing: the brands and its expressive (in)coherences", Fernanda Carrera and Chalini Torquato discuss the contradictions between what the brands expose.

Discursively and the stereotypical traces in image and text articulated by them in regard to diversitywashing. The authors map six common expressive

traces of this practice and, through them, analyze the discursive incoherence of brands on themes of diversity and the management of impressions. In "Criticism of the inspiration of communicational processes of the cool capitalism", Vander Casaqui studies, as a theoretical object, the inspiration as element that identifies the communicational processes related with the entrepreneurial culture. According to the author, the publicization of this value acts on the engagement of the contemporary capitalism in its seductive face, problematizing the narrative-mediatic warps between inspiration, entrepreneurship and neoliberal capitalism. In turn, Heloisa Derkoski Dalla Nora and Eliane Cadoná, in "About childhood, health and gender: biomedic discourses in the 1990's press", analyze the health section of the newspaper *Zero Hora* in 1990, evidencing the meanings of gender, health and childhood vehiculated there. Through the methodological instruments of social constructionism, the article reflects on the discursive articulations disseminated in the newspaper with the principles of ECA and SUS.

In the third thematic axis of the present edition, we discuss the materializations of citizenship and consumption in audiovisual supports. In "from montage to collage, found footage, voice over and essay film", Rafael de Almeida studies the essay film Seams, from Karim Aïnouz. The author analyzes how the elements of voice over and found footage are articulated in the montage and potentialize their narrative roles facing the discursive textual construction and criticism on the Brazilian machismo. Finally, in "The relationship between horror and racism in the film Get Out!" Ana Maria Acker presents sensitive experiences of horror and racism in contemporary societies. The article proposes the discussion on the characteristics of possible aesthetic experiences of horror in the contemporaneity and a criticism on structural racism through the media.

We wish you all an excellent reading!

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Mônica Rebecca Ferrari Nunes
Eliza Bachega Casadei
Editoras da revista CMC

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Sumário

Artigos

Desafíos para una ciudadanía inclusiva: competencia digital entre adultos mayores y jóvenes

Challenges for inclusive citizenship: digital literacy between elderly and young

Ana Amaro Agudo[1]
Erika González García[2]
Nazaret Martínez-Heredia[3]

Resumo: *En esta investigación se estudiarán las competencias digitales tanto en mayores como en jóvenes universitarios. El objetivo se basa en comparar descriptivamente la competencia digital en conocimiento y uso de las TIC en la comunicación social y aprendizaje colaborativo, competencias de uso para la búsqueda y tratamiento de la información, así como las competencias interpersonales de su uso entre jóvenes y mayores de la Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación de la Universidad de Granada (España). Se ha utilizado una metodología descriptiva de corte cuantitativo utilizando el cuestionario. Los resultados arrojan una enorme diferencia en torno a las competencias estudiadas entre ambas generaciones.*

Palavras-Chave: *ciudadanía; inclusión; competencia digital; adultos mayores; jóvenes.*

Abstract: *In this research the digital competences will be studied so much in major and young persons in university. The aim of our research is to compare*

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ARTIGO

descriptively the digital competence in knowledge and use of the TIC in the social communication and collaborative learning, competences of use for the search and data processing, as well as the interpersonal competences of their use between young and major of the Faculty of Educational Sciences at University of Granada (Spain). There has been in use a descriptive quantitative methodology using the questionnaire as tool to obtain information. The results throw an enormous difference to the competences studied between both generations.

Keywords*: citizenship; inclusion; digital literacy; seniors; young people.*

Introducción

No cabe duda del auge e importancia que están teniendo en la actualidad los estudios en torno al tratamiento y uso de las Tecnologías de la Información y la Comunicación (TIC). Éstas han tomado un papel primordial en la interactividad, virtualidad y flujo de información a todos los niveles y edades, tanto en el ámbito laboral como en el interpersonal. En este contexto de auge tecnológico, consideramos de suma importancia estudiar el uso que se hace de Internet, las competencias 2.0 de los estudiantes universitarios jóvenes y personas mayores y qué problemáticas se nos plantean.

En el informe de investigación que presentamos concurren dos vías de disertación: por un lado, el uso de Internet y las competencias 2.0 en jóvenes y mayores universitarios y, por otro, el estudio empírico realizado a través de un cuestionario sobre la temática que abordaremos a lo largo del artículo.

La sociedad actual se caracteriza, entre otras razones, porque nunca antes tanto la información como el conocimiento habían estado al alcance de la mayor parte de la población mundial, aunque somos conscientes de que aún queda mucho camino por recorrer, pues sigue existiendo una enorme brecha digital no sólo entre generaciones sino también entre diferentes países que están menos desarrollados en cuanto al acceso a las tecnologías. Por otro lado, teniendo una serie de competencias digitales y los recursos tecnológicos necesarios, cualquier ciudadano puede comunicarse (GONZÁLEZ-REYES, 2009), acceder desde cualquier lugar del mundo e incluso autoformarse. Por medio de Internet podemos realizar gran parte de las actividades diarias que nos facilitaban otras tecnologías (HEREDIA y GARCÍA, 2017; DOMÍNGUEZ, 2009; ÁLVAREZ, 2011; MARTÍNEZ, CABECINHAS y LOSCERTALES, 2011; DAGHAN, 2017). En este aspecto y de acuerdo con Castells (2000), la Sociedad de la Información supone una nueva revolución industrial. En esta panorámica de conexiones/desconexiones virtuales cohabitan dos generaciones diferentes; la llamada generación "before computer" (FREIXA, 2006) y aquella que ha nacido y crecido

interactuando con múltiples dispositivos tecnológicos, los denominados "nativos/as digitales".

Marco Conceptual

Uso de internet e inclusión social

El uso de los equipos tecnológicos por parte de la población es cada vez más alto, para formarse, comunicarse, trabajar o distraerse. Internet no se limita a la mera transmisión de información, sino que se convierte en un poderoso mecanismo de socialización, de transmisor de ideas y de valores (FAINHOLC, 2006; XAVIER y CABECINHAS, 2000). La sociedad de la información y el conocimiento exige una alfabetización digital de sus ciudadanos cada vez mayor. La educación, en ámbitos formales e informales, tiene un rol destacable al intentar favorecer la inclusión y la inserción social, puesto que ayuda a desarrollar competencias que permiten acceder, a los contenidos en la red, de manera autónoma, crítica y responsable y para ello los gobiernos deben ser facilitadores de los recursos necesarios (□AHIN, 2018; CANTABRANA, ESTEBANELL y TEDESCO, 2015). La finalidad de su aparición fue alcanzar información segura, rápida y económica para facilitar la comunicación, hoy se ha convertido en un medio que puede ser causa de cambios significativos en las personas y en la sociedad.

Estudios recientes lanzan datos evidentes en torno al papel crucial que tienen las tecnologías como mediadoras emocionales que sientan bases estratégicas y estructurales de relaciones significativas, enriqueciendo las líneas emergentes de debate existentes en torno a la aplicación de las Tecnologías de la Información y la Comunicación en el desarrollo socioafectivo (COLÁS-BRAVO, GONZÁLEZ-RAMÍREZ y DE PABLOS-PONS, 2013; ESPINOZA, 2015; CALVO y SAN FABIÁN, 2018).

En el año 2016, a nivel mundial, 3.500 millones de personas estaban utilizando Internet, de los cuales 2,5 millones eran de países en desarrollo (ITU, 2017). En consecuencia, consideramos que toda nuestra

actividad está ligada de un modo u otro al mundo digital, hasta tal punto que se vuelve impensable afrontar la vida sin estas nuevas herramientas. Esta oleada tecnológica no está exenta de flaquezas y riesgos, se manifiesta en un mundo donde existe una gran brecha entre las diferentes partes del planeta, desigualdad en cuanto a sexo, edad, cultura, etc. De acuerdo con esta premisa, se han llevado a cabo numerosos estudios con el objetivo de analizar la influencia de Internet en los más jóvenes, por considerarlos un sector prioritario y más vulnerable. De este modo, se ha intentado conocer tanto los efectos positivos o negativos que Internet pueda tener, como los usos que se realizan (LIVINGSTONE y HELSPER, 2010; YANG y TUNG, 2007; RUÍZ-CORBELLA y DE JUANAS, 2013; BALLESTEROS y MEGÍAS, 2015).

En el panorama español y según fuente del Instituto Nacional de Estadística (2017), el 84,6% de la población de 16 a 74 años ha usado Internet en los tres últimos meses. El 69,0% lo hace a diario, este porcentaje es ligeramente superior (1,3 puntos) al del año pasado. Las persona de entre 65 y 74 años que usan Internet son un 46.5%, frente a los jóvenes de entre 16 a 24 años que usa Internet un 98.0%, es decir más del doble que las personas más mayores. Pese a estos resultados, tal y como muestra el estudio realizado por Linne (2015), se pone de manifiesto que los estudiantes universitarios españoles no son adictos, a su juicio, de Internet y más concretamente de las redes sociales. Investigaciones recientes (LLORENTE, VIÑARÁS y SÁNCHEZ, 2015; MARTÍNEZ, CABECINHAS y LOSCERTALES, 2011), muestran que las personas mayores universitarias se conectan a Internet frecuentemente, a diario o entre dos o tres veces por semana. Destacan la importancia que tiene Internet para estar actualizados, para contactar con la familia y los amigos, para el uso académico y para consultar la prensa. Consideran que la red es de fácil uso pero podrían vivir sin ella. Es decir, no es algo imprescindible en su vida como pueda serlo para los jóvenes universitarios.

El progresivo envejecimiento de las sociedades ha llevado a los organismos internacionales y europeos a desarrollar programas de envejecimiento activo, capaces de construir una nueva cultura sobre el

papel de las personas mayores en la sociedad (LLORENTE, VIÑARÁS y SÁNCHEZ, 2015).

Los jóvenes son los principales motores de la sociedad del futuro, pero no por ello debemos dejar de prestar atención al colectivo de personas mayores, la tasa de personas mayores se incrementa en todo el mundo, y en el caso particular de España su evolución representa un importante porcentaje no solo de la población actual sino también de la futura. "La proporción de población de 65 años y más ha pasado de representar un 11,2% en 1981 a hacerlo con un 17,3% veinte años después y con un 18,7% en 2015. Pero, si se traduce a efectivos, supone que entre 1981 y 2015 la población anciana se ha duplicado en algo más de 200.000 individuos. Entre el 2050 y el 2060, la población total bajará en algo más de dos millones de habitantes y, de ellos, el grupo de los mayores de 65 años solo perderá el 0,1%. En el año 2060 habrá algo menos de 15 millones de mayores, menos del doble que en la actualidad, y representarán más de un tercio del total de la población española (35,6%)" (Instituto de Mayores y Servicios Sociales, IMSERSO, 2017, p. 36).

Las TIC tienen una vertiente muy positiva, ya que, las competencias mediáticas pueden convertirse en herramientas para mejorar la vida social. Para las personas mayores las actividades que se pueden llevar a cabo son múltiples y útiles para fomentar la creatividad, practicar la escritura, mejorar la sociabilidad, ejercitar la memoria y la mente, aprender cosas que no han podido antes debido a la falta de tiempo, su profesión, etc. La Unión Europea declaró el año 2012 como el "Año Europeo del Envejecimiento Activo y de la Solidaridad Intergeneracional" para combatir el efecto del envejecimiento demográfico sobre los modelos sociales de los Estados miembros y promover la creación de una cultura del envejecimiento activo como un proceso permanente en una sociedad multiedad (LLORENTE, VIÑARÁS y SÁNCHEZ, 2015). Hay una mejora evidente de la vida social ya que el hecho de que una persona mayor goce de un buen estado de bienestar supondrá estar sano física, emocional y psicosocialmente. Todo esto tiene una finalidad, la de inclusión social ya que la falta de competencias digitales es causa de

exclusión social entendiéndose ésta como aquello que impide el pleno desarrollo de las personas según sus verdaderos deseos y capacidades (DUQUE, 2016; PAVON, 2000; ROMÁN, ALMANSA y CRUZ, 2016).

La sociedad de la información y el conocimiento exige una alfabetización digital de sus ciudadanos cada vez mayor. La enseñanza de la ciudadanía debería ir más allá de los comportamientos éticos y llegar a la raíz de la conducta humana, cultivando hábitos relacionados con la inteligencia y la voluntad para que la toma de decisiones realmente esté orientada hacia el bien individual y colectivo.

En el ámbito formal e informal, la educación tiene un rol destacable al intentar favorecer la inclusión y la inserción social. Ayuda a desarrollar las competencias que permiten acceder, registrar, editar, publicar y compartir contenidos en la red, de manera autónoma, crítica y responsable. En este sentido, cabe señalar que los gobiernos deben facilitar los recursos necesarios para que esto pueda ser posible (CANTABRANA, ESTEBANELL y TEDESCO; 2015; DUQUE 2016).

En un estudio reciente (MARTÍNEZ, CABECINHAS y LOS-CERTALES, 2011), se ha puesto de manifiesto los principales usos y motivaciones de los mayores activos para utilizar Internet, así como las principales barreras para aquéllos que no la utilizan. Destacan entre los usos que hacen de la misma la búsqueda de información, la actividad académica, la lectura de la prensa y también la navegación sin ningún propósito específico. Con respecto a los que no la utilizan, se debe principalmente a que les falta un empuje para hacerlo, no ven una limitación en la edad ni por la pérdida de tiempo entre otros factores.

Acerca de la competencia digital

El Parlamento europeo y el Consejo de 18 de diciembre de 2006 recogieron un conjunto de recomendaciones sobre competencias clave para el aprendizaje permanente a nivel europeo. En el mismo se debía definir las nuevas cualificaciones básicas que debe proporcionar el aprendizaje permanente como medida esencial de la respuesta de Europa ante la

globalización y el desplazamiento hacia las economías basadas en el conocimiento, teniendo como principal baza en Europa las personas.

El concepto de Competencias nace vinculado al ámbito laboral, y hace referencia a todos aquellos aspectos (habilidades, destrezas, actitudes...) que debe poseer un profesional para desarrollar su labor de una forma eficaz.

Como consecuencia de ello, en 2006 el Parlamento Europeo y el Consejo publicaron una recomendación identificando ocho Competencias Claves para el Aprendizaje Permanente. El desarrollo de las competencias clave capacita a las personas a desarrollar al máximo sus potencialidades y habilidades innatas para poder desenvolverse en diferentes contextos a lo largo de su vida. Entre las mismas resaltar la competencia digital como base del informe de investigación que presentamos la cual implica el uso seguro y crítico de la sociedad de la información Tecnología (IST) para el trabajo, el ocio y la comunicación. Se basa en los principios básicos y habilidades en TIC: el uso de computadoras para recuperar, evaluar, almacenar, producir, presentar e intercambiar información, y comunicarse y participar en colaboración redes a través de Internet (FERRARI, 2012; BENNETT y MATON, 2010).

Según Lankshear y Knobel (2008) lo que ahora entendemos por alfabetización o competencia digital, ha evolucionado a lo largo de estas últimas décadas, desde aspectos más centrados con el acceso a la tecnología, a informaciones visuales o multimedia. La trasformación que se ha producido en los últimos años con respecto a la alfabetización o competencia digital y sobre el acceso a la tecnología es importantísima. La alfabetización digital es la conciencia, la actitud y la capacidad de las personas para utilizar adecuadamente las herramientas digitales para identificar, acceder, administrar, integrar, evaluar, analizar y sintetizar los recursos digitales, construir nuevos conocimientos, expresarse a través de los recursos multimedia y comunicarse con los demás en cualquier contexto específico de la vida (ESTEVE, 2013; GISBERT y GONZÁLEZ, 2011).

En la actualidad los cambios vertiginosos que se están sucediendo hacen necesaria una mejora en la formación y un acceso a la misma a lo largo de la vida que, son necesarias una serie de habilidades y competencias que permitan adaptarse a una sociedad de cambios; la relación del individuo con la información ha cambiado, por ello el sector educativo plantea nuevas formas de llevar a los estudiantes a un buen desarrollo dentro de la Sociedad del Conocimiento (CHÁVEZ, CANTÚ y RODRÍGUEZ, 2016; GONZÁLEZ, ESPUNY y GISBERT, 2012).

Entendemos por tanto por competencia digital la conjunción de lo que muchos autores entienden por competencia TIC y competencia informacional. En la sociedad del conocimiento no tiene sentido hablar solo de herramientas para el almacenaje, acceso y recuperación de la información, sino que debemos trabajar, también, las habilidades y las destrezas necesarias para usar adecuadamente esta información y transformarla después en conocimiento, con el objetivo final de compartirlo. Que en definitiva es lo que va a ayudar a jóvenes y mayores a ser hábiles y competentes socialmente hablando en cualquier momento y entorno.

Jóvenes y adultos mayores: competencia digital y brecha digital

Los cambios en la sociedad han obligado a las personas a llevar a cabo un proceso obligado y necesario de formación a lo largo de la vida, como así se recoge en el documento sobre Recomendaciones del Parlamento Europeo. Existe por tanto una necesidad real de formarse a lo largo de toda la vida y de trabajar la competencia digital, tanto en jóvenes como mayores. Según Gisbert, Espuny y González (2011, p. 76) "la competencia digital, decimos que supone la adquisición de conocimientos, destrezas y actitudes que tienen que ver con el uso elemental del hardware de los ordenadores, sus sistemas operativos como gestores del hadware, el software como herramienta de trabajo, de comunicación off-line y de comunicación on-line".

En el momento en el que nos encontramos donde todo cambia, la competencia digital se ha convertido en algo imprescindible para afrontar los retos de la vida cotidiana de la ciudadanía, la competencia *manejo o tratamiento de la información* (JARAMILLO, HENNIG y RINCÓN, 2011) es fundamental para desenvolverse en la sociedad actual a la vez que resulta fundamental para el desarrollo académico y profesional de cualquier estudiante (GISBERT, ESPUNY y GONZÁLEZ, 2011).

La inclusión social juega un papel preponderante como oportunidad para humanizar la concepción de ciudadano digital, aprovechando los recursos tecnológicos para entender realidades, motivar para acercarse a los que necesitan ayuda y que son incomprendidos con frecuencia, denunciar injusticias y proponer soluciones desde los recursos multimediales que pueden ser comprendidos por una gran mayoría de personas (DUQUE, 2016).

La idea de "los nativos digitales", una generación de jóvenes conocedores de la tecnología inmersos en las tecnologías digitales que han pasado toda su vida rodeados y usando, videojuegos, reproductores de música digital, cámaras de video, teléfonos, i-pods, Internet, mensajería instantánea, mensajes de texto, multimedia y otras herramientas de la era digital que son parte integral de sus vidas ha ganado popularidad generalizada (BENNETT y MATON, 2010; GALLARDO, 2012). Investigaciones recientes han mostrado fallas en el argumento de que hay una generación identificable, o incluso un único tipo de usuario de tecnología altamente experto. Para Bullen, Morgan y Qayyum (2011), sugieren el término estudiantes digitales (digital learners) porque los estudiantes de hoy no se ajustan al estereotipo representado en el discurso de los nativos digitales. Para los autores es una cuestión social y no generacional, y sus implicaciones para la educación aún necesitan mayor estudio a profundidad.

Es necesaria una formación de los estudiantes universitarios que los prepare para un mundo cada vez más complejo y globalizado, donde la cantidad de información que tendrán que gestionar, cada día es mayor, y donde deberán utilizar herramientas tecnológicas que avanzan y

cambian a un ritmo vertiginoso (GISBERT, ESPUNY y GONZÁLEZ, 2012).

Como recoge Abad (2014, p. 174) los datos contemplados en los Indicadores de la Agenda Digital 2011 dedicado a competencia digital muestran "que mientras el 90% de las personas entre 16 y 24 años son usuarios habituales de Internet, sólo lo son el 46% de las personas comprendidas entre los 55 y 64 años disminuyendo esta proporción al 25% entre las personas entre 65 y 74 años. Este segmento baja especialmente al 20% cuando se trata de personas de entre 55 y 74 años con niveles bajos de educación".

Comprobamos de esta forma la existencia de una brecha digital de carácter generacional, entendida como las diferencias en cuanto al acceso y uso de las TIC en diferentes entornos sociales. Esta fractura entre jóvenes y mayores, generada por la discriminación en el acceso a las TIC, se ha convertido en uno de los grandes retos para la ONU y la Comisión Europea (LLORENTE, VIÑARÁS y SÁNCHEZ, 2015). Actualmente, no se ha analizado en profundidad cómo puede afectar a nuestros mayores, en su día a día, la "brecha digital". No es la tecnología la que construye la sociedad, sino que es un elemento que la caracteriza y le ayuda en sus propósitos de cambio sociocultural (ARRIDO-LORA, BUSQUEt y MUNTÉ, 2016).

La competencia digital según Hernando (2013, p. 14) "no se adquiere por "inmersión tecnológica" y es necesario aprender a aprender, pero esta capacidad es socialmente desigual y, entre otros aspectos, está ligada a la edad. La "brecha digital" además de estar relacionada con diferencias socioeconómicas también lo está, y mucho, con la edad, especialmente en grupos de edad más alejadas de las generaciones digitales como son las personas mayores de 60 años".

Una de las consecuencias más importantes del fenómeno es la modificación o inversión del proceso educativo. Si históricamente eran los adultos quienes transmitían los conocimientos, valores y costumbres a los menores, a partir de la segunda mitad del siglo XX se invierte este principio, limitándose claramente el control efectivo de los más jóvenes

por parte de los adultos (ARRIDO-LORA, BUSQUET y MUNTÉ, 2016; HERNANDO y PHILLIPPI, 2013).

Investigaciones recientes concretan que la ciudadanía digital no viene dada exclusivamente por el conocimiento del uso de los medios, sino también por la puesta en valor de los mismos para contribuir a la mejora del entorno social (ROMÁN-GARCÍA, ALMANSA y CRUZ-DÍAZ, 2016).

El trabajo con nuestros mayores en lo que a competencia digital se refiere debe ser una prioridad y un objetivo a conseguir como eje fundamental en la educación a lo largo de la vida. La inclusión social tiene que ser entendida como una responsabilidad de los gobiernos a todas las edades y en todos los contextos.

Metodología

El objetivo principal de nuestra investigación es comparar descriptivamente la competencia digital en conocimiento y uso de las TIC en la comunicación social y aprendizaje colaborativo, competencias de uso para la búsqueda y tratamiento de la información, así como las competencias interpersonales de su uso entre jóvenes y adultos mayores de la Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación y del Aula Permanente de Formación Abierta ambas de la Universidad de Granada (España).

Para la consecución del objetivo propuesto, partiremos de una metodología cuantitativa, de corte descriptivo, la cual nos ayudará a cuantificar y analizar la información para así establecer posteriores comparaciones entre el alumnado con edades comprendidas entre 18-22 años y 80-85 años.

Muestra

La investigación fue desarrollada durante el curso académico 2017-2018. La muestra participante de nuestro estudio ha estado formada por los alumnos del tercer curso del Grado en Educación Social de la Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación de la Universidad de Granada y

alumnos mayores del Aula Permanente de Formación Abierta también pertenecientes a la Universidad de Granada (España). Se ha seguido un muestreo aleatorio y estratificado. El total de la población estaba compuesta por 200 estudiantes matriculados, 100 del tercer curso de Educación Social y 100 del Aula Permanente. De este modo, se obtuvo una muestra final de n=200 sujetos (119 mujeres y 81 hombres en total), los cuales 61 son mujeres y 39 hombres del tercer curso del Grado en Educación Social y, 58 mujeres y 42 hombres del Aula Permanente de Formación Abierta. Tratamos con una muestra significativa superando los sujetos necesarios de la muestra calculados a través de un intervalo de confianza del 95% y cuyos resultados precisaban la participación de, al menos, 81 estudiantes. La elección de esta población se debe, principalmente, a la experiencia de los alumnos tras haber cursado tres años en la Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación y, por tanto, poseer una madurez terminológica y una actitud crítica para ayudarnos a solventar nuestro problema de investigación, siendo éste el conocimiento de las diferencias existentes ante la competencia digital en conocimiento y uso de las TIC en la comunicación social y aprendizaje colaborativo, competencias de uso para la búsqueda y tratamiento de la información, así como las competencias interpersonales de su uso entre jóvenes y mayores en la Universidad, para poder reducir la brecha digital existente en nuestros mayores.

Instrumento

Para la recogida de información hemos utilizado un cuestionario de competencias básicas digitales adaptado del cuestionario "Competencias básicas digitales 2.0 de estudiantes universitarios" COBADI 2013 (Marca registrada: 2970648) de escala Likert (1 completamente ineficaz; 2 ineficaz; 3 eficaz; y 4 completamente eficaz) validado por medio de un juicio de expertos, donde los alumnos valorarán, por un lado, la competencia digital en conocimiento y uso de las TIC en la comunicación social y aprendizaje colaborativo, las competencias de uso para la

búsqueda y tratamiento de la información, así como las competencias interpersonales de su uso.

La validación del cuestionario se realizó siguiendo las siguientes pautas:

1. Definición del objetivo del juicio de expertos para validar el cuestionario "Competencias Básicas Digitales".
2. Selección de cuatro expertos pertinentes teniendo en cuenta los criterios definidos anteriormente, considerando su formación académica y experiencia profesional en el área de trabajo.
3. Evaluación por medio de los expertos atendiendo a la pertinencia, cohesión, claridad y adecuación de los indicadores del cuestionario utilizando una planilla.
4. Una vez obtenidos los resultados se calculó la concordancia entre jueces y finalmente se elaboraron unas conclusiones atendiendo a la descripción psicométrica de la prueba.

Una vez realizado el juicio de expertos, el cuestionario, recoge aspectos correspondientes de las competencias básicas digitales. Posteriormente se realizó una prueba de fiabilidad mediante el alfa de Cronbach, obteniendo un índice de $\alpha =0,986$, dato que le confiere un elevado grado de coherencia (98,6%) debido su proximidad a la unidad.

De una manera más detallada, recogemos dicha información en la siguiente tabla, donde podemos observar los ítems que corresponden a cada categoría.

Tabla 1: Cuestionario de competencias básicas digitales

COMPETENCIAS BÁSICAS DIGITALES	ÍTEMS
Consumo de la tecnología	1-5
Competencia digital en conocimiento y uso de las TIC en la comunicación social y aprendizaje colaborativo	6-17
Competencias de uso para la búsqueda y tratamiento de la información	18-29
Competencias interpersonales de su uso	30-35

Fuente: los autores

Resultados

En este apartado exponemos los resultados obtenidos atendiendo a cada una de las dimensiones tratadas en el cuestionario, teniendo en cuenta la distinción de jóvenes y adultos mayores.

En primer lugar, respecto al consumo de la tecnología, en los jóvenes se ha obtenido un consumo total del 100%, por lo que el alumnado joven posee ordenador y tablet y dispone de internet tanto en casa como en la facultad, conectándose habitualmente en casa y en la universidad. Sin embargo, con nuestros adultos mayores no ocurre lo mismo, un 30% asume que posee medios tecnológicos e internet mayoritariamente en casa quedando un 70% restante sin conexión habitual a internet y sin poseer tablet u ordenador. En la Figura 1 podemos observar la distinción entre jóvenes y adultos mayores.

Figura 1: Consumo de la tecnología en los alumnos jóvenes vs Consumo de la tecnología en los alumnos adultos mayores
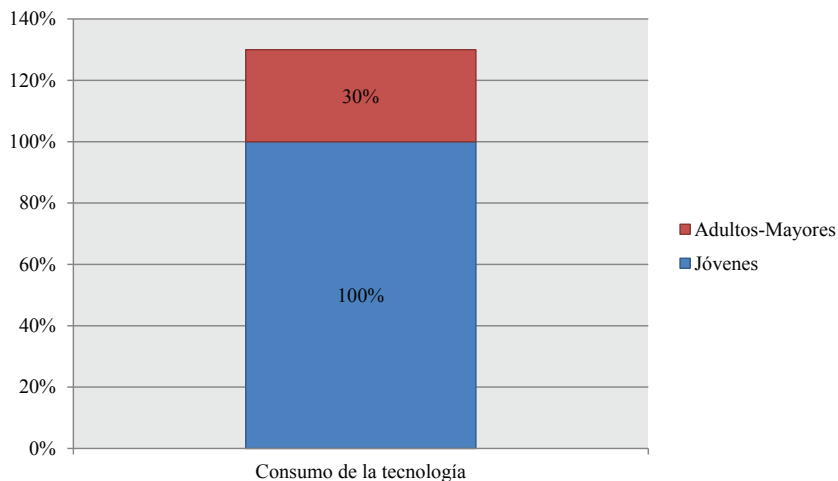
Fuente: los autores

En segundo lugar, atendiendo a la competencia digital en conocimiento y uso de las TIC en la comunicación social y aprendizaje colaborativo hemos hallado una media total de 3,66 sobre 4 en los

alumnos de Educación Primaria y 1,50 sobre 4 en los alumnos mayores, siendo el ítem 7 (uso de la mensajería instantánea como herramienta principal de comunicación con otras personas) al que más puntuación se le otorga en ambos estudios. Sin embargo los jóvenes otorgan una menor puntuación al ítem 16 haciendo referencia al uso de marcadores sociales. Nuestros mayores otorgan una menor puntuación   al ítem 8 (puedo comunicarme por redes sociales) y al 17 (capacidad para utilizar plataformas de educación). Por lo que podemos decir que nuestros jóvenes poseen una competencia digital atendiendo al uso y conocimiento de las TIC bastante elevada, en cambio, nuestros mayores la poseen en menor medida.

Figura 2: Competencia digital en conocimiento y uso de las TIC en la comunicación social y aprendizaje colaborativo. Adultos mayores VS Jóvenes.
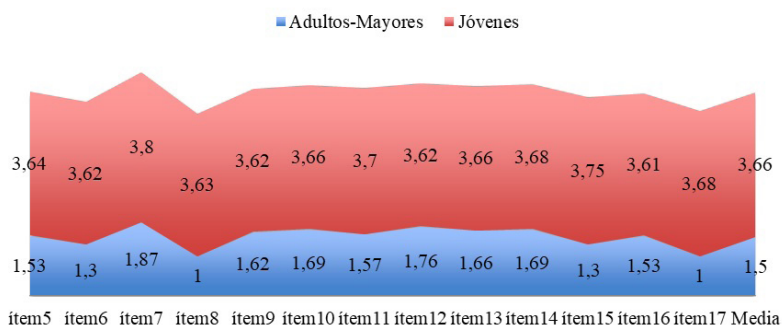
Fuente: los autores

En tercer lugar, haciendo referencia a las competencias de uso para la búsqueda y tratamiento de la información hemos hallado una media total de 3,52 sobre 4 en los alumnos de Educación Primaria y 2,66 sobre 4 en los alumnos mayores. En ambos colectivos, al ítem 18 (navegar por internet con diferentes navegadoras) es el que más puntuación se le ha otorgado. Sin embargo, otorgan una menor puntuación al ítem 22 haciendo referencia al uso de imágenes a través de aplicaciones de software social. Por lo que podemos decir que nuestros jóvenes y nuestros

mayores poseen una competencia de uso adecuada, aunque en el caso de las personas mayores se debe trabajar aún más.

Figura 3: Competencias de uso para la búsqueda y tratamiento de la información. Adultos mayores VS Jóvenes.
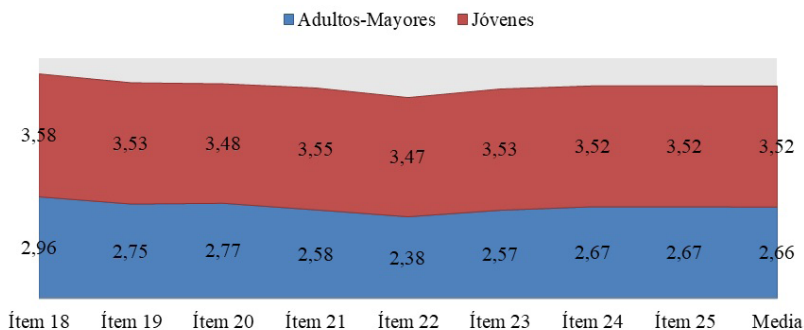
Fuente: los autores

En cuarto lugar, atendiendo a competencias interpersonales de su uso hemos obtenido una media total de 3,64 sobre 4 en los alumnos de Educación Primaria y 2,62 sobre 4 en los alumnos mayores. En el alumnado joven, al ítem 31 (hablar con algún compañero para solucionar el problema conjuntamente) es el que más puntuación se le ha otorgado, la menos puntuación se la otorgan al ítem 27 (exponer la duda en diferentes plataformas). En cambio, nuestros mayores otorgan una mayor puntuación al ítem 29, el cual hace referencia a reflexionar acerca de las dudas que se tienen antes de exponerlas a los demás. Sin embargo, otorgan una menor puntuación al ítem 26 consultando sus dudas mediante el correo institucional. Nuestros jóvenes y nuestros mayores poseen una competencia de interpersonal adecuada, aunque en el caso de las personas mayores se debe trabajar aún más.

Figura 4: Competencias interpersonales de su uso. Adultos mayores VS Jóvenes.
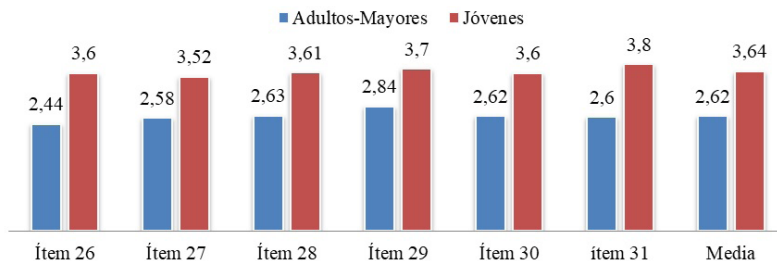
Fuente: los autores

Discusión y conclusiones

Este trabajo pone de manifiesto la importancia de conocer las diferencias entre la competencia digital en conocimiento y uso de las TIC en la comunicación social y aprendizaje colaborativo, competencias de uso para la búsqueda y tratamiento de la información, así como las competencias interpersonales de su uso entre jóvenes y adultos mayores de la Universidad de Granada. El trabajo con nuestros mayores en lo que a competencia digital se refiere debe ser una prioridad y un objetivo a conseguir como eje fundamental en la educación a lo largo de la vida. Culver y Jacobson (2012) explican que la alfabetización digital de las personas mayores para su inclusión en la sociedad actual debe promoverse para mejorar su calidad de vida durante el proceso de envejecimiento, ayudando a nuestros mayores a poseer una vida social más activa y participativa.

Los datos arrojados en nuestra investigación ponen de manifiesto reducir la brecha digital en nuestros mayores, siendo la esencia que ha caracterizado nuestra investigación. En este sentido procederemos a realizar unas conclusiones, que siguen las líneas de nuestro trabajo de investigación.

Haciendo referencia al consumo de la tecnología, los jóvenes poseen un consumo total del 100%, por lo que el alumnado joven dispone de internet tanto en casa como en la facultad, conectándose habitualmente

en ambos espacios. Sin embargo, en nuestros mayores no ocurre lo mismo, obtienen un 30% asumiendo una escasa conexión habitual a internet.

La competencia digital en conocimiento y uso de las TIC en la comunicación social y aprendizaje colaborativo obtiene una media total de 3,66 sobre 4 en los alumnos de Educación Primaria y 1,50 sobre 4 en los alumnos mayores, destacamos que nuestros jóvenes poseen una competencia digital atendiendo al uso y conocimiento de las TIC bastante elevada, en cambio, nuestros mayores la poseen en menor medida.

En cuanto a las competencias de uso para la búsqueda y tratamiento de la información hemos hallado una media total de 3,52 sobre 4 en los alumnos de Educación Primaria y 2,66 sobre 4 en los alumnos mayores. Ambos colectivos, poseen una competencia de uso adecuada, aunque en el caso de las personas mayores se debe trabajar aún más.

Por último, atendiendo a las competencias interpersonales de su uso hemos obtenido una media total de 3,64 sobre 4 en los alumnos de Educación Primaria y 2,62 sobre 4 en los alumnos mayores, por lo que podemos decir que nuestros jóvenes y nuestros mayores poseen una competencia de interpersonal adecuada, aunque en el caso de las personas mayores se debe trabajar aún más.

Atendiendo a las cuatro grandes categorías de análisis, en general observamos una mayor competencia digital en los jóvenes que en los adultos mayores, por lo que aún queda mucho por trabajar para la inclusión de nuestro alumnado mayor en el uso de las Tecnologías de la Información y la Comunicación dentro y fuera de la universidad. Para ello, podemos poner en práctica proyectos de educación intergeneracional, para que los jóvenes transmitan dichos conocimientos a los alumnos de edad proyecta, creando un vínculo educativo entre distintas generaciones.

Como miembros de la sociedad tenemos la responsabilidad compartida de promover que los mayores que utilizan Internet saquen el mayor beneficio posible a la red y extiendan las funciones y ámbitos para los que la usan, y respecto a los que no lo hacen aún, facilitarles

la formación necesaria y la motivación suficiente para que comiencen a utilizarla (MARTÍNEZ, CABECINHAS, y LOSCERTALES, 2011).

El sistema educativo actual debe contribuir a la eliminación del escalón generacional entre jóvenes y mayores en cuanto a competencia digital se refiere. Promoviendo la formación a lo largo de la vida y facilitando el acceso de los adultos mayores a las tecnologías, para un mejor uso y acceso a las mismas.

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Media Practitioners' Perceptions of e-Governance and Dissemination of Government Policies/Programmes in South-East Nigeria

Percepções dos profissionais de mídia sobre governança eletrônica e disseminação de políticas/programas governamentais no sudeste da Nigéria

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Resumo: *Esse estudo trata da conscientização e percepção dos profissionais da mídia no sudeste da Nigéria sobre o uso das ferramentas de governança eletrônica. O método de survey foi utilizado e, de uma população de 2.671, uma amostra de 1.340 foi escolhida por amostragem proporcional estratificada. O referencial teórico está baseado na Teoria da Comunicação sobre o Desenvolvimento e os resultados foram analisados usando o SPSS. O estudo concluiu que existe um baixo nível de conhecimento sobre as operações de governança eletrônica entre os profissionais da mídia no sudeste da Nigéria e recomenda-se que os profissionais da mídia adquiram uma cultura de atualização periódica de seus conhecimentos.*

Palavras-Chave: *comunicação; governança eletrônica; profissionais de mídia; percepção; Sudeste da Nigéria.*

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Abstract: *This study is on the awareness and perception media practitioners in South-East Nigeria have about the use of e-governance. The survey method was used; and from a population of 2,671, a sample of 1,340 was chosen through stratified proportional sampling. Theoretical framework was hinged on the Development Communication Theory. Findings were analysed using the SPSS. The study concluded that there is a low level of knowledge on operations of e-governance among media practitioners in South-East Nigeria. Recommendations made included that media practitioners should imbibe the culture of periodic upgrading of their knowledge.*

Keywords: *communication; e-governance; media practitioners; perception; South-East Nigeria.*

A R T I G O

Introduction

Mass media is central in the existence and success of any modern society. It is true that the media are indispensable in the development of any society. Apart from the widely acclaimed indispensability of the media in the existence and success of a society, diverse literature on media indispensability seem to agree on the common denominator of the mass media being pivotal in the success of virtually all programmes, policies and activities that are geared towards human development and/or societal benefits.

Interestingly, e-governance is a trending communication initiative in which effective implementation may also be a direct function of knowledge, awareness and perception (KAP) of media practitioners. That is why this research was set up to investigate the postulation that the acceptability, believability and effective implementation of e-governance within the South-East zone of Nigeria may have a relationship with the knowledge, awareness and perception of media practitioners in the area. It follows that any innovation the media practitioner has low knowledge of suffers great setbacks in acceptability. Therefore, what are the levels of knowledge on e-governance operations among media practitioners in South-Eastern Nigeria? What are the perceptions among the media practitioners about e-governance? To what extent do media practitioners' attitudes influence their assessing e-governance operations? How do the knowledge, attitude and perceptions of e-governance affect dissemination of government policies and programmes? And what are the likely impediments to the application of e-governance among media practitioners? These constitute the core of this work.

Research Questions

The following research questions were formulated for this study:
1. What is the level of knowledge on e-governance operations among media practitioners in South-East Nigeria?

2. To what extent do the Knowledge, Attitude and Perceptions of media practitioners on e-governance affect the dissemination of government policies/programmes in the mainstream media?
3. What are the impediments to the application of e-governance operations or services in Nigeria?

Research Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were formulated to guide the outcome of this research:

H_0^1: There is no significant relationship between media practitioners' knowledge of e-governance and their attitude to the practice.

H_0^2: There is no significant relationship between media practitioners' perceptions of e-governance and dissemination of government policies and programmes.

Understanding the Concept of E-governance

Governance is as old as human civilization. It refers to the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented or not implemented (OLUFEMI, 2012). Governance can be used in several contexts such as corporate, international, national and local governance. Governance is not an exclusive concept of government. It extends to civil society and private sector. It covers every institution and organisation, from the family to the state. It involves the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority and the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development. It can be better understood as the complex mechanisms, processes, relationships and instructions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their rights and obligations and mediate their differences.

Boeninger (1992) sees governance as the process by which a political system achieves such values as accountability, participation, transparency and respect for the rule of law and due bureaucratic participation

or process. It includes the capacities of a system to exercise authority, win legitimacy, adjudicate conflicts and implement programmes. In other words, the basis of governance is its ability to respond to the needs, aspirations and yearnings of the majority of the citizenry. Once a political system is able to achieve this, it is seen as responsive, accountable and effective governance (UNESCO Report, 2011).

E-governance, on the other hand, is broad, divergent, and has no commonly accepted definition. Olufemi (2012) says the concept originated at the beginning of the 21st century, mostly as a copy of e--commerce into public sector. He further observes that all intentions of e-governance are directed towards the presence of the public services on the internet. In the early years of its development, e-governance followed the evolutionary e-business, and the primary focus of its e-services was simple appearance of graphic user interface with no interactions. Today, the focus is on co-ordination and effective assessment of the needs, efficiency and public benefits for such services.

The definitions of e-governance and its evolution have been the focus of a large body of research (FANG, 2002; HU, PAN, LU & WANG, 2009). More or less restrictive definitions of e-governance have been given, but there is still no unique definition of the term (YILDIZ, 2014, cited in OLUFEMI, 2012). Nevertheless, it has been generally recognised that e-governance offers a huge potential to increase the impact of government activities for citizens (FANG, 2012).

As stated by Moon (2002), e-governance is the use of information technologies by government agencies to transform their relationship with citizens, businesses, different areas of government, and other governments. These technologies help deliver government services to citizens, improve interaction with businesses and industries, and provide access to information (UNITED NATIONS, 2008). E-government can be described as utilising the internet and the worldwide web for delivering government information and services to citizens.

Kumar (2004) posits that e-governance can be seen as the transformation of public sector's internal and external relationship through

net-enabled operations, information technology and communications to optimise government's service delivery, consistency participation and governance. The use of information technologies and new business processes to transform how governments interact with citizens and businesses is considered e-governance. As seen by the World Bank, e-governance is expected to minimise corruption, provide increased transparency, afford greater convenience, improve revenue and reduce cost. (GODSE & GARG, 2009).

An Overview of e-Governance in Nigeria

Ranked 162 out of 193 countries in 2012 in the United Nations e-governance development ranking, Nigeria improved its ranking to 141 in 2014 (UBABUKOH, 2014), but slipped two places to 143 in 2016 and remained on that spot in 2018. As at 2016, it also ranked 97 in the e-participation index, an improvement of 22 points up from 75 in 2012 (AMAEFULE, 2019). Ubabukoh further holds that in line with the e-governance initiative, Nigerian government has implemented two flagship projects – Government service portal (GSP) and Government contact centre (GCC). The GSP provides a single-window technology access by citizens and other stakeholders to government services being provided by various ministries, departments and agencies. It is multi-faceted and includes collaborative channels that deliver core content management capabilities. The primary objectives of deploying GSP are to create a single point of entry to Federal Government services, enhance accountability and improve the delivery and quality of public services through technology-enabled civic engagement (mobile technology, *Facebook*, *Twitter*, interactive mapping, blogs, etc.).

Also, Nkanga (2014) points out that the first phase of the GSP includes the automation of 10 government processes from the Federal Ministries of Education, Health, Agriculture, Industry, Trade and Investment as well as Communication Technology. She adds that the Nigerian government is setting up government contact centres (GCCs), which will facilitate efficient response to citizens' request through a two-tier

response approach. The picture painted here is that of an on-going and improving state and operations of e-governance in Nigeria. However, there are strong claims of low level awareness of the attempts among citizens in both rural and urban centres (ADEYEMO, 2011; OLUFEMI, 2012; UBABUKOH, 2014; NKANGA, 2014).

As observed by Olufemi (2012), Nigeria believes that e-governance is necessary in order to make the public sector more efficient. The older forms of ICTs-mass media channels involving the use of media, such as television, radio or newspapers are still currently prevalent in many developing countries including Nigeria. These forms of communication are generic and do not consider individual interests or needs. Such channels are more applicable to literate individuals and elite classes of society.

In Nigeria, there are several initiatives geared at accelerating development via the technological platform in the polity (OLUFEMI, 2012). E-governance initiatives, geared towards connecting communities, vital agencies, government establishments and educational institutions at all levels to ICT, are currently being pursued by government: from the National Rural Telephony Projects to other laudable initiatives like the Nigerian telemedicine initiative, public service network initiative, internet exchange point initiatives, state and local government ICT facilities loan scheme initiative, and wire Nigeria initiative. According to Ekeh (2007), these initiatives are aimed at enabling the rapid development of the nation.

Olufemi (2012) points out that although the implementation of e-governance has begun in Nigeria, there is little evidence to suggest that a clear framework for the adoption of e-governance is being followed. According to Yusuf (2005), e-governance activity in Nigeria is low. Most of the government websites are in the publish stage and some government organisations even bypass the interact stage, thereby giving no opportunity for citizens' requests and feedbacks. Olatokun and Adebayo (2012) observe that findings from a recent study by Mundi and Musa (2010) shows that only 30% of Nigerian state websites reached the second stage

of e-government while 70% were still very much in the publish stage. These States were Lagos and Imo and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, which provide services that invite citizens to interact with them and give online feedback.

An interesting finding by Awoleye (2008) is that a huge percentage of both government and non-government employees are aware of e-governance in the States, and these governments have achieved this high rate of awareness through mass media. In spite of this high rate of awareness, only half of the population could be said to have proficiency in the use of e-government. The perception, level of awareness, stage of implementation, as well as the challenges of e-governance differ in States and regions of Nigeria due to lots of peculiar factors (OLUFEMI, 2012).

As observed by Ifinedo (2004), Nigeria has an e-governance development index of 1.02, which is below the UN's benchmark 1.62. The emergence of e-governance in Nigeria can be traced to the advent of democracy in 1999. The first real activity in this regard was the development of government websites. These efforts were un-coordinated and only a few agencies with the resources could establish an online presence. In pursuance of this objective, the government established the National Information Technology Development Agency (NITDA) under the Ministry of Science and Technology to champion development of information technology in Nigeria and midwife implementation of the national IT policy (AJAYI, 2003). NITDA is also charged with the responsibility of implementing e-governance initiative using National e-Governance Strategies (NeGSt), a public-private-partnership (PPP) as a special purpose vehicle with the mandate to facilitate, drive and implement the Nigerian e-government programme (NITDA, 2007).

As noted by Nkanga (2014), some components of e-governance have already commenced in Nigeria, such as the Nigerian Customs ASSYCUDA Programme, the computerisation of resident permit by the Nigerian Immigration Services, and computerisation of land and certificate of occupancy in the Federal Capital Territory Administration. The e-payroll of staff, online checking of West Africa Examination Council,

National Examination Council, and Joint Admission and Matriculation Board results as well as National Youth Service Corps postings are part of real-time and cost-effective services which are part of e-governance. There is, therefore, the need to consolidate and spread it to other services that have not been incorporated, as well as to the rural areas (MUHAMMED, 2010).

Nigeria seems to be moving in the right direction with the formation of its new national ICT policy, which appears to promote e-governance initiatives. However, the main problem for the country continues to be the unavailability or poor condition of the enabling infrastructure for e-governance such as telecommunication facilities (OLUFEMI, 2012). Basic telecommunication services such as telephone lines, internet access, etc., required for e-governance are insufficient in sub-Saharan Africa, including Nigeria (IFINEDO, 2004). The teledensity (number of telephone lines per 100 inhabitants) in Nigeria in 1999 was 0.5, but rose to 2.0 in 2002 after Nigeria liberalised its ICT sector (AJAYI, 2003). There were 100,000 internet users in Nigeria in 2002, and around 6 million in 2012. But there has been great improvement in the subscription services ever since – from 85 million in 2010, to over 120 million in 2013 and to more than 179 million in September 2019 (Nigerian Communications Commission, 2019). These improvements are providing fertile ground for e-governance.

Theoretical Framework

The Development Communication Theory is found relevant to this study. This theory mainly focuses on the use of the mass media to facilitate development. Earlier postulations of the theory by McQuail (1987) made reference to the need of media restriction and state intervention in media affairs for development sake. These postulations were criticised for intruding on press freedom. Hence, scholars like Domatob and Hall (1983) and Forlarin (1998) modify some of McQuail's postulations to accommodate respect for press freedom in the task of using the media

for development. Forlarin (1998) redefines the development principles of media theory as follows:

I.   Media should accept and carry-out positive development tasks in line with nationally established policy or ideology without prejudice to their national functions of information, education and entertainment.

II. Media should also accept and help in carrying out the special development tasks of national integration, socio-economic modernisation, promotion of literacy and cultural creativity.

III. Media should carefully identify and give due attention in foreign news to links with other countries with similar socio-cultural orientation and/or political and economic aspirations.

IV. In order to safeguard the ideas of press freedom, journalists and other media workers should always faithfully fulfil their obligations and stoutly defend their rights in the course of their information--gathering and disseminating tasks.

V.   The State, with its systems, has a duty to ensure that media or journalists presumed to have contravened any national dissemination tasks conveniently face prosecution, expecting a fair speedy trial.

In relation to this study, it is observed that the knowledge and perceptions of media practitioners affect or influence their attitude towards the media coverage they give on an issue. Hence, their knowledge, attitudes and perceptions can either position the media for development or rob the media of their development functions. E-governance is a national development practice and the media should encourage and support it. Carrying out this function by the media bothers, to a large extent, on media practitioners' knowledge, attitudes and perceptions.

Research Design

The research design used for this study is the survey method. The population was 2,671 registered media practitioners in the five South-Eastern states, namely: Abia - 526, Anambra - 674, Ebonyi - 545, Enugu – 531,

and Imo - 395 (Source: NUJ and RATTAWU Secretariats in the five states, 2016).

The larger the sample size, the more representative the sample is of the population. Some authors have recommended sample sizes or sampling proportions for specific population sizes. Nwana (1981, p.72) recommends "at least, 50% of a population of few thousands". Comrey and Lee (1992) as well as Wimmer and Dominick (2000) prefer the percentage to be based on such contingency factors as population, project types, project purpose, complexity, time and financial constraints, etc. Based on the observations, this study adopted the percentage-population recommendation of 50% in determining the sample size, which was approximately 1,340.

The stratified proportional sampling was used. The choice of this procedure was made largely by the characteristics of the population, chiefly among which is the availability of a comprehensive and functional list of all members of NUJ and RATTAWU in the five States.

The measuring instruments were questionnaire and personal interview schedule. The 1,340 copies of questionnaire were distributed as follows: Abia State – 264, Anambra – 338, Ebonyi – 274, Enugu – 266, and Imo – 198. Also, 10 members of NUJ and RATTAWU were interviewed during the joint quarterly meeting of the bodies held in Enugu on May 20, 2016.

In order to make for uniformity in the data gathering, the Likert rating scale was used given that the research is quantitative.

Presentation and Analysis of Data

Out of 1,340 copies of questionnaire, 1,200 (or 89.55%) were validly filled while 140 copies were not retrieved, representing a mortality rate of 10.45%. A 4-point Likert Scale was used, and any item with mean greater than 2.5 is significant; is marked and on bold. Otherwise, it is not significant.

Research Question 1 – What is the level of knowledge on the operations of e-governance among media practitioners in South-East Nigeria?

Table 1: Knowledge of the operations of e-governance

S/No	Questions	SA	A	D	SD	Total	N	mean
1a.	Use of e-governance by Government MDAs	642	0	486	90	48	1200	4.00
b.	Use of e-governance by Organised Private Sector	200	90	268	642	2250	1200	1.88
c.	Use of e-governance by multi-national agencies	268	200	90	642	2494	1200	2.08
d.	Use of e-governance by state security agencies	90	200	268	642	2138	1200	1.78
2a.	Do you find multi-media computer handy in the gathering of information	40	0	581	642	1964	1200	1.64
b.	Do you find laptop handy in the gathering of information	241	0	317	642	2240	1200	1.87
c.	Do you find palmtop handy in the gathering of information handy in the gathering of information	120	0	438	642	1998	1200	1.67
d.	Do you find digi-palmtop handy in the gathering of information	40	0	642	518	1962	1200	1.64
e.	Do you find iPad handy in the gathering of information	328	0	518	354	2702	1200	2.25
f.	Do you find multi-media mobile phone handy in the gathering of information	431	0	251	518	2744	1200	2.29
3a.	Do you consider Facebook, a suitable choice for dissemination of information regarding e-governance	621	0	328	251	3391	1200	**2.83***

b.	Do you consider email, a suitable choice for dissemination of information regarding e-governance	310	0	269	621	2399	1200	2.00
c.	Do you consider tweeter, a suitable choice for dissemination of information regarding e-governance	69	0	0	1131	1407	1200	1.17
d.	Do you consider *Instagram*, a suitable choice for dissemination of information regarding e-governance	50	0	0	1150	1350	1200	1.13
e.	Do you consider bulk SMS, a suitable choice for dissemination of information regarding e-governance	150	0	0	1050	1650	1200	1.38
f.	Do you consider flicker, a suitable choice for dissemination of information regarding e-governance	0	0	0	1200	1200	1200	1.00

Source: authors

In Table 1 above, out of 16 items, only two (or 12.5%) are significant. This shows that 87.5% is not significant. Hence, it is concluded that majority of the practitioners have no knowledge on e-governance.

Some aspects of knowledge in the operations of e-governance among the respondents are highlighted. Most of them said that e-governance is more applied by Government ministries, departments and agencies which is the practice in Nigeria. Also, the use of mobile phone for gathering of information among the respondents is high as majority of them agreed that the multimedia mobile phones are most handy in information gathering. The use of *Facebook* in disseminating information on e-governance is high among the respondents.

Research Question 2 - To what extent do the 'KAP' of media practitioners on e-governance affect the dissemination of government policies/programmes in the mainstream media?

Table 2: 'KAP' and dissemination of government policies and programmes

S/No	Questions	SA	A	D	SD	Total	N	mean
1	The knowledge and perception of e-governance has affected in the dissemination of government policies using e-governance	400	789	0	11	3978	1200	**3.32***
2	Exposure to social media tools and government's adoption of e-governance has affected dissemination of government policies using e-governance	210	541	259	190	3171	1200	**3.29***
3	e-government has helped to promote awareness on government policies and programmes	624	376	120	80	3944	1200	**3.24***
4	Media practitioners are still favourably disposed to disseminating government policies through traditional means than the new concept of e-governance	389	711	100	0	3889	1200	**3.24***
5	Media practitioners would prefer referring government official websites as the most credible means of disseminating government policies.	100	79	821	200	2479	1200	2.07

Source: authors

The table above reveals some information about the relationship between the knowledge, attitude and perceptions of e-governance by media

practitioners in Nigeria's South-East geopolitical with regard to the dissemination of government policies. Most of the subjects strongly agree that their knowledge, attitude and perception of e-governance has helped in the dissemination of government policies using e-governance. A significant number also strongly agree that the exposure to social media tools, not government's adoption of e-governance, affected their dissemination of government policies using e-governance. This also shows that quite a sizeable segment of these media practitioners agree that e-governance has helped to increase the level of awareness on government policies and programmes. The table shows a significant degree of lacklustre attitude by the practitioners who are still more favourably disposed to disseminating government policies through traditional means than the new concept of e-governance. The table further reveals that practitioners do not find government websites as the only credible means of accessing information regarding e-government. It could be deduced from the analysis that the subjects accept that their knowledge, attitude and perception of e-governance has helped in the dissemination of government information.

Research Question 3 - What are the impediments to the application of e-governance operations or services in Nigeria?

Table 3: Impediments to applications of e-governance

S/No	Questions	SA	A	D	SD	Total	N	mean
1	Literacy could impede media practitioner's application of e-governance	1110	20	8	62	4578	1200	**3.82***
2	Level of interest shown by a media practitioner is barrier to his application of e-governance	90	800	120	190	3190	1200	**2.66***
3	Dearth or non-availability of infrastructure affects application of e-governance	71	750	300	79	3213	1200	**2.68***
4	Issues regarding accessibility could impede application of e-governance	1151	9	10	30	4681	1200	3.9*

Source: authors

Since every mean in Table 3 is above 2.5, it follows that the items significantly contribute as impediments to the application of e-governance. From the table, literacy and accessibility are identified as the greatest impediments. Literacy here means ability to use and operate e-governance. This is on the part of government, which is supposed to have the technological knowledge and ability to operate the e-governance technology. Accessibility refers to citizens' ability to reach, afford and operate the technology that drives e-governance, which is essentially driven by ICT. But even with the popularisation of ICT in Nigeria, majority of Nigerians, especially in rural areas, have no access to ICT. Worse still, ICT is enabled to work with electricity and this obviously is a major challenge in Nigeria. Other factors such as interest and infrastructure, though equally significant, are less significant than literacy and accessibility as impediments to the application of e-governance in Nigeria.

Test of Hypotheses

The study had two hypotheses and they were tested using SPSS for analysis. The tabulations for both hypotheses are presented below:

Hypothesis 1: *There is no significant relationship between media practitioners' knowledge of e-governance and their attitude to the practice.*

To test the hypothesis above, we made the following assumptions: Let X represent the media practitioners' mean knowledge of e-governance obtained from the last column of Table 7 and let Y represent their mean attitude to the practice obtained from Table 4.

X	2.19	1.72	2.06	2.00	1.17
Y	2.92	4.10	3.61	3.44	1.33

Using SPSS for analysis, these results emerged: the correlation coefficient (R) between media practitioners' knowledge of e-governance and their attitude to the practice was 0.675, and the coefficient of determination (R^2) was 0.456. This implies that only 45.6% of their attitude to the practice was explained by their knowledge of e-governance. Also, the ANOVA in Regression showed that the regression was not significant

(p>0.5). This implies that there is no significant relationship between media practitioners' knowledge of e-governance and their attitude to the practice. Therefore, it was agreed that the media practitioners' knowledge of e-governance with respect to their attitude to the practice is insignificant, since t =1.587 lies between the 95% confidence intervals of -1.783 and 5.328.

Hypothesis 2: *There is no significant relationship between media practitioner's perceptions of e-governance and dissemination of government policies and programmes.*

To test Hypothesis 2 above, we also make the following assumptions: Let X represent the media practitioners' mean perception of e-governance obtained from Table 1 and let Y represent their mean responses on KAP and dissemination of government policies and programmes obtained from Table 2.

| X | 4.00 | 3.63 | 3.69 | 3.47 | 3.59 |
| Y | 3.32 | 2.64 | 3.29 | 3.24 | 2.07 |

Using SPSS for analysis, these results emerged: the correlation coefficient (R) between media practitioners' perception of e-governance and their responses on KAP and dissemination of government policies and programmes is 0.357 while the coefficient of determination (R2) is 0.127. This implies that only 12.7% of their responses on KAP and dissemination of government policies and programmes was explained by their perception of e-governance. The ANOVA in Regression showed that the regression was not significant (p>0.5). This implies that there is no significant relationship between media practitioners' perception of e--governance and dissemination of government policies and programmes. It is agreed that there is insignificance of media practitioners' perception of e-governance as far as their attitude towards KAP and dissemination of government policies and programmes is concerned, since t =0.661 lies between the 95% confidence intervals of -3.758 and 5.729.

Discussion of Findings

The findings of this study are discussed based on the research questions and the two hypotheses tested.

RQ 1: What is the level of knowledge on the operations of e-governance among media practitioners in South-East Nigeria?

Analyses of data in Table 1 reveal that there is an obvious knowledge gap on the operations of e-governance among media practitioners in South-East Nigeria. Knowledge here involves the workings, technicalities and all issues around e-governance. But why this gap? One reason is that most of these practitioners, who are agenda setters, may have failed to update or refused to be schooled in the rudiments of modern ICTs. Since e-governance is ICT-driven, it is obvious that journalists in this part of the world hardly attend conferences or trainings that would help them upgrade their knowledge on e-governance, and, thus, raise the public awareness on the benefits accruable from e-governance. Responses relating to knowledge in this study are as revealing as they are alarming. When over 50% of the respondents are not even aware that security agencies in Nigeria apply e-governance in their everyday business, it brings to light the palpable fear that those who ought to know do not know. This trend is similar to the discouraging responses that most of the media practitioners are also not familiar with the latest innovations like *Twitter, Instagram* and *Flickr* that have been deployed for disseminating short simple messages among many people across the world. A media practitioner's role as a social mobiliser would become easier when he has a mastery of the latest media of mass communication. These days, audiences of mass communication are favourably disposed to short but detailed messages. This desire can only be met when the right tools are used. There is no need seeking to issue press releases on the radio and/or television when millions of people could be reached in seconds using *Twitter* or *Instagram*.

One may agree that many media practitioners in South-East Nigeria are inadequately exposed to trending communication innovations,

which negatively affects them in the effective performance of their function as social catalysts. It is even more worrisome when their role in society extends to that of agenda-setting. It is easy to imagine the quality of agenda a practitioner would set regarding e-governance when he has no or limited knowledge of the tools driving it.

The findings in this study do not corroborate with some earlier studies carried out as related to ICT and the media in other parts of Nigeria. For instance, Uwajeh (1999) holds that the level of knowledge of media practitioners on the use of ICT for news gathering and dissemination is very high. Similarly, Wilson (1997) observes that every ICT-driven process relevant to the activities of the media "naturally" attracts high level of knowledge/awareness among media practitioners. Similar views are reflected in Nwogu (2014), and Okugo and Onwukwe (2012).

Adeyemo (2011) thinks that the ultimate benefits of e-governance can only be derived when e-governance has been achieved and this requires high level of knowledge by stakeholders such as political leaders, opinion leaders, and the media. Similarly, the place of high level of knowledge among media workers and indeed the media as an entity in the success of e-governance has been profusely advocated. This is borne out of the fact that mass orientation, enlightenment, and mobilisation are required to make e-governance effective.

To further underscore the place of a high level of knowledge by the media in effective e-governance, Adeyemo (2011, p.16) observes that "knowledgeable media is a prerequisite for actualising the salient features for any initiative leading to e-governance implementation". He identifies the features and explains the place of the media in each of them. The first, he calls stakeholders' statement of requirements. This is based on consultations between key stakeholders in government, business/private sector and civil society. He opines that the platform for such feedback can affectively be pioneered by the mass media. The second, he describes as "baseline assessment", which is an assessment of the state of e-readiness or e-preparedness in composing the baseline assessment of critical success factors, existing ICT infrastructure, existing

ICT Info-structure and Public Private Partnerships. The third feature is the "blueprint for e-governance" which implies that there should be a natural e-governance master plan resulting from the articulation of stakeholders' statement of requirements and baseline assessments for e-governance. The fourth feature is "implementation" – a combined project-management and change management process for e-governance. Change Management may be perceived as a critical aspect of enabling the implementation of an e-governance master plan. "The change management process is engineered by the media and projected in such a way that the citizens buy into it" (p.21). These opinions of Adeyemo remain a mirage in Nigeria's South-East region arising from the existing gap in knowledge.

RQ 2: To what extent do the KAP of media practitioners on e-governance affect the dissemination of government policies/ programmes in the mainstream media?

Analysis of data gathered from Table 2 of this study reveals that knowledge on operations of e-governance is low, attitude is commensurate (positive) and perceptions are positive about e-governance. However, it is pertinent to observe that media practitioners as 'gatekeepers' influence and or contribute to social development. This is borne out of the dependency syndrome – where a society depends on the media for existence and other things. Holder and Treno (1997, p.12) properly explain the issue when they observe, "Media coverage of any issue particularly social, economic and health-related attract most often audience awareness on such issues". However, the degree of coverage and extent of awareness are subjects of research argument, including the impact of such awareness on attitude or behaviour.

Moyer (1995) observes that the mass media play a crucial role in informing and educating as well as shaping the knowledge and attitude of the public on many issues and these depend largely on the disposition of journalists on the issue in question. This underscores the place of the media practitioner in influencing the society. In fact, according to

McBride (1980, p.20), "there is no doubt the mass media – press, radio and TV – do have a capacity not only to reflect but also to shape opinion and to play a part in forming attitudes". In the past, the communication system has been seen as an isolated phenomenon within society, related essentially to technology, relatively divorced from other aspects of society. The media's place in shaping perceptions and attitudes of the public on any issue is tied to the perceptions and attitudes of media practitioners in their reporting and covering as well as framing of such issues. Media practitioners personify the media, and media influence begets media practitioners' influence on the society.

In view of the observation above, therefore, one can say that the KAP of media practitioners on e-governance affects the dissemination of government policies and programmes. The extent of this influence can be understood from the knowledge level, perceptions and attitude of media practitioners on e-governance. However, it can be deduced from the data gathered and analysed that the KAP of media practitioners on e-governance directly affect the dissemination of government policies and programmes in the mainstream media. We are talking of two separate media here – the new media on which e-governance thrives and the mainstream media. Invariably, the attitude of the subjects to e-governance in terms of accessing and covering e-governance is commensurate with media influence on dissemination of government policies and programmes. We could consider some factors in this respect.

First, the level of implementation and or adoption of e-governance in Nigeria is still a work-in-progress. This can be ascertained when we consider the fact that though virtually all the States in Nigeria and security agencies claim to be operating e-governance, only a few like Abia, Lagos, Enugu, Imo, Delta, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, Independent Corrupt Practices Commission, just to mention a few, are seen as effectively operating e-governance. This is reflected in the ranking of Nigeria on the adoption of e-governance (ADEYEMO, 2012). If we had a high level of implementation, it would have translated to a

situation where almost all government information was accessible on the internet. However, this is not the case in Nigeria.

Second, most government-owned media organisations are, by certain laws guiding their establishments, under the obligation to dissemina-te government policies and programmes whether they have positive knowledge, attitude and perception towards e-governance or not. And the fact is that almost all State governments in Nigeria have both broad-cast and print outfits. As a result, government policies and programmes are always disseminated irrespective of what obtains in their KAP to-wards e-governance.

RQ 3: What are the impediments of the application of e-governance operations or services in Nigeria?

From interviews with the media practitioners, it was unanimously agreed among them that the absence of a clear policy on the provision of infrastructure to power ICT tools was responsible for its poor usage and application in South-East Nigeria. This occurred because for one to gather and disseminate information about e-governance, the person must have the right tools. In the South-East and virtually every part of Nigeria, access to data is either unavailable or provided at exorbitant rates. In a country where a media practitioner battling with meagre sa-lary is saddled with the task of buying data bundle to power his devices, e-participation would remain a mirage.

Table 3 sought to ascertain what media practitioners saw as impe-ding the application of e-governance. Many of the respondents agreed that literacy, infrastructure, interest and accessibility contribute largely to hinder the application of e-governance. The story would have been different if e-governance was not driven by ICT, which requires high level literacy, varieties of infrastructures; and is largely dependent on the ability of citizens to access it. Also, the literacy level in Nigeria today is low with still a large population grappling with comprehension of inno-vations such as e-governance.

Nchuchuwe and Ojo (2015) agree that the challenges of e-governance in Nigeria are the same in many other developing countries. Thus, there appears to be a consensus among scholars that the major problem of e-governance implementation in Nigeria is poor internet and telecommunications infrastructures. Fatile (2012) aptly accepts that the enabling technological frameworks of e-governance are still insufficient or substandard. Coleman (2005) identifies the following three major barriers which African countries, such as Nigeria, must overcome while adopting e-governance:

- Adopting technologies without developing human skills and capacities to manage, integrate and sustain them;
- Centralising the use of technologies by national government departments without devolving the benefits of technology to intermediary institutions such as local government, parliament, parties, civil society organisation and the independent media;
- Failing to link better governance to broader and more inclusive democracy which gives voice to those who cannot afford technologies but have needs and ideas to express.

Omeire and Omeire (2014) identify some challenges facing e-governance implementation in Nigeria. These include low ICT literacy rate, lack of necessary regulatory/legal framework, and poor ICT infrastructure. Perhaps, if the challenges posed by these impediments are tackled consciously, the South-East region and Nigeria in general would make appreciable progress in the application of e-governance.

Conclusion and Recommendations

From the findings of this study, it is concluded that there was low level of knowledge on operations of e-governance among media practitioners. There were positive perceptions with commensurate attitude in terms of accessing and reporting e-governance. There was no significant relationship between media practitioners' knowledge of e-governance and their attitude to the initiative. Again, it is concluded that media practitioners

in Nigeria's South-East region, despite being confronted by devastating effects of low literacy, poor infrastructure, limited accessibility and low interest, still have positive perceptions and commendable ideas towards the application of e-governance in their day-to-day businesses.

Based on the conclusion, the following recommendations are made:

1. Media practitioners in the South-East and their counterparts in other regions should periodically upgrade their knowledge through attending seminars, conferences and workshops that would school them in the rudiments of e-governance applications.

2. Media practitioners should be encouraged and willing to play more active roles in the e-governance initiatives such as accessing government information on the internet, covering/reporting e-governance in order to ensure mass awareness on e-governance in Nigeria and the South-East.

3. Media practitioners should canvas that the legislative vacuum between policy formulation and implementation on e-governance be properly closed by National Assembly and State Houses of Assembly for easy accessibility and implementation of ICT centres in various ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs).

4. Media practitioners should effectively play their roles as social mobilisers and change agents through framing of reports on the roles expected of MDAs and security agencies in order to awaken them to full consciousness of their responsibilities.

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ARTIGO

Questões metodológicas da pesquisa de campo em comunicação organizacional: um olhar a partir da microssociologia de Goffman

Methodological questions of fieldwork in organizational communication research: an approach from Goffman's microsociology

Luis Mauro Sá Martino[1]

Resumo: *Este artigo discute aspectos metodológicos de uma pesquisa de campo realizada de agosto de 2018 a fevereiro de 2019, como parte de um estudo sobre a comunicação face a face em uma empresa. Foram estudados episódios interacionais durante 12 reuniões de um comitê de projeto, focalizando as interações em microescala. Durante o período de observação, no entanto, surgiram várias questões metodológicas, discutidas aqui a partir dos trabalhos de Erving Goffman, uma das referências da pesquisa: (a) existe um método "goffmaniano" para micro-observação? (b) Como observar os eventos de microescala quando se faz parte dela? (c) Como elaborar uma descrição válida do que foi visto? Estas questões são pensadas como parte de uma discussão epistemológica sobre métodos de pesquisa em comunicação.*

Palavras-chave: *comunicação organizacional; metodologia; pesquisa de campo; Goffman.*

Abstract: *This paper discusses some methodological aspects of a field research conducted from August 2018 to February 2019, as part of a broader study about face to face communication in a company. It studied interactional episodes during 12 meetings of a project board, focusing on the micro-scale interactions. However, during the study, several methodological issues have arisen, some of them stirred by the works of Erving Goffman, which had provided some initial insights for field research: (a) is there a*

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'goffmanian' method for micro-observation? (b) How to observe the micro-scale events and simultaneously being part of it? (c) How to register the observation findings' in a valid description of what have been seen? This paper addresses these questions as part of a epistemological discussion on communication research methods.

Introduction

This article was created by a practical question of research, arriving still during the first stages of their planning and realization. It is a post-graduate research on organizational communication, focusing on face-to-face interactions in meetings and social encounters in the work environment. The goal was to watch the modalities of communication in the organizational environment through face-to-face interactions between employees of a company in the electricity sector, discussed in other moments – for instance, in Santos (2018).

Among the many authors that could be brought into a study of this type, and understanding, with Braga (2011), the research process as "decision-making", we chose, from the beginning, an approximation with the studies of Erving Goffman, especially due to the methodologic perspective adopted, the observation in micro scale. This option, if on one hand seemed coherent in terms of the dimension of the research object, on the other raised a series of questions about the practical aspects of the research.

The field research, performed between August 2018 and February 2019, created a couple of tensions between the daily lives of observations and the methodological questions studied, which can be expressed in the form of three questions: (1) Is there a "Goffmanian" method for micro-scale observation? (2) How to observe the microscale events and be a part of it? (3) How to register the findings of observation in a valid description of what was seen? In the following sections, this text seeks to delineate these questions – more than indicating any closed answer – articulating the practical problems that arrived during the research field with methodological indications thought from Goffman's work.

It is important to see some notes.

There are several works related to the observation and the participating research, such as Brandão (1999), Lüdke and André (1986), Gajardo (1986) and Vianna (2003), among others, that dimension important points on methodologic practices, offering a conceptual support and practice around procedures of this type of research without addressing,

however, questions related to the communicational aspect of micro-interactions. This text does not seek to make a discussion of this type of method in itself, but only about the approximation of the research performed.

There is no pretention in the newness of bringing Goffman's analysis for the study of communication in organizational contexts, something that was already done in other works. As Maria Gabriela Gama indicates (2005, p. 1885), "just like society, companies are realities that are socially built. Because of that, they can be understood as micro-societies where we can study the processes of social interaction". As an example, thinking about Goffman in an organizational context, Flecha and Machado (2008) show the interaction between company and consultant is developed in a posture of a highly ritualized representation and self-representation. In turn, Ferreira (2017, p. 9) indicates that this type of approach "for the understanding of processes of communication in the organizational context it is possible and viable through the micro-sociological bias" of Goffman, characterized by its analysis of the infinite interactions building the daily life", developed in another text by Ferreira (2018), analyzing a publication made by the employees of a company.

The aim here, however, seeks to concentrate in the methodological issue which, although connected by the mentioned researches, does not seem to be directly addressed.

The same way, it isn't the objective to make an interpretation of Goffman's texts or even a study on their methodological issues. It is an attempt to understand and forwards some questions created in the daily practice of research along with some aspects of his work.

Finally, the text seeks to put a method in discussion, employed in a research of limited reach, and not proposing a methodological practice, or, even less, a "how to". It is how participants in the field, in a dialogic concern with the questions of method, which share these questions.

The micro scale method

To what extent is it possible to talk about a "methodology", from the works of Goffman? The apprehension of his concepts in Communication research seem to be relatively consolidated, as indicated by Gastaldo (2004), Ytreberg (2004). And Leeds-Hurwitz (2004). However, to this conceptual appropriation of Goffman it does not seem to follow, in the same proportion, a properly methodological discussion of his work, which could allow to act on some of his procedures in research practices.

Even a commenter on Goffman's production, like Winkin (1999), considers what it seems to be a paradox in his work: despite his relevance, dissemination or even popularity – if we can use this term – on social sciences, there are few people carrying on his work, or even researches based on his methods.

If, on one hand, he can certainly be related with certain posture from Goffman himself (according to commenters like Winkin (2004), a great professor, but not exactly interested in forming researchers according to his methods), it may seem excessive to credit to a question of personal style the absence of people directly carrying on his work.

Is it worth it, at this point, to advance the original restlessness of this work: to what extent is it possible to act a methodological point of view from Goffman in a research in Communication? That refers to another question: to what extent is it meaningful to talk about a "method" or "methodology" of Goffman (or, in an possibly more problematic wordplay, a "Goffmanian" methodology?). In practical terms, how can we work with Goffman in a Communication research? What is his approach of reality to the articulation with the practice of research? Finally, a basic question: which would be the methodologies used by Goffman himself?

The answer to this last question presents an additional difficulty: the absence of methodologic writings from Goffman. Presumably, there isn't, in his production, works of reflection and commentary about his procedures, indications on methodology or more extensive

theoretical-epistemological considerations. Therefore, talking about a Goffman methodology also means to make an exercise of abstraction and methodologic reconstruction from his published work.

Or, in this case, "methodologies", plural: it it is possible to observe the presence of a few themes throughout his body of work, particularly a preoccupation with the infinitely small, as reminded by Bourdieu (2004), research techniques vary from field observation (in "Presentation of Self in Everyday Life", "Behavior in Public Places" and "Interaction Ritual"), institutional immersion ("Asylums") to document analysis ("Frame Analysis", "Gender Advertisement" and parts of "Forms of Talk").

Therefore, following some methodological questions raised by Braga (2010; 2011), in the sense of taking communication as a "indication discipline", we can look for "Goffmanian indications" in the reflection on a practice of research oriented – maybe the right expression would be "inspired", less precise, but more realistic – by some of his propositions. It is about a reflection on methodological procedures made during and immediately after a period of field research, intertwined by the relations between research and orientation. It is a gaze to what Bourdieu (1983, p. 128) calls the "kitchen of sciences" – in this case, the metaphor stand, during the "preparation" of research, with the research in action.

Observer and participant in scene: the shock between personas

In August 2018, methodologic issues were a doubt that surrounded the formulation of a case study on the interactions performed among employees of an organization in the electricity sector. In that year, the company began a process of change in the management model, here entitled "Program". The initiative, according to the company, sought to reformulate processes, create new practices and transform the organizational culture, changing the way people worked and connected with one another inside and outside the institution, with the objective

of making the action of the company more oriented towards the needs of the external clients.

This process would be implemented from a series of meetings, conduced preferably by the project manager, with his main team, followed by adjacent participations. The success of the project was, therefore, linked to the conditions, moments and contradictions existing in various moments, but focused mainly during the meetings – hence the methodologic choice of observing this interaction and some others that gravitate around this one, such as breaks ("coffee break") and encounters in the hallway.

As the communications mediated by the technologies count with a diversified theoretical-methodological apparatus to support the investigation of phenomena, what do we have in our power to apprehend the communicational process when humans meet face to face? Goffman seems to be, above all, a researcher of face to face interactions. Within the common procedures of orientation, when the research proposal was defined as "the place of face to face communication" in situations of the universe of Organizational Communication, the Choice of vocabulary itself seemed to refer to Goffman.

As Winkin (1999) observes, in a curious arc, Goffman's production begins and ends with texts titled "Social Interaction". The expression appears in a chapter of his doctorate thesis about the Hebrides, in Scotland, and it is also the title that would be the inaugural conference as president of the North American Sociological Association – Goffman died before he could make his speech. The concept systematically reappears in numerous moments of his work, either explicitly, as in the book Interaction Ritual, or as an implicit foundation of his procedures, such as Behavior in Public Places, Relations in Public or Encounters. The concept of "social interaction" seem to be coated, therefore, by a big importance for Goffman, interested in understanding, in the smallest terms, the elements present in each one of these situations.

Methodologically, this type of preoccupation seems to be translated in the observation and analysis of different environments where

interactions are processed, and, apparently, there isn't effectively a necessity of choosing a "micro" scale in quantitative terms". The sociology of groups and institutions, developed at the time by many other sociologists from the most diverse matrixes, from social psychology to quantitative sociology, could comprise similar objects if the issue were the dimension of the group or the situation.

The case study was proposed to respond the following question: when there is a movement of change in the management model of an organization, how do the interactions among individuals come about in that setting? More specifically: what are the goals, strategies, relations established between participants, power networks, conflicts, negotiations and adjustment tactics, and how these discourses gain strength from these interactions?

In Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, Goffman (1985) presents the results of an ethnographic research he performed for his doctorate thesis in the 1950's, in which he analyzed face to face interactions of an rural community in the Shetland Islands, in the United Kingdom.

Goffman creates a series of concepts from theatre metaphors to study everyday social life, casting light on details of interactions among individuals and their dynamics. "The common relationship is mounted as a theatrical scene, resulted from an exchange of actions, oppositions and conclusive responses dramatically distended" Goffman explains (1985, p. 71).

With Goffman in hand, we choose the ethnographic methodologic procedure of participating observation to perform the case study. The option seemed absolutely necessary, since this research works in the company and is a part of the program, working as an analyst of institutional communication.

Schegloff (1988, p. 101) also indicates this proximity between subject and object in the center of Goffman's methodology, especially in the sense of allowing to invoke, during our reading, our own experiences. This methodologic question is also made by Blitvich (2013, p. 9) in a

study about face and identity, highlighting not the "method" aspect, but a "practice" of Goffman's theories.

The moment of observation and immersion in the field seem to present themselves to Goffman as an opportunity to find meanings initially invisible in exchanges and interactions, but that are shown as fundamental in the elaboration of daily relations as markers of meanings, positions and actions in the social world.

The identification of meanings reveals what everyday life hides A game of signals, indications, anchorages, elaboration and re elaboration of arguments, strategies to build the desired perceptions about oneself (and avoid any element that ruptures with this previously defined "script"), delimitation of territories, attributions and self-attributions of value and importance expressed in the smallest gestures and attitudes.

Thus, within Goffman's perspective, it would be possible, for instance, to find expressions of power – or resistance to power – in the act of crossing arms and lying on the chair during a meeting, breathing deeper during a dialogue or systematically directing your gaze to other targets that are not your interlocutor throughout a conversation.

The first step was to obtain formal consent of the legal manager of the organization, the president of the Board of Administration of the Company, from the manager of the program to be observed, the executive manager of service, and the executive manager of Communication. All of them signed an Authorization Term.

Later, we've sent an e-mail to all the participants of the meeting informing the participative observation. In this communication, we requested the manifestation of those who eventually did not feel comfortable with the procedure. There was not any type of objection. On the contrary, mostly we have received friendly comments, making themselves available to help whenever possible.

In every request, we have sent an attachment with the summary of the project with the research goals, so that the participants would know more about the case study and their purpose.

At first sight, the fact that one of the authors of this text works in the company seemed a facilitating element, and, at the same time, making it harder to make a participative observation. The fact she was an employee of the organization for more than a decade may have facilitated the consent, by possible bonds of trust resulting from the professional relationship she had with the executives that authorized the study; and also because other employees of the institution performed previous research involving the company in Master's and Doctorate dissertations. There already was, therefore, a disposition in allowing employees to perform that type of activity.

On the other hand, that implied an issue of distancing in relation to the object, a problem apparently very explored in texts on methodology – for example, Corazza (1999), Martinelli (1999), Martino and Marques (2018), Martino (2018) – about the double approach of the research as a subject of the situation we seek to investigate. In this case, having a double function of meetings, from field observer and, at the same time, communication analyst of the Company, may have made harder, to a certain extent, the observation itself, since the researcher needed, at the same time, to observe the scene and act professionally, dividing her attention. We faced, ironically, with a Goffmanian dilemma given by the crossing of academic and professional personas.

Strategies of observation: thinking with Goffman

A strategy to cope with this question was to create an instrument of collection that would direct the gaze for the questions to be investigated. The need of a specific instrument also happened due to the challenge of observing the communicational flows on face to face interactions. There is a multitude of simultaneous phenomena occurring in direct communication, from setting, objects, clothing, gestures, postures, mood, tone of voice and many other elements. It is easy to get lost, hence, the importance of knowing where to look.

Not losing sight of the investigative purposes of the case study was also a concern. Before entering each meeting, we would write in the

notebook the guiding questions of research. In the affinity of micro-events, we could not forget the goal of apprehending the role of each participant in the interaction and their communicational tactics, if they were successful or not; how did the reaction affected or changed the other's tactic; which were the moments of tension and, finally, which bonds were formed by the end of an interactional dynamic.

The option for the observation of a closed situation seeks to take into consideration the delimitation of a specific situation, defined in a similar manner by the people participating in it, hence the option for studying interactions relatively limited in time and space, looking to see how, in the fragment of interaction, emerge changes, meanings, expectations, turns of interaction, elaboration of representations, reveal of the backstage or sharing inferences between participants – and these affirmations are based partially on Sanders (2012). As Marta Dynel (2011, p. 463) indicates, Goffman is focused in the big picture of social situations, looking to see the whole as a composition of details.

The observation lead by Goffman in his analyses seem to involve, firstly, a long field period, with a partial immersion, when not whole, in his research universe. It is about thorough long-term observations, looking to find forms of interaction in the most mundane situations, being carried away by the dynamic of the research project in that moment.

An epistemological problem in the definition that could be Goffman's methodology (in other words, a "Goffmanian" methodology) implies in what seems to be a constant refusal of making a previous methodological preparation for the time of field research. Before, he seems, in each research, to get involved by the specific conditions of each research space, reviewing his categories of analysis in a way not to try to apprehend the object in previous interpretations – because they were built and directed to other projects. The specificity of his researches, it seems, had direct methodologic implications in the extent that the understanding of social interactions in each situation corresponded to the formulation of their own categories that comprised what was being observed.

Not fortuitously, as also signaled by Winkin (1999), Winkin (1999) and Leeds-Hurwitz (2013), or Nizet and Rigaux (2016), rarely Goffman transposes concepts from a book to another, which does not mean, on the other hand, the absence of coherence in his analyses: Goffman seems to refuse to find "general properties" of situations − in the sense that Bourdieu (1983, p. 89) speaks of "general properties of the fields" −, but finds common elements that repeat themselves in diverse social interactions that can, because of that, be transposed, but not "applied" in any situation.

These interactions occur in the moment of meetings intermediated by diverse situations: not fortuitously, throughout his intellectual journey, Goffman will bring this methodologic gaze for the study of very diverse situations, such as social meetings, the behavior of people locked down in institutions or even advertisements. The "micro" to which Goffman directs his gaze does not seem to be effectively the delimitation of a space or a group, but the focus on interactions that happen within a delimited situation − a gathering in a bar table or an activity in an institution. "Micro" is not the size of the field, but the cut-out of the gaze on the object − social interactions − in a given situation.

Therefore, Goffman's categories were essential in the construction of this instrument of collection, in which we would combine concepts that the author presented in the texts Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1985) and Behavior in Public Places (2010).

A few specific elements were added to apprehend the power relationships and how the environment influenced the dynamics. A part of the instrument that did not have direct relation with Goffman, but we deemed important to investigate the formulated questions. We used the table 1 below to suggest the path of observation in each encounter and conduct notes which, together, formed the field journal of this study:

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Table 1 - Propositions of methodologic observation of interactions

Moment →	Objective →	Interactions to observe
Preparation → 01: Shape	Know the formal contradictions of realization of the group interaction	Date: Type of interaction: ( ) Meeting (→) Event ( ) Workshop ( ) Coffee Description: Communication objective declared from the interaction:
Preparation → 02: Environment, scenario and participants	Locate the immediate "scene" in which they are going to develop the interactions	Data of the environment (scenario): Participants and their position / hierarchic level (social façades): Level of formality: 1 - very informal 2 - informal 3 - neutral 4 - formal 5 -very formal
Beginning of the interaction	Observe the initial moves defining the interactions	Opening move Leaderships and forefront Audience level Divergences and negotiations
Development of the situation	Understanding the dynamics of the moment from the interactions of the participants	Gestures/postures of the participants Ritualistic standards Failures in scenery, façade and representation (revelation of the backstage or other noises) Attempt of interaction (declared and tacit interactions, if possible, to apprehend) Communication strategies chosen by the team/actor that leads the interaction Power relations between the participants of the interactions Group Ethos (level of interest of the audience, actors performance, predominant dynamics, atmosphere created)
Closure of the situation of interaction	Dynamics of the interaction: Strategies of closure Opening of resulting meanings	Results of the interaction: Strategies were successful? Strength of the physical environment and its settings (how they concretize the communicational attempt?)

Source: created by the authors

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In a certain way, the density of Goffman's writings may be credited to this systematic refusal for previous conceptualization that seeks to elaborate a conceptual plot at the same time it describes situations of interaction. Hence, within a key, a characteristic of his texts: at a first glance, it is nothing more than the description of everyday, ordinary situations, without interest, described in an apparently simple manner.

From the field experience it is important to reinforce that, despite having an instrument of collection, the notes were taking freely, without the constraint of the form. During the observation of an episode, we would register what we considered relevant in the notebook: in fact, what was possible to write down in these moments, since the research also had a professional role in the interaction and did not have full availability to make notes. Only after the observation we would transfer the information to the instrument, exercise that provoked us to remember more detail, complementing with data that were not previously written.

The characteristics of situations of interaction

Between August 2018 and February 2019, we observed 12 episodes of interaction among participants, performed in the scope of the program, distributed in the following manner: three meetings of the "Committee of Change", a meeting from the management group, a conversation at the café, a workshop for managers and key-employees involved with the project, a work meeting with the consultancy, three internal events for the whole organization, a participation in a meeting with the director board and a presentation for employees of a department. Some items were easier to capture than others, such as ritual patterns, well defined in business organizations. The meetings, events and workshops observed, for instance, always began similarly, with a participant making a presentation. The same happened in the capture of façades: the hierarchic positions and roles of the participants are well established in this type of social environment. It was possible to notice, thus, an intense repetition in the interactions.

In turn, other elements generally linked to micro-observation were difficult to capture. It is the case of gestures and postures of the participants: although the researcher had registered some manifestations and such capture had helped later analyses, we had the feeling that a good part of these non-verbal expressions went unnoticed. As mentioned, we believe that the difficulty results from the double function: the observer that, at the same time, belongs at that organization and plays an active role in the interaction.

Even though we have made notes freely in a notebook, at the end of the field research we got the feeling that the instrument of collection was an important help to guide the research, but at the same time it constrained us: different moments of the participants and details of the interaction may be ignored due to this direction, which possibly pre--framed the exercise of apprehension.

It is also important to highlight the continuous effort to, as far as possible, distance oneself and observe the scene, even though we were in it. In the field diary, we were registered as participant, writing our own manifestations and roles taken throughout the interaction. It is as if the persona "observer" was registering the movements of the persona "communication analyst": that was what we tried to do.

Certainly, in his works, Goffman reserves a considerable space dedicated to the description of situations, interactions, attitudes and behaviors. This procedure seem to be always linked to the possibility of immediate critical apprehension, to, then, build an analysis: it may not be so wrong to notice in that a certain phenomenological inheritance, although indirect, related to the condition of thinking the description of phenomenon as the first step in its apprehension, going to the critical reflection on the empirical.

This procedure seems to take considerable space in each of Goffman's texts: with the exception of Frame Analysis, Goffman rarely develops a work from a more thorough conceptual elaboration, preferring, mostly, to build a conceptual weave from what is shown in an analyzed situation. Goffman's methodological perspective seem to be

based on, among other factors, the perception of phenomena, mediated, the whole time, by the analytical work of abstraction from which concepts are built, which, in turn, contribute to the interpretation of the object.

However, as Goffman is directed to the detail of these situations, the descriptive is coated in an analytical character, and, after that, conceptual, revealing unknown nuances, or even left aside, in the initial moment or in the a-systematic observation. That leads us to see other angles of the object, reworking it to exhaustion in each one of its researches until a more comprehensive apprehension are completed.

The production of communicational meanings, in Goffman, seem to develop in terms of a global apprehension of situations through the sewing of the smallest elements present in a situation of interaction, which does not exclude the interaction of reading – beyond the preface mentioned, this type of micro reading of the production of meanings also happens in Gender Advertising or Forms of Talk.

The description, in these cases, is problematized in relation to a bigger set in which are inserted – in other words, the research developed by Goffman in a certain moment, either in the delimited space of a hospital or in the delimitation of a specific type in the interaction.

Observing an episode of face to face interaction, it was surprising to notice how Goffman's categories work well as an instrument of observation. The separation between the team of actors and the audience, the elements of the physical space configured in a scenario, people taking on façades, the levels of interaction of the audience (active or passive), the engagement of face and the ethos formed in the group; all of these concepts frame what is being observed in the scene.

By the façades, we can apprehend power relationships among participants and how each behavior is, in a certain way, given by the role taken. For instance, while managers felt more comfortable to speak, diverge and negotiate, analysts acted as "choir" from their bosses, complementing their points of view. As affirmed by Velho (2008, p. 146), "individuals playing roles are always looking to express themselves, and, in order for

it to have social-psychologic success, it is necessary that the actors with whom they are interacting are impressed with what is transmitted".

Finally, the combined analysis of the scenes enabled us to identify some regularities, in the sense indicated by Bourdieu (1990), which, not without anything oxymoronic, singularized the set of interactions. Table 2 seeks to identify these observations: Table 2 - Methodologic perceptions of the observed interactions.

Moment	Interactional Characteristic
Ritual	There is a ritualistic process well defined in each type of interaction, that repeats in the interactions
Physical space regulates the level of interaction	In the meeting room, the conversation/dialogue is more intense than in the spaces organized in auditorium.
Hierarchy doses the expression.	Implicit social rule determines who can express more (president/managers) and who can express less (other employees).
Ethos	Each interactional episode forms an unique ethos or spirit. Even if the scenario or actors are the same, one interaction is never the same.
Strategy	Despite having a ritualistic opening move, communicational strategies acted by the participants are singular in each episode, because they are formulated and applied through the reaction of others.

Source: created by the authors

That allows maybe to take back what was said above about their conceptual creation: if there is what it seems to be a unity in the methodologic gaze, which aims to cast a light on social interactions, the specificity of each one of them challenges the formulation of a general theory at the same time it allows an observation, in each new research, from new nuances of what is being seen. Using a epistemological definition formulated by Vera França (2014), it would be possible to say that Goffman's gaze casts a light on different empirical objects – communities, institutions, public places – in the sense of enhancing and perfecting aspects of his object of knowledge, social interactions.

Concepts such as "stage" and "backstage", "frame" or "full institution", employed in some of his main works, return sporadically, but they do not constitute as a conceptual and hermeneutic repertoire open to be perfected as it become present, or at least visible, in specific situations.

It seems that, in Goffman's work, concepts are in constant shock with a reality that is shown as generally intangible, but, at the same time, reveals some repetitions, similarities and even "standards" – word used carefully here, referring to an inheritance of the anthropology of origin in Goffman – in his scale of observation, the micro-social space.

Final Considerations

Goffman's micro sociology does not seem to refer properly to the size of the situations analyzed, but to the methodologic gaze directed to moments of interaction, outlining each one of its threads, nuances and details responsible for the construction of meanings – communication – in relation with others. In Goffman, there seems to have a whole world to unveil in the insignificant – category, in turn, that seems to cease from existing within his methodologic perspective, since details become, most times, the lead characters of situations of interaction.

That leads us to another question: what constitutes, effectively, the delimitation of space for observation in Goffman? It is relatively common to see Goffman's name associated to the idea of "micro sociology", which he would be the creator, and, for considerable time, only representation. It is possible to question, in methodologic terms, what could effectively exist of "micro" in his analysis. To do so, it is important to remember a few aspects of his elaborations and theoretical interests.

As these concepts are born from a systematic field research, and through them are formed, taken back and corrected, there could exist, in an initial reading, the attempt of classifying Goffman as an empiricist without an interest in the elaboration of a theoretical-critical

-Repertoire in relation to the reality observed. However, that search for the empirical does not end in terms of what could be considered a story of the moment or the material observed.

A R T I G O

The observation of the methodological questions involved in the observation of micro interactions does not cease to present itself within A wider perspective revealed in this scale, as reinforced by Maria Teresa S. Garraza (2001). Similarly, Camila P. Castro (2012, p. 204) raises some questions as guiding questions of the work created from Goffman: "Which structural principles inform ritual contacts in interactions? Or even, how do characteristics in the order of interaction can be connected to social structures?". The analysis of interactions in micro scale in the organizational context, in Goffman's perspective, seem to require a methodologic discussion that is always renewed, especially as the method, as remembered by Lucrécia D'A. Ferrara (1996), does not constitute as a set of techniques or recipes, but the composition of questions raised facing the reality that is sought to study. Therefore, we do not speak here about "a method in Goffman" or a "methodology" from the author but thinking "with" some of his perspectives.

Carlos B. Martins (2008, p. 140) reinforces that "such relations in which individuals create with each other in concrete social situations constitute a analytically distinguished dominion of investigation – the order of interaction – which has specific structures, processes and regularities, not being reduced to macro-social situations and whose appropriate method of investigation lies on microanalysis".

Goffman's methodologic practice seem to offer a methodologic perspective where knowledge is built by the respect to the characteristics of each situation, articulated with his proposition of seeing, then, procedures of social interaction.

There isn't, therefore, what can be seen as a type of solipsism of the empirical object in Goffman's analysis, something that would impede any posterior development, but the search of a methodologic care that respects the characteristics of interactions present in each research situation at the same time it allows you to observe, in contrast ant tension, some of the elements pointed by him in his researches: therefore, it doesn't seem to be possible to "apply Goffman's theories", something that he never did, as suggested by his refusal in transposing concepts

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between works, but building a methodologic gaze" from Goffman" as an epistemological procedure in the research practice in Communication.

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Diversitywashing: as marcas e suas (in)coerências expressivas

Diversitywashing: brands and their expressive (in) coherences

Fernanda Carrera[1]
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Resumo: *Na problemática sobre discursos midiatizados e representação de corpos e sujeitos diversos, é perceptível a necessidade de aprofundamento do debate sobre os impactos e os limites das iniciativas publicitárias. Este trabalho busca, portanto, debruçar-se sobre o conceito de diversitywashing, entendendo que muitas estratégias de marca camuflam práticas inconsistentes, sobretudo em relação* às rotinas produtivas da publicidade e aos rastros de estereótipos imagéticos *e textuais, que revelam uma contradição daquilo que expõem discursivamente. Assim, propõe-se aqui discutir sobre as demandas contemporâneas acerca da relação entre mídia e diversidade, conceitualizando a noção de diversitywashing e apontando para seis traços comuns desta prática (representações inadequadas; atribuição de neutralidade; bastidores contraditórios; diversidade limitada; comportamentos incoerentes; e vida passada) à luz de pressupostos teóricos sobre performatização de si, gerenciamento de impressões e coerência expressiva.*

Palavras-chave: *diversitywashing; diversidade; publicidade; marca; coerência expressiva.*

Abstract: *In the problem of media discourses and representation of diverse bodies and subjects, the need to deepen the debate on the impacts and limits of advertising initiatives is perceptible. This work seeks, therefore, to focus on the*

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concept of diversitywashing, understanding that many brand strategies camouflage inconsistent practices, especially in relation to the productive routines of advertising and the traces of image and textual stereotypes, which reveal a contradiction of what they discursively expose. Thus, it is proposed here to discuss the contemporary demands on the relationship between media and diversity, conceptualizing the notion of diversitywashing and pointing to six common features of this practice (inadequate representations; attribution of neutrality; contradictory backstage; limited diversity; incoherent behaviors; and past life) in light of theoretical assumptions about self-performatization, management of impressions and expressive coherence.

Keywords*: diversitywashing; diversity; advertising; brand; expressive coherence.*

Introduction

In the late 90's and early 2000's, while environmental impacts of global warming and the ecological unbalance coming from the oil crisis was discussed in the political and economic fields, the concept of greenwashing became strong among studies in communication, brands and society (ATHANASIOU, 1996). To the scientific efforts in communication, the term was and still is relevant, because it involves the construction of a discursive layer created over commercial practices recognizing that the appeals of sustainability are powerful stimuli to consumption.

If the strategies of greenwashing, therefore, arise in the context of emergency of demands of the market by companies environmentally responsible, in the attempt of calling the attention of the avid consumer audience by more accurate representations of the social reality, brands build advertisement discourses filled with the sign of diversity. However, while some proposals are well received, once they seem to represent an advance in the discursive construction of the imaginary of these bodies and the social identities, many emerge the doubt: there is a construction of a culture of diversity in the business environment or only superficial initiatives that conceal the lack of diversity of the brand? In fact, is there a concern from the brand with diversity or is it only diversitywashing?

We understand that, although the theme of diversity is in vogue (HOFF, 2009; SILVA; GONÇALVES, 2017), enabling that, for example, black individuals are more frequently seen in advertisement pieces (SACCHITIELLO, 2018), in fact this initiative does not advance into the discursive surface, since only 4,7% of the executive roles of the 500 biggest Brazilian companies are filled by black people and only 3,9% of companies offer some form of affirmative actions to raise the black presence in the work environment (SCRIVANO, 2016). This reality is repeated on other minorities[3], such as women (BOCCIA, 2018), the elderly (LAPORTA; CAVALLINI, 2018) and people with disability (LISBOA, 2018).

In order to understand, however, the importance of identifying these discrepancies for the localization of discursive strategy in the field of

tactics of diversitywashing, we propose here a deepening of the discussion and the conceptual dominion of the term, still lacking scientific problematization. We come from the presupposition that not only the concealment of diversity is manifested in this discrepancy, but how it could be inscribed in the own textual and image dominion of advertisement strategy. We understand that the perspective of diversity became one dimension of brand performance of self, in which are inscribed interactional dynamics that give the audience power over, especially, their perceptions. In this sense, the brand is inserted in the level of social interactions, in which it is not enough to recognize oneself in an identity, but to manage identity impressions that cause in the other (GOFFMAN, 1985).

Therefore, this study seeks to problematize the concept of diversitywashing, understanding its complex dimensions dependent from the effects of meaning of its strategies within the audience's perception. Inserting the brand in the interactional field, we propose here a conceptual gaze over these tactics under the aegis of the notion of "expressive coherence" (SÁ; POLIVANOV, 2012), understanding that the "diverse" brand identity is constituted as project of self (GIDDENS, 2002), in a constant and flexible management of impressions that cause in their audiences (GOFFMAN, 1985).

Media and diversity

In the path of social activism of free media and other globalization – for example, the Geneva's World Summit on the Information Society (2003) and Tunisia (2005) and, more recently, the Arab Spring and the Occupy Wall Street (2011), – contemporary social movements, strengthened by new tools, build their barricades against racism, xenophobia, stereotypes, sexism, homophobia and other violations, claiming more democratic social structures. There are dynamics that challenge the institutionalized political structures, but also make a strong questioning to media, seeking to build new versions of social phenomena. In this sense, Castells (2012, p. 23) says, "[…] The dispute of fundamental

power is the battle for the construction of meanings in the minds", in other words, it is a dispute of narrative geared towards, according to the author, reprogram the social institutions to more democratic values.

About the traditional media as institution, it is necessary to have in mind the potential of its structure in the everyday standardization of social values. Understood as the professional of narrative construction of the public social truth, the big responsible for the massification of information on contemporary populated societies, it becomes fundamental to put them under the analytical lens of how it conducts the construction of a collective unconscious. As the unknown on otherness is mediated my media discourses, therefore, it is fundamental to exercise the aware critical gaze on conditioning or legitimation of world views and what is the impact over the structuration of contemporary sociabilities – peaceful, mediators of tolerance or conflict, promoting social exclusion. This is important, for example, when it comes to stereotypes, super generalizations socially built that are put like archetypes of certain social groups, limiting their meaning and the social interpretation about the other (MERSKIN, 2011).

The own construction of messages destined to the massive audience dialogues with a standardization of perceptions, reinforcing daily what is understood as "normal" or "appealing", in a much more negotiated and seductive relation than authoritative. It is about the reproductive force of the symbolic violence of ideal standards (BOURDIEU, 1989), that, to the same extent in which establishes what is normal, also establishes what is not. Therefore, discussing media stereotypes is understanding the ways with which people's view is built over the Others and how its marginalization becomes imperceptible or banalized in the environment of media. These social constructs, transmitted as being the "truth", are socially conceived and institutionally reproduced in many spheres, in a way that the world's perception on the dominant culture are sold as something natural, obvious, unanimously agreed, defining, thus, beliefs, rituals and acts in a social order.

It is through the reproduction of constrained standards, for instance, about gender, race, class, sexuality, and religion that archetypes (multidimensional and concretized signs about the Other), being potentially able to spread values that justify collective hatred, persecution and political atrocities against certain groups (MERSKIN, 2011). Thus, the daily contract with stereotyped media messages reproduces and socially reinforces prejudice –a dislike based on a distorted and inflexible generalization, a hostile attitude against a person who belongs to a certain group – and discrimination – behavior that comes as a consequence of prejudice, involving an unfair treatment to individuals, based on some stigmatized characteristics, like race, class, gender, age, ethnicity, religion, country, sexual orientation, political views, disability, etc.

Because it is an excluding system perpetuating social conflicts, initiatives that indicate their overcoming usually are celebrated by activists earning for a social transformation. That is why, in disruptive, alternative and questioning contents, may be infinitely shared, appropriated and used as a light of the most real representation in the midst of a standardized stereotyping. They are ideas which, linked to a contemporary consumption of media marked by the complementary of information among the different types of media, are reinforced enough to conquer the power of disputing narratives with normative values of the traditional media.

These initiatives, however, emerge critical analytical biases that try to understand in what way the market appropriation of social issues can interfere on its essential coherence. In other words, it is indispensable to have in mind that the productive structure is dynamic and forces the actors present to adapt, as the natural logic of competitivity. Use the cause of diversity to get closer to the consumer audience may not be enough to conceal the absence of this representativity also in the workforce employed for the production of this content.

After all, could the subordinate speak? To them it is in fact authorized hearing? (SPIVAK, 2010). Who was these others so invisible or

historically preconceived to the media content that now seem curiously interesting to the dominant eye? There would be, according to Stuart Hall, a fascination of the global post-modernism to the exotic nature of the different: either sexual, racial, cultural, and, especially, ethnical. And he asks himself if he would be in this re-apparition of the "proliferation of difference" related to the western fascination with the bodies of black women and men of other ethnicities (HALL, 2003, p. 150). Although he nurtures this fascination for the exotic, and the search for the service of demand, it is possible to perceive a negotiation with dominant values which, sometimes, are rearticulated in an aggressive resistance to difference and the possibility of risk of his exclusivist privilege. The appropriation of the standardization tends to integrate the diversity through adaptation, correction and adjustment, especially when this production goes through the hands of the same social groups that always dominated these contents.

Perceived authenticity and expressive (in)coherences of the brand

One of the relevant observation keys to advance in the present analysis is the perception of authenticity of subjective constructions and the processes of identity validation that are continuously mobilized in the interactional context and that can help in the understanding of communicational interaction between audiences and brands. We come from the presupposition which, even when building business and market discourses, these brand subjects would be subordinate to similar relational apparatuses to those which individuals would be submitted, comprising tactics of construction of self, identity negotiations, perceptions of alterity and legitimation, as well as problematics that emerge from power relationships.

Under the sociological perspective, authenticity would be a negotiated construct, in a process of self-reflection (GIDDENS, 2002) subject to interactional formalities. Authenticity wouldn't be, therefore, a concrete

phenomenon, but an abstraction dependent on the social feedback, in other words, "the concept of authenticity must be understood not as ontological truth, but as a "shared story", built by the actor and negotiated with others (SÁ; POLIVANOV, 2012, p. 581), in a continuous system of legitimation and delegitimation.

To this perception of identity authenticity, Sá and Polivanov (2012) give the name of "expressive coherence", in other words, the subjective constancy that individuals seek in others and in themselves for validation of who they are and who are their interacting partners. Behavioral contradictions and intense transformations could product delegitimating effects, defining for individuals bigger or smaller "social competence as agents of interaction (SMITH, 2006, p. 97-98). Therefore, the final goal of identity building would be, therefore, "knowing if you would be credited or discredited" (GOFFMAN, 1985, p. 231). Constituent of elementary interactional processes, this regime of validation of authenticity is reinforced by dynamics of digital culture and contemporary materialities. Boyd (2008) points towards four fundamental properties of the digital context that can modulate the limits and potentialities of interactions that are inserted there: persistence, searchability, replicability and invisible audiences. The persistence would be the marking of prolonging acts of speech, in counterposition to the ephemerid of face to face contacts, since in these environments the register of discourse is facilitated (POLIVANOV; CARRERA, 2019); the searchability would be a deployment of persistency, since as the messages can be registered, they also can be accessed with agility in a few clicks of research, the replicability, in turn, would be the easiness of reproduction of the message in different context and audiences; arriving to the presupposition of invisible audiences, concept that admits the impossibility, in the digital environment, of controlling and measuring what is the reach and the audience of what is said. The mediation of digital materiality, therefore, is striking for the interactional systems of these environments, especially in comparison with spaces of face to face conversations.

Thus, this contemporary digital context would allow more material resources for identity and communicational validation of individuals and, as we want to discuss here, including brands. If, therefore, in context of individuals, we can call "performative ruptures" (POLIVANOV; CARRERA, 2019) the detachment between communication of self and social behaviors or the rupture located between identity intentions and those in which interactional circumstances and materials allow, in the brand context, the effects of these gaps are intensified by the cynicism foreseen and solidified in the relations between consumer and business communication.

In this sense, if in the context of individuals, the performative ruptures imply in management of self and situations, in a process of attempt of control on what is shown and what is concealed, in other words, the theatrical scenery of social roles, in which is defined what is exposed to the audience and what should be kept in the backstage (GOFFMAN, 1985); if in this interactional processes, what is at stake is the identity reputation of subjects, implying in maintenance of the social self-esteem, of the feeling of belonging and mental health, in case of the context of brands, what is at stake is its corporate image, which implies in management of identity on behalf of market permanence and the constant escape of the painful crisis management. Therefore, the perception of performance ruptures is manifested, in the context of brands, in perception of "washing", in other words, in the dissimulation perceived or evident expressive incoherence. In this sense, all the discursive and operational apparatus that involve the work of a company (for example, advertisement, sales points, labels, products, partners, suppliers, employees and hiring processes) can be used as a reinforcement or a obstacle for your expressive coherence.

To advance in this debate, therefore, are discussed here the six most common traces of expressive incoherence, in the context of attributing diversity, which can make the brand fall into the perception of "diversitywashing".

Six traces of Diversitywashing in the context of brands

The perception of diversitywashing is given as effect of meaning, i. e., depends directly not only on the intentions of the brand, but the codes that emerge from their audiences. We don't intend here, therefore, to discuss about the supposed truth of the messages or even less about what would be the real perception of the companies adopting the discourse of diversity, but perceiving what are the communicational and behavioral traces that brands offer the audience so that they locate them as acting of this practice. Therefore, we list six common traces of diversitywashing, inappropriate representations, attribution of neutrality, contradictory backstage, limited diversity, incoherent behavior and past life.

Inappropriate representations

Once advertisement communication is one of the forms of communication of branding identity that less imply in structural transformations in the company, to manifest support to diversity causes seems a mere enterprise. However, the lack of understanding of the different narratives that compose each body used there for commercial purposes, in addition to the lack of effort in looking for this critic discernment about their creative ideas, contributes for the construction of advertisement discourses that are often superficial and, above all, problematic and stereotyped.

It is the case of the campaign called "Somos Todos Paralímpicos" (We are all Paralympic) developed by the advertisement agency Africa for Vogue, showing the actors Paulo Vilhena and Cléo Pires as amputee athletes. The contradiction in the idea of representation of this piece was a target of controversy in the internet, reaching the *Trending Topics* at the time (August 2016)[4], because it chose to "give visibility" to athletes with disability, taking exactly these subjects from advertisement pieces and replacing them with two standardized bodies with "disabilities" built through photo editing.

4   Information available at: https://oglobo.globo.com/esportes/campanha-com-atores-paralim-picos-gera-polemica-cleo-pires-se-defende-19987262. Accessed in: Apr. 30th, 2019.

Another example is the advertisement "Be true to your pleasure" from Magnum, with trans people, transvestites and drag queens. When they associate the ice cream and the act of eating it to sensuality rituals in the bodies exposed there, the brand falls over the unawareness of the different narratives experienced by these bodies (PELÚCIO, 2005) about an already crystallized hypersexualization, which stops the access of these people to professional environments other than prostitution (JIMENEZ; ADORNO, 2009)

These examples, therefore, show the common issue of inappropriate representation in the advertisement proposals and emerge relevant debate on the possible limit of understanding about the narratives of subjects that are not a part of the creative production and approval of these pieces. If there is in the context of advertisement creation and management of advertisement agencies a predominance of heterosexual, middle-class men (SACCHITIELLO; LEMOS, 2016; MAIA, 2018) and white (DOURADO, 2015), as it is the same reality of management positions in Brazilian companies (IBGE, 2014, 2016; GOMES, 2018), the initiative for deepening the understanding on the one being represented under the aegis of diversity should be an amplified effort.

Attribution of neutrality

The attribution of neutrality to specific bodies is manifested in the choice of a few subjects to represent the standard, composing a supposedly invisible background for the marking of bodies that would be "different". This type of trace is common in advertisement campaigns that propose a "diverse" racial representation. In advertisements that intend to represent different individuals and suggest being aware of the race plurality in the Brazilian context, they appear to agree that the diversity is manifested in the non-white and the white becomes invisible in their racialization. In other words, in general, when they allow the existence of individuals of other races in their campaigns, this consent is given to one or two models in the midst of a white majority, reinforcing the idea

that there is an "timeless certainty" (FRANKENBERG, 2004, p. 310) and a "non-marked visibility" (MACHADO, 2018) of whiteness.

In December 2016, the black model Deddeh Howard revealed, in a project called Black Mirror[5], the reality of the advertisement world of big brands and their association with model agencies. Recreating different pictures from famous brands taken originally with white models, Deddeh wanted to show racism in the advertisement industry and the issues of a de-racialized view on whiteness. *"Even though I was told by those agencies that I have an amazing look and wish they could represent me, they already have a black model. Besides having an abundance of white models"* (HOWARD, 2016). With this speech, the model revealed the productive routine of advertisement and highlighted in a striking manner the "supposed neutrality of white racial identity that makes a big part of the society have privilege, even if they don't realize it (SHUCMAN, 2014, p. 92). *This neutrality can still be perceived in the advertisements below:*

5   er: http://secretofdd.com/?p=2703.

Image 1 - Attribution of racial neutrality
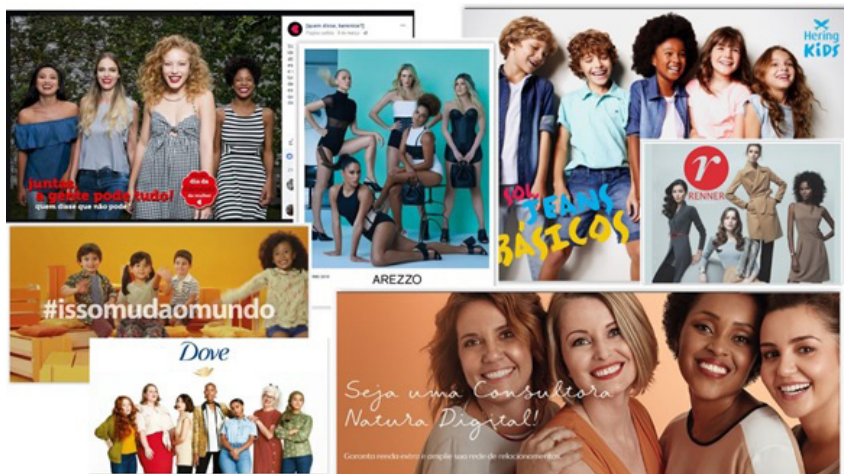
Source: Collection in brand's digital environment (websites and social media, such as Facebook and Instagram, from Quem Disse Berenice, Arezzo, Hering Kids, Itaú, Dove Natura and Renner)

Even though the concept of neutrality is born from the racial context, it can manifest itself in the conception that there is neutral bodies and non-neutral bodies, making evident that the different is the one that do not correspond to the normative standard of existing in contemporaneity: white, thin, heteronormative, young and without any disability. In this sense, if there is no representative equivalence and some bodies are cluttered in invisibility, not much is realized around the supposed enunciative transformation of advertisement around diversity, and what we see is another manifestation of expressive incoherence, since what is built is a diverse discursive concealment in foreground that is revealed in its standard in a more attentive look, in other words, diversitywashing.

Contradicting backstage

On may 2019, the Três store, fashion brand with stores in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, presented by the slogan "behind the clothing, people", shows in their tags the face of the seamstress that made it and have in their staff black women with afro hair, had to explain why this

discourse was not reflected in their daily practices (GONZALEZ, 2019). According to news posted on Portal Universa, the everyday life in the company, was actually filled with racism, fat shaming and harassment by the company's owners and associates. After the rapid negative repercussion on social media, the brand posted a note saying: "Our appreciation for diversity was never a façade, as people are currently accusing us".

The term "façade", used by Loja Três in their note, admits the understanding of the rules that conduct diversitywashing, in other words, it presupposes an identity construction of the brand presented for the appreciation of the audience and another that delegitimates them if it is exposed. In this sense, the Goffmanian theory about everyday social interactions proposes the theatre metaphor, dividing social life in stage and backstage, in other words, the space of exposition of self and a space of concealment. Analyst of face to face interaction, Goffman said that every social actor has as starting point the representation that is presented in front of them, but the comprehension and behaviors are not only given by the content of what is said, but from what unintentionally appears (GOFFMAN, 1985).

The breach of this system of montage staged by the one watching the representation is called "inappropriate interference" (GOFFMAN, 1985, p. 192), in other words, when the audience gets in the backstage of representation and reveals the actor by knowing elements of their life that may harm the maintenance of the social life theatre. In this sense, keeping the expressive coherence would be managing those elements so that they can only be legitimators of the identity process or avoiding that the audience gets in touch of contradicting elements.

Loja Três manifested a common trace of expressive incoherence because they obviously did not present, in their daily life what they communicated on behalf of profit and market positioning. Using the symbolic value of diversity, the brand seemed to only practice diversitywashing.

Limited diversity

This trace dialogues with the notions of expressions transmitted and expressions emitted, from the Goffmanian perspective, once they are significant actions in the process of management of self, relevant to the maintenance of the representative board of what is desired. According to Goffman (1985), the firsts are those of intentional character, which, through signs known by their audience, make efficient the communicative action. The second ones, in turn, include movements that seem symptomatic, unintentional from the actor, that can bring the impression that there are other meanings for that information that was transmitted like that.

C&A and the American brand Plus Size Baby recently had cases of limited diversity. In 2017, the Brazilian department store released a campaign with the goal of "promoting empowerment" (IZQUIERDO, 2016) with texts that said "I'm black, I'm blond", "I'm a girl, I'm a boy", and "I'm fat, I'm sexy". This last text followed a picture of model Malu Mendes, considered a "curvy model". However, the repercussion of the campaign was negative due to the choice of a curvy model that did not actually represent fat people. Plus Size Baby, in turn, on April 2019, posted on Twitter with the text "*#bigsize #curvygirls Sexy Lace Panties for Plus Size Women*", with a picture of a thin body stretching the piece to show its size. In these cases, therefore, the discourse on diversity and value of diverse bodies is given in the field of intentional expressions. However, they emit exactly the contrary to what they wished for, with a significant movement that reveals a proposition of an extremely limited diversity.

In the context of black subjects, this trace of limited diversity is already quite common. Brands prefer to illustrate blackness in their campaigns with light-skinned black bodies, with not a lot of negroid features (GOMES, 2006). Commonly, there is an attempt of whitening black folk as a way of making their existence palatable in this discursive space of power. Therefore, it is the mixed-race body (preferably more white than black) that interests publicity, the one perfect representative of the

dynamics of colorism (NORWOOD; FOREMAN, 2014) and represented by the image of the "mulata", the woman that preserves some black characteristics, but who is "one step closer to whiteness" (CRAVEIRO; CARVALHO, 2017, p. 65). In this sense, although they are enveloped by an apparent enhancement of the discourse of diversity, these choices denounce the expressive incoherence of these brands, that emit as an effect of sense of self the idea of those practicing diversitywashing.

Incoherent behavior

In March 2016, C&A released the collection "Everything beautiful and mixed" in an advertisement video that presented a male model wearing a dress, in a genderless discursive intention. However, although the campaign had caused a frenzy by the avant-garde initiative, it was quickly delegitimated by the audience, who exposed the contradiction of the brand from their own communicational apparatus and marketing: the division of male and female genders were kept in all spaces of the company, such as the website and the stores, as well as the new collection did not consider in their sizes the possibility of, actually, the clothing be mixed, as the slogan affirmed (GIUSTI; PAUL, 2016).

Unlike the trace of diversitywashing that presupposes the entrance of the backstage of representation (contradicting backstage), here the expressive incoherence is founded in the own business behavior that is put in evidence, in other words, there isn't an inappropriate intromission of the audience, but a discrepancy in the representation of self that the brand presents in their communicational apparatuses (as points of sale, websites and advertisement). They are intentional behaviors that, in themselves, contradict and delegitimate the desired identity representation, producing the perception of inauthenticity. "The campaign is called Everything Beautiful & Mixed, but when you go to purchase the pieces you see that they are beautiful pieces of clothing, male and female. And that's it. The advertisement itself suggest this exchange more as a fun experiment (CORRÊA, 2016).

Therefore, C&A manifests practices of diversitywashing, since it doesn't assume "coherent biographic narratives" (GIDDENS, 2002) nor it maintains discursive choices that evidence an expressive coherence towards identity routines, therefore, a continuity of the proposition of representation that shows a certain stability in the construction of self (SÁ; POLIVANOV, 2012). This coherence is a construct of thorough planning before the presentation, i. e., actors must be "prudent and circumspect when representing the spectacle, preparing themselves before for probable contingencies and exploring remaining opportunities (GOFFMAN, 1985, p. 223). This presupposition wasn't considered by C&A, which continued presenting the campaign with the proposition of genderless fashion, like the Valentine's day ad from the same year, but in their stores perpetuated and still perpetuates a well-defined separation between male and female.

Past life

In March 2017, in the Brazilian context, Skol presented their campaign Reposter[6], marking the brand repositioning on behalf, now, of more inclusive and diverse advertisement narratives. Recognizing their sexist standard, which impregnated their ads with female hyper sexualization, Skol proposes in this moment the reformulation of their old posters by feminist illustrators. Later, the brand released the campaign Skolors, which presented a limited edition of packaging with "colors of our skin[7]" creating cans with different colors to symbolize racial diversity of Brazil.

With a mainly positive feedback, especially in the digital environment (SILVA and GONÇALVES, 2017), the brand of beer, than, "appropriates the social issue" in an attempt of erasing their discursive past, which fundamentally, reinforced standards of oppression, especially in relation to female objectification (BRAGAGLIA, 2019 p. 86). In this sense, choosing now a "consumption ideology" (BRAGAGLIA, 2019 p. 95), which empowers bodies, subjects and narratives with diverse existences,

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6 See vídeo atitário Reposter: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g_8fnMtbdso.
7 See vídeo atitário Skolors: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mQx_VmCQu5w.

Skol could, in fact, dissipate the imaginary of their audience the associa-
tion of the brand with discriminatory discourses or it would be constantly
reminded, in a process of continuous verification of authenticity of their
new initiatives.

In the scope of management of social situations and representations
of self, we can say that "the past life and the habitual course of activities
of a certain actor contains […] Facts that, if they were introduced during
the representation, would discredit or, at least, weaken the pretensions
relative to their personality" (GOFFMAN, 1985, p. 192). This redemp-
tion from previous behaviors can be continuously mobilized, as a form
to delegitimate current identity strategies, as we can see in the comment
made below by a Facebook user.

Image 2: Facebook user remembering Skol's contradicting past and attesting the
need for a long-lasting expressive coherence through the brand's repositioning.
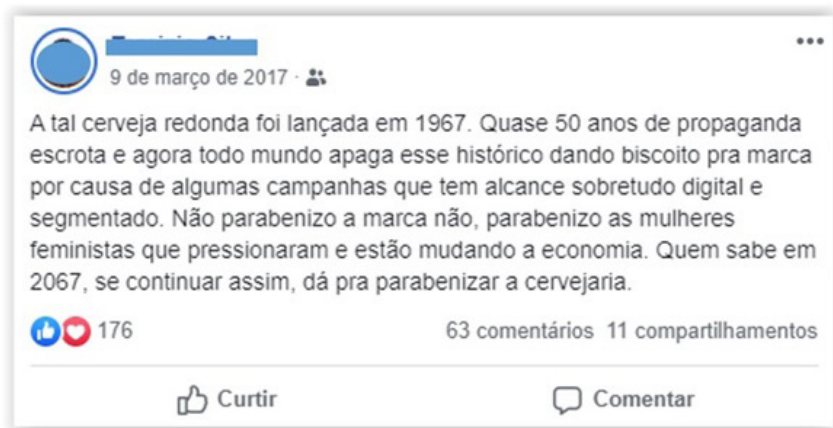
Source: Facebook

Considering that the practices of diversitywashing are manifested in
the level of perceptions, the sudden identity transformation of the brand
can demand some time so that the audience assimilates their new cons-
truction of self. This audience can recur, whenever possible, as product
of their distrust and with the intent of delegitimated the current brand

representation, to the brand's "past life". In this sense, the digital context still favors this movement, since it registers each previous behavior of the brand, through the facilities of the "searchability" attribute" (BOYD, 2008). Thus, until the brand brings behavioral consistency, establishing new identity routines and coherent biographic narratives with this new performatization of self, at any moment we can be reminded of facts of this past life, causing embarrassment through the meaning effect of diversitywashing.

Final Considerations

When approaching an identity reality of a brand to the dynamics of construction of self of individuals, the discussion proposed here exposed an alternative look to those that, in general, seek to understand brand strategies only through the bias of their market objectives. In this sense, notions like authenticity and expressive coherence, common on studies on social interactions, can be important analytical operators for the understanding of often conflicting relations between the communicative intention of the brand, audiences expectations and effects of meaning that emerge from these connections.

We understand here that the concept of diversitywashing dialogues with sociological presuppositions already established for the study of social life of individuals, since it is inserted in symbolic disputes among the effects of what is said and the effects of what is practiced, in a constant game of legitimation and delegitimation of brand discourses, as well as in daily interactional negotiations. Therefore, the proposition presented here aims to conceptually articulate the notion of diversitywashing through this theoretical-methodologic apparatus, building a primary mapping for the understanding of these manifestations.

In the context of media communication in relation to the concept of diversity, it is important to recognize, still that when the marketing process has as its only goal in sales and profit, the essential presupposition tend to be emptied and citizens can have their values instrumentalized, as well as their life stories expropriated. The productive structure makes

standard individual actors have to adapt, that can be seen as a first advance, but only when these spaces are actually occupied by diverse bodies, narratives can be disputed, and new stories can be told.

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Crítica da inspiração nos processos comunicacionais do capitalismo cool[1]

Critique of inspiration in the communications processes of cool capitalism

Vander Casaqui[2]

Resumo: *Este artigo tem como objetivo tratar da inspiração, como elemento que identifica os processos comunicacionais relacionados com a cultura empreendedora. Nesse sentido, a publicização dos ideais, valores, prescrições dos agentes identificados com o empreendedorismo parte de um modelo comunicacional bem delimitado, cuja função principal é inspirar, ou seja, transformar o outro, que compõe seu auditório social (BAKHTIN, 1997). Essa transformação desejada seria, em última instância, a promoção do engajamento no capitalismo contemporâneo em sua face mais sedutora, que McGuigan (2009) define como cool capitalism. Em síntese, procuramos discutir as intersecções entre inspiração, empreendedorismo e o capitalismo neoliberal, ou sociedade neoliberal (conforme DARDOT; LAVAL, 2016).*

Palavras-chave: *comunicação e consumo; cultura empreendedora; discurso social; inspiração; sociedade neoliberal.*

Abstract: *This article aims to deal with inspiration as an element that identifies the communicational processes related to the entrepreneurial culture. In this sense, the publicity of the ideals, values, prescriptions of agents identified*

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with entrepreneurship starts from a well-delimited communicational model whose main function is to inspire, that is, to transform the other, that composes its social auditorium (BAKHTIN, 1997). This desired transformation would ultimately be the promotion of engagement in contemporary capitalism in its most seductive face, which McGuigan (2009) defines as cool capitalism. In summary, we try to discuss the intersections between inspiration, entrepreneurship and neoliberal capitalism, or neoliberal society (according to DARDOT; LAVAL, 2016).

Keywords*: communication and consumption; entrepreneurial culture; social discourse; inspiration; neoliberal society.*

Introduction

Inspiration became a recurring term in our time. Its presence is so frequent, and, at the same time, so banalized, that we have the impression that everyone thinks of themselves as a possible inspirational narrative, as a life story to be replicated by others. The sharing in digital media of emblematic sentences, of emotional images, of examples of the most diverse human gestures, in communities such as Facebook, it is the other face of this true culture of inspiration. Facing this myriad of discourses that take on the goal of inspiring, the questions to be responded in the field of this work are: how to understand inspiration as expression of the entrepreneurial culture of our time? *What is the role of inspiration in spreading the ideology of neoliberalism? How does the act of inspiring is shaped into delimitated communicational models, taking part of strategies of agents identified with the field of entrepreneurship* For the development of this study, we are supported on the theoretical--methodologic principles of social discourse, proposed by Marc Angenot (2010): according to the author, discourses can constitute hegemonies, when they configure as a paradigm marked in social, cultural and historic terms. In other words, social discourse corresponds to a horizon to what is thinkable and utterable, in a certain historic period, and is concretized in certain discursive regularities, in certain standards that are repeated, updated, but keep an identity in relation to that hegemony.

The conception of social discourse is interdependent from the dialogic perspective of language, in the Bakhtinian sense. Thus, "when building discourses that explain, organize and classify the world, the speaker establishes relations and dependences, expresses values and world views, dialogues with previous and future utterances" (PISTORI; BANKS-LEITE, 2010, p. 131). In this social process of interaction is when the speaker and interlocutor are constituted. The social auditorium is this other place designed through utterance, what's utterable and thinkable are historically marked, and that delimitation corresponds to the imagined social auditorium in the context which utterances are dialogically established. The agents of entrepreneurial culture and

their discourses, which characterize our research object, evidence this interactional process of language, when they conceive themselves as inspiring creatures and to their social auditorium as a set of individuals to be inspired. For this study, we have selected notorious exponents of the culture of inspiration in Contemporary Brazil, that both represent agents that constitute their biographic narratives into a motivational key and demonstrate institutionalities that establish as organizational mission the goal of inspiring. This diversity of cases is servicing the objective of evidencing the amplitude and corresponding nuances to the study of culture of inspiration, in their relationship with the study of contemporary capitalism.

In a scenario of flexibilization and precarization of work, as pointed out by Sennett (2007), as we currently live in, in dramatic tones, especially in developing economies – such as the Latin American scenario – simultaneously emerge discourses that promote entrepreneurial culture, as an antidote to this state of affairs. Thus, facing a situation of unemployment, abandonment in relation to social policies of State, of crisis in a wider sense, this culture is put as a solution which, as a last resort, attributes to the individual the responsibility for transforming their own destiny, failure into success, the attitude of the "common" subject into an entrepreneurial attitude. The proposition of a critical analysis of the social discourse of Angenot, more than a methodology with well--delineated procedures, is applied in this research as analysis of the spirit of time concretized in complex discursive webs, which correspond to a specific historic moment and society. This study understands entrepreneurship as social discourse and seeks to identify the wideness and diffusion of their precepts by raising a voice of multiple agents speaking on behalf of an entrepreneurial culture simultaneously updating it and reinforcing their ideology.

Throughout our research on social entrepreneurship and about entrepreneurial culture, from the objects we studied, we found numberless times the use of the term inspiration, which, in our reading, represents the most seductive face of "cool" capitalism, as defined by McGuigan

(2009). The concept of cool capitalism is based on the capacity of "absorbing the dislike of capitalism itself" (MCGUIGAN, 2013, p. 13). According to the author, this process of absorption characterizes the role of "cool", geared towards "transforming the dislike in acceptance and consent (idem, p. 14). A more dense form of understanding this process is based on the theory of the new spirit of capitalism by Boltanski and Chiapello (2009), highlighting the capacity of the capitalist system of being re-proposed as a new rhetoric, cyclical, through the incorporation of arguments and fights promoted by their critics. Thus, if the juvenile confrontation of the generation of May 68 raised flags anti-system, imagining "another possible world", today we find the revolutionary discourse, of world transformation, autonomy and freedom, incorporated within the capitalist system, through meanings attributed to the entrepreneurial activity, to social entrepreneurship, among other fields that are interdependent from the mode of operation of the neoliberal market. In this aspect, the "acceptance and consent" described by McGuigan are understood by Boltanski and Chiapello, as forms of promoting engagement in subjects of the capitalist system, especially young people, which will renew their boards and take care of their future. Therefore, the project of an entrepreneurial society defended by authors such as Drucker (2011) proposes, in thesis, "this possible world", an ideology simultaneously reformist and conservative of the principles of capitalism, refraining each and every revolutionary form of social transformation. The model subject of this project is an updated version of the creative destroyer, discussed by Schumpeter (1942), an entrepreneurial spirit detached from the conception of an entrepreneurship in the classic sense, of generating a new business through an innovative product or service. The entrepreneurial attitude – The psychological and moral characteristics attributed to this subject – superposes their technical habilitation to perform an enterprise. Facing a social scenario that Sennett (2007) defines as flexible capitalism, in which subjects would be adrift facing constant changes, continuous risks, flexibility as primordial demand and as paradigmatic model for the world of work, of

short-term flows, ephemeral values, "instability intends to be normal, Schumpeter's business man showing up as the Ideal Common Man" (SENNETT, 2007, p. 33).

The main enterprise in our time is conceiving life itself as something to be managed, optimized, performed, in compatibility with the dynamic flexible and competitive scenario, as pointed out by the Blog Geração de Valor, one of the agents of this culture of inspiration working in Brazil. In one of their posts that most evidence this scenario, we have the image of a couple, man and woman, looking at each other in the eye, characterizing a romantic moment, illuminated by the reflections of sunlight. The emotional image of the couple gains other meanings by overlapping a sentence, a slogan signed with the blog's logo: "Your life, your biggest enterprise". Thus, even romantic relationships can be managed. Illouz (2009), when dealing with romantic utopia in the contemporary context, explains the relation of this utopia with the managerial culture corresponding to neoliberal capitalism. Successful marriage, for example, is an ideal propagated in society, corresponding to a fairly vigorous market, in other words, promoting consumption and mobilizing a series of agents working towards this utopia, made a merchandise. Marriage is also a company, since the subjects involved in the relationship can use emotional intelligence, define goals, procedures, promote social division of chores at home to achieve their goals of happiness. These measurements and procedures, propagated by gurus, coaches specialized in the theme, are directly derived from a managerial culture that constitutes a hegemony articulated to the capitalism of our Time. The dream, within the scope of cool capitalism, works as a way of engagement in the system, in a sense of entirety: none of the facets of existence seem to escape the possibility of being manageable, planned and executed in terms of a rationality promoted by the system.

But, finally, how do we understand the notion of cool capitalism in the scope of this study? We understand that the front of this system in contemporaneity is based on discourses that, derived from an advertisement aesthetics, publicize the dream, stimulate autonomy, freedom,

ARTIGO

motivational force to change the world, associating these motion forces with entrepreneurial activity. The production of inspirational narratives is conceived, in this aspect, as an economy and as a market. The notion of economy, etymologically, is based in management. We understand market as a dynamic of the capitalist system, in which the form – merchandise is central for the production chain – circulation – consumption. Therefore, the production of inspirational narratives that is important for this study is based on this capitalist logic of management and manufacture of merchandise, as well as the insertion of this production in a market of ideas (ANGENOT, 2010). There are many agents symbolically disputing the power to inspire: great corporations and their advertisement pieces, capitalist agents that personalize and give voice to a system in world forums and other globalized events, transmitted online to massive audiences throughout the world, speakers that found in the activity of inspiring a way to make a profit and notoriety, activists and "mobilizers" (to use the term used in this field) linked to the field of entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship.

Entrepreneurial contemporary culture and inspirational narratives

As we previously pointed out, the notion of entrepreneurship is disseminated in our days, becoming a modern time panacea, the cure of all evil, the solution of every problem, in the macro and micro social scope, from the state of bankruptcy of the State to the interior life of individuals. It is important to reinforce this is the macroproposition (VAN DIJK, 1978, p. 62-63) derived from entrepreneurial culture, which is defended and disseminated by a diverse array of agents. Therefore, the communicational approach of entrepreneurship which correspond to our study escapes a restrictive view of the entrepreneur, as an economic agent that conceives a business, develops a project, a merchandise, which produces innovation to cater and transform the demands of the market. We understand that, under the amplified notion of entrepreneurial culture, which is

publicized by media supports, individuals of our time are called out to be entrepreneurs of themselves, in any sphere of daily life. This is the entrepreneur's perspective, as a sign built by the media, that connects with the culture of inspiration. In the scope of this study, entrepreneurship is dealt in a critical perspective, i. e., it is seen in its discursive weaves as a theme to be deconstructed, seen at a distance, discussed through social theories that problematize issues in the world of work, the senses of entrepreneurship and their outcomes in daily life.

"I have seen many interviews and stories about entrepreneurs in media in general". This sentence, agreed by 56% of the interviewees in the research by Endeavor Brasil, titled "entrepreneurial culture in Brazil" (ENDEAVOR, 2014, p. 9), offers clues to understand that entrepreneurship is an omnipresent theme in our time. The "entrepreneurial spirit" became a positive behavior in any professional, when we consider ideal models currently disseminated. Its media presence, as well as its perception as something recurring in daily life, are symptoms of a delimitation problem of what means to endeavor nowadays. As Foucault (2008) says, the entrepreneur is also an entrepreneur of self: beyond the classic of the self-made man, the mythical model of the north American society, the entrepreneur of self is the subject that incorporates the biopolitical callings (PRADO, 2013) in order to transform himself continuously, to be an effective manager of his human capital. A recent example of this perspective of seeing oneself as an enterprise, which implies a process of self-transformation, is the discursive production of Bel Pesce, who became an entrepreneurial celebrity, especially due to her books, combining auto-biography and lessons on how to endeavor in every aspect of life. Her works are identified as inspirational, as defended by Flávio Augusto da Silva, creator of the Geração de Valor Institute (who, among other things, is responsible for a motivational blog, with the goal of inspiring people) in his foreword of Bel Pesce's book, the best seller A Menina do Vale (PESCE, 2015a). Flávio Augusto's texts, titled "Inspiring reality" says:

> Bel's story is not a fiction. It is a real story that can inspire you to lead your own story. The experiences on Silicon Valley described here can be the raw material for building ideas in order to encourage you to move forward with strength, believing even more in your future (SILVA, 2015, p.13-14)

In the quotation above, we identify a series of ideas we discussed so far, The production of narratives with the goal of inspiring, generating a new path in other people's lives, in this case, the Brazilian youth, to be engaged by the model of the Silicon Valley – the Mecca of the most exuberant capitalism of our time, associated to new technologies, the innovative effervescence, the conception of millionaire businesses and merchandises that are so seductive as materializing of ideals of future, summarized to processes of consumption. And, as synthesis, the parallelism between life story and entrepreneurial adventure, as expressed in Bel Pesce's words. "I am aware that there is so much more to learn and that I'll be in this entrepreneurial adventure for years and years ahead" (PESCE, 2015a, p. 25, *highlighted by us*) Bel Pesce's story, beyond her auto-biography, shows the frailties of the narrativization of life, that promotes "common" people to a heroic dimension. The "Girl in the Silicon Valley", who appeared as an entrepreneurial celebrity, occupying spaces in media to tell her success story in Silicon Valley and reinforcing her condition of prodigy – authorized to take on the competent discourse on entrepreneurship and management of human capital – was confronted with the deconstruction of her "achievements" and suffered harsh criticism on social media. The evidence of this shock between the heroic narrative and the facts are registered in the website of news coverage and varieties UOL: Pesce, in 2012, told her story in two interviews made by the website. In 2016, people began to notice inconsistencies in her story, which was corrected by erratum, as we can see in the excerpt:

> The entrepreneur Bel Pesce has two courses on MIT, not five. She graduated in "Business" and "Electrical Engineering and Computer Sciences" (the latter is one course, not two, as previously implied) [...] She wasn't the only nor the main founder of the US company Lemon (app for personal

finances), as it was implied in the text. She was a member of the founding team, which she joined soon after her graduation. (GAMA, 2016).

In her 2015 work, Your best version takes you beyond (PESCE, 2015b), the author shares her techniques to develop a better version of herself every day. In Bel Pesce's words, "Great transformation are completely acceptable if they take you closer to your best and being your best version" (p. 76). Enterprising oneself, in this scenario, presents a form of biopolitical calling, in which body and mind must be capable of management for a better performance, in a continuous form, with no finish line. We are in the territory of the cult to performance, as defined by Ehrenberg (2010) Byung-Chul Han, dialoguing with Foucault's ideas (society of control) and Ehrenberg, problematizes the subject of performance, which

> (...) Is free from the external instance of dominion that obligates him to work or that could explore him. He is the master and sovereign of himself. Therefore, he isn't submissive to nobody or he is only submissive to himself. This is his distinction from the subject of obedience. (BYUNG-CHUL, 2015, p. 29-30).

Let's observe how this biopolitical calling (PRADO, 2013) of the subject of performance is translated into a communicative form of motivational key, in other communication of the blog Geração de Valor with the title "The inspiration is what makes your transpiration worthwhile", the banner has the image of a woman, seen in a plongée, climbing a mountain having as background a valley, representing the risk of falling or failing. However, the woman's facial expression shows a challenge being overcome, a successful climb to the top. The success represented there was identified with resilience, with perseverance – attributes identified in a recurring manner to the paradigmatic image of the entrepreneur, and in which the blog's communication summarizes by the word "transpiration".

The relation between inspiration and transpiration, normally presented in the common sense as the creative process – which, in a last

instance, values the "95% of transpiration", and not the "5% of inspiration", or the hard work in opposition to the creation with artistic outlines – is now reviewed to give emphasis to inspiration as a guide, as illumination to be materialized by the effort of transpiration; without inspiration, the effort would be useless. The image of an athlete climbing a mountain and overcoming risks to get to the summit, is a cliché, an obvious metaphor for high performance, continuous resilience without limits of the subject of performance. This resource of mobilizing what was already said, images and ideas codified in culture works both as reaffirmation of what is naturalized in a given context, gaining an aura of truth, when supported, in communicational terms, in the identification and the familiarity of the audience with that saying, as a rhetorical strategy to produce affections – to, finally, inspire. But what inspiration would be capable of providing the subject of performance. Maybe the model to be promoted and give meaning to inspiration promoted by the banner would be put in the blog itself, when the blog creator, Flávio Augusto, offers his life story as inspiring. The following text is part of the presentation of the podcast about Flávio Augusto's biography: "Largely recognized as one of the most inspiring leaders admired by Brazilian youth, Flávio Augusto da Silva has a well-known life story. His steps, his challenges, his stories. But do you know everything?

Flávio Augusto, through his blog Geração de Valor, projects his life story as a model, as a leader of a generation, an example of success to be followed, the model for the aspiring subjects of high performance. A successful businessman, owner of a language school, Wise Up, his success can only be understood in the paradigm of the capitalist market, through the obtained profit, the significant participation in a competitive market, the results quantified as a form of legitimating the value of his conquests. However, his action through the blog projects him as an inspiring and visionary leader, as someone that could be translated as a narrative of exemplary life, according to the ideas of Buonanno (2011). Not fortuitously, Bel Pesce and Flávio Augusto were identified as exponents of the entrepreneurial culture in Brazil in recent times, due

to their presence in the media, because they became entrepreneurial celebrities, or celebrities entrepreneurs.

Positivity in communicational models based on inspiration

As we previously discussed, inspiration, in the context of entrepreneurial culture, has direct relation with communicational models designed by their agents, in their strategies – what at many times configures the way the business is outlined. The observation of this aspect allows us to problematize some aspects related to entrepreneurship as object of the field of communication, as well as it allows to advance in the understanding of projects of the society at stake in this scene.

The most simple and most frequent model, is what we discussed so far, by the examples of inspirational life stories, the biographic space, which, according to Arfuch (2010), comprises both biographies and auto-biographies, in this research it has as presupposition the production of life as narrative in motivational key. This production, in turn, is inserted in the chain which also includes the circulation and consumption of these messages. In other words, the agents that take on the place of this production establish for themselves the mission of sharing a message, of "spreading the word": both in the case of Bel Pesce and in Flavio Augusto's, it's a type of evangelization, to use a term that is common in events promoted by Google around the world. In his book The Corrosion of Character (2007), Sennett discusses the paradox generated by the context of flexible capitalism, resulting, among other things, in a conflict of narrative production of each subject. As Sennett says, "the problem we face is how to organize our life stories now, in a capitalism that leaves us adrift" (2007, p. 140).

In the previous scenario, of a capitalism that fed the notion of career, of continuity, of a certain stability, as much as it promoted the exploration of workforce in the classic sense (as approached by the Marxist theory), it also offered the worker the possibility of constituting a coherent identity

narrative, built throughout time, which had direct implications with the formation of character: "The term character concentrates especially in the long-term aspect of our emotional experience. (...) Character are the personal traits we value in ourselves, and through which we look for the valorization from others (SENNETT, 2007, p. 10). The corrosion of character corresponds to the fragmentation of the narrative time in the flexible capitalism, adrift from subjects facing the imperative "there is no long-term", the continuous change, the discontinuity and distancing of labor bonds. The difficulties presented through the character Rico, present in Sennet's book, show that the impediments of a satisfactory narrative production, based on strong bonds, produce consequences in the emotional life, especially in the transposition of work ethics on family ethics, or, in a wider manner, on daily life, beyond the professional activity. The search of healing the narrative, the solution to this impasse, seem to result in the act of taking back to their own interiority, to finding in yourself the meaning of coherence. In the field of culture of inspiration, that goes through the incorporation of narrative models to follow, of exemplary life stories to replicate in our lives. Ultimately, this is a process of production and consumption of narratives, which implies the transformation of the consumer to fit into the model of success. At this point, entrepreneurship and the self-help market, in the sense of Illouz (2011), are aligned. The task of enterprising oneself can be triggered by the inspiration generated by other's story, which brings something of coherent, heroic, epic, based in the interior strength superposed to the world's obstacles, whatever they may be, you just have to want it and have faith to overcome obstacles. There is something mystical, both magical and therapeutic, in this communicative process of inspiration, in the spectrum of entrepreneurship of oneself.

According to Gallouj, in the presentation of the Journal of *Inspiration Economy*, edited by *University* of *Bahrain since 2014, inspiration is a complex phenomenon, hard to define, which "describes a particular psychological dynamic, a casual creative breakthrough" (2014, p. 4), among other meanings commonly attributed to the term.* The author

points out that, etymologically, the term is based in the latim "in spiritum", which means "having spirit (in other words, having God) in you" (Gallouj, 2014); this notion corresponds with the understanding of the inspiration on Ancient Greece, where artists were inspired by Muses, daughters of Zeus and Mnemosine.

Gallouj (2014) discusses the relations between artistic and religious tradition of the notion of inspiration, and their uses on the economic sphere. While the first tradition has a transcending nature, the economy of inspiration has a relational, interactional character, in which individual characters, corporative, municipal, regional, national of a given society are articulated in "reciprocal relationships of inspiration" (2014, p. 5). In this sense, "even in a competitive environment, producers inspire each other, consumers inspire the producers and vice-versa" (Gallouj, 2014). This market view on inspiration, however, needs a critical counterpoint, once the competitive relationships promoted by neoliberalism, or even the relationships between producers and consumers, are not so harmonic as in this drawing of an ecosystem of multiple inspirations, from side to side. The relational dimension of inspiration, or the economy of inspiration, according to Gallouj's point of view, corresponds, in our reading, to the design of positive society, critically approached by Byung-Chul Han (2013, p. 11-12):

> Things become transparent when they leave any negative, when they are smooth and plane, when they are inserted without any resistance in the smooth flow of capital, the communication and information. The actions become transparent when they are operational, when they are submitted to processes of calculation, management and control.

In this scenario, the author warns, negativity, the resistance of the other, the strange to these flows, generate the disturbance of the "smooth communication of equals" (Gallouj, 2014). The communication identified with positive society, on the other hand, stabilizes and accelerates the system, eliminating the other, the odd" (Gallouj, 2014). In this aspect, there is a systemic coaction, which promotes a uniformized society.

This is the expression of an entrepreneurial monoculture, the ideal project of the most combative agents of this scene.

The communicational model from Endeavor, a global organization that motivates entrepreneurship and counts with a subsidiary in Brazil, represents its productive system and chains that derive from their activity, in a process synthetized by the sentence: "We believe that the strength of example is the way to multiply entrepreneurs that transform Brazil". In a graphic model that represents their action, their "mission", Endeavor establishes two basic goals: "To inspire and empower current and aspiring entrepreneurs" and "making changes in the entrepreneurial environment", with purposes of building an entrepreneur Brazil – identified by the country map filled with a stylistic and standardized image of men, side by side, associated to the term entrepreneur."To inspire and empower" is a goal resulting from the activity of sharing "stories and practical learnings" from high-impact entrepreneurs, who "exchange knowledge" with mentors at the Endeavor network – the mediators of this practical knowledge that must be replicated to fulfill the mission to inspire and empower new entrepreneurs associated to the world built by the organization. On the other hand, the stimulus to change is based on the "view of those who are in the front line of entrepreneurship"; the adhesion to the entrepreneurial ideology is evident, as well as their hierarchic view, "from top to bottom", in other words, from the leaders of a field, to those successful entrepreneurs aligned with the project of entrepreneurial society led by Endeavor.

Apparently more complex than the model of production of inspirational narratives of individual agents and their desired effects, Endeavor's graphic reinforces this unidirectional model, with the intent to build an entrepreneurial Brazil. Endeavor shares "practical stories and learnings" to inspire and empower entrepreneurs; from the universe of Brazilian entrepreneurs, implicitly produced by their actions, selects and "potentializes" those who will be recognized as "high-impact entrepreneurs" – new inspiring leaders, who will have their stories shared to inspire aspiring entrepreneurs. At the same time, this body of notables, of high-performance subjects, are positioned as mentors in the front line of the action of "making change in the entrepreneurial environment". Therefore,

"inspiring and empowering" on one hand, and "making change" on the other, they are actions with a common goal: to produce an entrepreneurial society, a nation of entrepreneurs that align themselves to flows and logics of the positive society, according to Byung-Chul (2013). The Endeavor network, represented in the image of men in the center of the graphic, configures a hierarchy, based on the centrality of the high-impact entrepreneur − visually demonstrated as a legitimate leader of a "new economy", based on the pragmatic" utopia of the entrepreneurial society.

Final considerations

In the (in)conclusion of this article, we take back three questions raised in the beginning, in order to, even partially, answer them. Regarding the first one (how to understand inspiration as expression of the entrepreneurial culture of our time?), we seek to discuss how the inspiration, in the current context, correspond to communicational strategies that call subjects, as a form of biopolitical calling, so that they continuously transform, being increasingly subjects of performance, effective manager of themselves.

Buonanno (2011), on discussing about the contemporary phenomenon of the profusion of everyday heroes, in other words, the possibility of anyone recognizing themselves and being recognized as such, concludes that in an era where everyone can be heroes, no one effectively is a hero. In our study, we identified that heroes of our time are subjects capable of producing themselves as inspiring narratives. In a world where everyone can be inspiring, there is doubt about who inspire who, who is inspiring and who effectively is inspired. Bel Pesce and Flávio Augusto are examples of this process of production of self as inspiring leader, mobilizer, transforming, among other denominations attributed to these model subjects of entrepreneurial culture. There is a market, which, critically analyzed, has a lot to say about the spirit of time.

About the second question (what is the role of inspiration in the dissemination of the ideology of neoliberalism?), we can affirm that the neoliberal ideology surrounds all the phenomenon of inspiration, in the delimited cut-out of this study. The notion of "cool" capitalism

corresponds to the seductive way which the logics of this ideology are transmitted, as inspiring messages, The logic of competition, the transformation of the subject in enterprising, life as an object of management, business models applied to communicational processes, and mainly, the project of entrepreneurial society materialized in the analyzed examples – all these elements are publicized through the communicational strategy of inspiration. Contemporary capitalism dreams, inspires, mobilizes, transforms – and when it produces profit, we add to it a purpose, which is the key expression of the idealism that redeems the capitalist of their ambition of unlimited reproduction of the capital. The conception of entrepreneurship as social discourse (ANGENOT, 2010) is the translation and update of capitalist precepts to a world of possibilities of open transformation through available technical media, such as digital networks, that live this ambiguous movement of representing the expansion of the system for management of mentalities. Digital platforms, that are support for many discourses analyzed here and many others, have been configured as an important symbolical branch for the diffusion of neoliberal ideals and imperatives.

Finally, we deal with the third question (how does the act of inspiring is shaped to well delimited communicational models, taking part of strategies of agents identified with the field of entrepreneurship?) Through two categories of examples, the individual entrepreneurial agents (Bel Pesce e Flávio Augusto) and the corporative agent (represented by Endeavor Brazil), we discussed how both of their works are based on communicational processes, in which the inspiration is the effect produced by their actions and discourses. Therefore, there is an implied strategy of self-legitimation, of production of their own agent as a leader of a supposedly utopian society, in which he imagines to be the best for everyone's good – the expression of the "common good", the result of efforts and the devotion of "good people".

"Cool" capitalism is the seductive face of a project of positive society where the other, the odd, the one who does not contribute for the accelerated communicational flows, established between equals, without

foreseen noises, must be excluded. The social web based in the network of mutual inspirations, as defended by Galouj (2014), is a reading founded in this positive version of the world. A reading derived from the project of entrepreneurial society, which, despite self-proclaiming a defender of the common good, it seems to be above that abstract ideal the goal of building a world based on one point of view. A monocultural entrepreneurship – which, obviously, excludes from their communicational flows those who do not fit into their models. The idea of cultural diversity, of the democratic principle in the deepest meaning, is absolutely necessary to criticize these projects of society, beyond their "cool", inspiring and motivational nature. Facing the principles of a positive society, the negativism is the critical perspective needed to rethink humanism, in times of an entrepreneurial culture.

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Sobre infância, saúde e gênero: discursos biomédicos na mídia impressa de 1990

On childhood, health and gender: biomedical discourses in the printed media of 1990

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Resumo: *Apresentamos, aqui, a análise das sessões saúde do jornal Zero Hora do ano de 1990 – ano de publicação das leis nº 8.080/90 e nº 13.257/90 –, buscando evidenciar sentidos de Gênero, Saúde e Infância ali veiculados. Utilizamos como instrumentos teórico-metodológicos o Construcionismo Social e as Teorias de Gênero Pós-Estruturalistas, com foco na Análise de Discurso. A partir de eixos temáticos, refletimos sobre as (des)articulações discursivas veiculadas no jornal com os princípios do ECA e do SUS, no intuito de compreender os sentidos dados às temáticas evidenciadas naquele cenário.*

Palavras-chave: *infância; mídia; gênero; saúde; políticas públicas.*

Abstract: *Here, we present, an analysis of the health sessions of the Zero Hora newspaper of the year 1990 – year of publication of laws 8.080/90 and 13.257/90 – seeking what meanings of Gender, Health and Childhood are communicated there. We use as theoretical-methodological instruments the Social Constructionism and post-structural Gender theories, focusing on Discourse Analysis. From thematic axes, we reflect on how the discursive (dis) articulations conveyed in the newspaper with principles of ECA and SUS, with the intention of understanding the meanings of some discussions evidenced by that scenario.*

Keywords: *childhood; media; gender; health; public policies.*

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Introduction and theoretical input

We intend, with this research, to evidence the possible processes of subjectivation involved in the construction of the concepts of childhood, gender and health in 1990, through the analysis of press. One of the most influential media in Modern days, the newspaper still fills a space in the discussions on production of subjectivity and in the way our society is organized and, consequently, produces meanings in everyday life (THOMPSON, 2014; SPINK; SPINK, 2006).

The first steps of investigation consisted in analyzing how the vehiculation of the concepts of gender, health and childhood happened in the health section of the newspaper Zero Hora, in 1990, until the date of publication of Law nº 8.069 (BRASIL, 1990a), July 13th of the same year, regulating the Statute of Children and Teenagers (ECA). In that same year, were approved the Law nº 8.080 and nº 8.142 (BRASIL, 1990b; BRASIL, 1990c), talking about the principles and guidelines of the National Health Service (SUS) and social control. Therefore, we will approach how key concepts were discussed and disseminated for the understanding of these laws, expecting to be approved, with subject views so different from the ones in power at the time.

1990 was an important and contradicting year for the country regarding the publication of public policies and the phase of re-democratization that was in course. That is because the aforementioned laws were approved in a context of adoption of numberless neoliberal state policies. Even with a legislative change for a democratic model, the cosmovision of liberalism ruled not only national practices, but also the subjective view of society as a whole.

Souza (2016) understands that the approval of the Statute of Children and Teenagers and the Organic Laws of Health were only possible due to the process of re-democratization Brazil was experiencing at the time. The restoration of democracy happened in a moment where a small part of the population had much more than half of the means of production; In this scenario, there was a new order of public policies, due to a social economic crisis the country was going through. The high

mortality rate and the AIDS epidemic, which took place in the 1980's, were the result, also, of extreme poverty and lack of attention to health (RODRIGUES, 1992).

In 1988, with the approval of the Citizen Constitution (BRASIL, 1988), different rights were given to citizens, along with the guarantee of democracy and the possibility of people's interference in the legislative power, through many strategies of social control foreseen by the law. In this time period, President Fernando Collor takes over, in 1990, with a neoliberal agenda, which included opening up to the international market, the privatization of state companies and mass dismissal (RODRIGUES, 1992). According to Bueno (2012), facts indicate that some citizen rights, such as the strike, were not respected, even after the approval of a new Constitution.

An example of the difficulties caused by this political contradiction is the fact that, still in 1990, President Collor veto all the articles that dealt with social control, part of the Law that spoke about the participation of the community in management, through Councils of Health. Law n° 8.142 (BRASIL, 1990c) which included these decisions, only was approved in December that same year. For all of these reasons, we understand that 1990 was a landmark regarding public policies, and, because of that, it must be a target of research not only in the field of History, but also other fields willing to search for problematizations experienced in the contemporaneity.

We will also approach here, as well, the problematization of meanings of care and family disseminated in the newspaper, looking to understand how they relate with each other and as research theme. Not forgetting our base documents, ECA and SUS, we will look towards media and try to understand how the crossings of gender fill space in the construction of subjectivity (GUATTARI; ROLNIK, 1996) regarding family and care in childhood.As theoretical background to discuss this subject, we chose Social Constructionism (GERGEN, 2009; IÑIGUEZ, 2002; SPINK, 2013; SPINK, 2013) and Gender Studies in a post-structuralist approach (BUTLER apud SALIH, 2013; LOURO, 2003; STREY;

CADONÁ, 2012). With that world view, we understand that the subject is built in the relationships they stablish and in the way they give meaning to them, being the role of science to investigate in history how certain subjects were invested by different mechanisms of production of subjectivity. Through this epistemological base, we understand the importance of studying the Present Time (PADRÓS, 2004), with the intent of proposing new outlooks on how we give meaning to our relationships and conceptualizations.

As a guide for our research, in order to understand objects of study, we make use of Social Constructionism (GERGEN, 2009; IÑIGUEZ, 2002). This choice came about because we understood that the themes studied here need to be seen as social constructs, originated through a long and dialogic process that involves the relationship of subjects with the world, being marked by times and places. Therefore, this theory gives us support to discuss the production of subjectivity which involves and is a consequence of this construction, having influence on how we live today and how people relate with themselves and with the world.

One of the main authors that write about the construction of childhood, as well as family, is Philippe Ariès. In his researches, he highlights the close bond between this process of discovery of kids with Christianism and art. Through the analysis of medieval paintings, Ariès (1981) portrays the evolution of the representation of childhood. According to Souza (2016), it is essential to go back in history to understand the present, this being also a product of a hierarchized society, not only nationally, but globally.

Until the end of the 13th century, there still wasn't an image that represented childhood. That didn't mean that image was absent at that time, but that it was different to what we know today, because children were closely linked to the adult, being perceived as a miniature of them. There is a slow process until the differentiation of these phases of development, that was postponed by the demographic conditions of the time, where the child mortality rate was extremely high. It is only in the 18th century these conditions start to change. With the adoption of some

contraceptive methods and an improvement of life conditions, the indifference towards childhood began to change into a valorization of that period as something pure. During this process, we can quote the image of angels and baby Jesus as contributions to that notion (ARIÈS, 1981).

In the national scenario of public policies, we must go back to the baby hatch, an inheritance of Colonial Brazil that only ended in 1950. Device that allowed the abandonment of children on nunneries to carry on with their care, the hatch can be considered the first initiative to join public with private, since, through a law, municipalities could only exempt themselves from the obligation of taking care of these children, that were under the responsibility of these institutions (CRUZ; HILLE-SHEIN; GUARESCHI, 2005).

Another important factor to be highlighted is the formulation of the concept of job as being ennobling. Brought with the European migration, the institutionalization of this concept was the beginning of reservation of workforce, which resulted in many children and teenagers in the streets. This movement was considered the cause for a raise in criminality, and, therefore, with a hygienist logic, government directed these youth for Houses of Correction, beginning, thus, the kidnapping of subjectivity of this audience, with the proposition of prevention, aiming to educate them for work. At that moment, it is already possible to understand that existed the creation of two distinct childhoods. The first Code of Minors, from 1927, reinforces that when it makes a distinction between minors in an irregular situation, being characterized as abandoned, delinquent and **addicted**. It is in this time that the term **minor** is adopted as a synonym for childhood. We cannot forget the role the school had as a manufacturer of docile subjectivities in this scenario, since it embodies scientific discourses, such as Psychology, with the goal of measuring, testing and quantifying the students. It is in the period between 1931 and 1934 that it definitely inserts in Brazilian schools, through testing, also helping in this process, fulfilling a role of separating the abled from the disabled, accentuating even more these differences (CRUZ; HILLESHEIN; GUARESCHI, 2005).

According to Guareschi and Hilleshein (2007), it is necessary we understand the image of childhood is, until today, narrated by adults. Since the Latin origin of the word, childhood is related to the absence of language. In the history of building childhood, we can find the idea of child as an incomplete being, which will only be concluded when he/she reaches adult life (SOUZA, 2016). We highlight the contradiction of this thought with the liberal proposal that stimulates meritocracy, and, thus, the idea that the subject is a product of their own efforts from infancy to their economic and social mobility. We remember that, in a society marked by inequality, which do not offer, through the effectuation of public policies, subsidies for that to happen, this belief ends up making the individual responsible for their own failure.

In this sense, we understand that ECA comes as a form of equalizing unequal childhoods. We cannot deny that the Statute has many advances in relation to the social policies previously published, as recognizing children and teenagers as people with rights and replacing the term **minor**, in an attempt of decriminalized the poor childhood. However, it does not impede from being a compensation to resolve the dichotomy Normal Childhood versus Risk Childhood, reinforcing these differences (BRASIL, 1990a; CRUZ; HILLESHEIN; GUARESCHI, 2005).

Instrumentalizing children and teenagers on their own rights is one of the most effective manners of putting the Statute into practice (VIANA, 2016). That is how, through the production of autonomy, that public policies like ECA and SUS found tools to be more functional legislations. We also highlight that, through similar mechanisms to those discussed here, with Modernity another world view was instituted, based on biologicism, where concepts like **healthy** and **sick** had only one definition, and everything outside from it was pathologized and/or prejudiced, remaining in the margins of society;

The concept of gender was also built in a similar context. Had as a synonym of biological gender for a long time, it is understood by us as a process, a development, built by discursive acts, being something we do, and not something we are. The system of absolute truths that transit in

this field of knowledge is a vehicle that oppresses certain groups, which happens with women and LGBT people (lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgenders), among others. Gender identity is not something we are completely free to choose. We can only interpret the current norms of gender, reorganizing them. In other words, we fit in one way or another within the options that are presented to us since we are little. On the other hand, we do not deny the existence of forms of living gender that are subversive, escaping the so-called normalcy (BUTLER 1987; 2008; SALIH, 2012).

Viana (2016 apud FREIRE, 1981, p. 30) highlights, when talking about the emancipation of the subject through education and their influence in building childhood and ECA, that we should not face inequality as a destiny, but a result of an unfair social configuration that generates violence and oppression. The importance of the subject to be aware of the lack of ending and historic determinism of their subjectivity, to be free from the constraints of social conditioning is, therefore, primordial for us to reinvent practices of our daily lives.

Method

The research has a qualitative nature, with a document outlining. In order to perform this, we investigated, in the Health section of the newspaper *Zero Hora* in the year 1990, the meanings of Gender, Health and Childhood disseminated there. All the archive containing these publications is available for the audience at Museu de Comunicação Hipólito Joséda Costa, in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, place where we photographed the pages of the newspaper, which, later on, became the corpus of our investigation.

For the collection, we adopted keywords to help us in the criterion of inclusion of news, chosen from the theoretical background used and what is defended by ECA itself, being: Family, Child, Childhood, Pre--Natal Care, Pregnancy and Baby. The only exception, that does not follow ECA's vocabulary, but was included as a criterion, is the word **Minor,** because, since there already is a familiarization of the researchers

with the materials and this term being widely used when talking about childhood, we understand that the exclusion of this term would entail the loss of important data.

Still, we chose to make the research with the months precedent to the publication of ECA. Therefore, we included the months from January to July 1990. The Health Section of the newspapers are divided into daily news and the column **Live Better,** where a healthcare professional answers questions from the readers. On Sunday, in addition to the health section, there is also the editor's section "Science and Health".

The analysis of the discursive practices for the understanding of everyday meanings given to childhood, family and gender issues in the year 1990 was inspired in authors that articulate the discourse analysis with a constructionist perspective (SPINK, 2013a; SPINK, 2013 b; SPINK et al., 2014; SPINK et al., 2013).

The selection and later analysis of the material was made, firstly, by each one of the five members of the research group, individually. Then, the selections were shared and, then, in a group, selected the 33 texts to be analyzed.

For the analysis of the materials, we created a table taking into consideration the goals that were present in the research project (Table 1). In addition to identification data, as title, date and keyword, we included a space for identification of what type of discourse on gender, health or childhood appeared in the news, which were the (dis)articulations with SUS and ECA and how it approached the relation of care and family.

Table 1 - Instrument for corpus analysis.

Title:			
Date:	Keyword:	Page:	Editor:
What is it about:			
Discourses on gender/health/childhood:			
Articulation with ECA/SUS:			
How it approaches care and Family:			

Source: Made by the authors (2018)

The construction of the instrument of data collection happened based on classic presuppositions of Discourse Analysis, such as **acts of language, discursive practice, enunciator, discursive legitimation, speech acts, meaning and text** (IÑIGUEZ *et al.*, 2004) and in the explanations of authors of Discourse Analysis and Social Constructionism that propose the construction of Dialogic Maps as a form of elaborating the reading of a corpus, through epistemological perspectives of this study (SPINK *et al.*, 2014).

The elaboration of the map is given through an immersion of the researcher in the document analyzed, through previous knowledge in presuppositions of Discourse Analysis, of subject and world views they carry with themselves, through the goals of study and the macropolitical processes that transversalize the material. From that, we build a path for the analysis, which do not have the pretention of being replicated, within an ideal of neutral and objective science. However, the method is build based on scientific knowledge, and the articulation between theory, tools of analysis, reading of the social field, articulated to the material and the discussion among the members of the research group evidencing the seriousness and meticulousness of analysis.

Spink (2013) highlights the necessary care with the research with materials of public dominion, describing the importance of not adopting a linear thought when analyzing a historic context, since the reality is only not made by events and dates, but also by the meaning given to these events by the subject. Everyday life is not something given, something natural in a human's life, but rather something built through meanings. According to Hennigen (2006), the subject gives meaning to their daily lives through discourses, which he uses to know himself and the world. In this process, he takes them as truth, and, when he recognizes himself in them, he (de)constructs the world and himself.

Media is a part of this process, as it is one of the most important outlets of subjectivity production. We also know the world through what we read on the newspaper and watch in soap operas. Despite not being possible a communication with the interlocutor (in the case of press),

the subject reading a newspaper has the possibility of giving meaning to this content in different ways. Because of that, we highlight that we are not passive facing media relations, being always possible a movement of resistance and questioning the truths written in it (THOMPSON, 2014).

Through the construction of tables, we elaborated three thematic axis, based on Spink et al propositions. (2013). Among them, we chose one to be presented in this article. We highlight that, to make easier the reading and understanding the text, we chose a small amount of news and advertisements to be an example of the universe in analysis, being the most representative for discussion and that enabled the articulation among the big picture and the parts analyzed.

(In)visibilities and the biomedical discourse of developmental psychology

Throughout the analyses, we could determine that the 90's decade in the 20th century is marked by the positivist and biologicist discourse, about health practices. The issues discussed in the field of childhood, in its majority, speak about themes related to the human development, which is understandable, since we only analyzed articles related to children. However, we ask, which subjects are emphasized by the authors of these news and by the healthcare professionals that spoke through them? Which meanings on the processes lived by children were brought by these newspapers? Of which children they were talking about?

Firstly, it called our attention that a good part of these news reports talked about early childhood, more specifically, newborns. About the education and health of these children, the discourse on how to take care falls on common dichotomies of biologicism: healthy versus unhealthy, right versus wrong, etc. In an attempt of classifying and framing subjects in discourses and modes of acting, the positivist science ended up creating dichotomies like these, which, throughout the 20th century – and what we already lived in the 21st century – has been excluding subjects

that do not fit into these dichotomies (GERGEN, 2009; BUTLER apud SALIH, 2013).

In the newspapers, the "aid" for families to take care of their children is extremely prescriptive, in other words, it shows a "correct" way and the consequences of not following these prescriptions. In some news reports, it is possible to see the rejection to the new family configurations of the time, such as divorce and distance from the original family.

For example, in one of the news reports, titled "Problematic Children: the way out is the psychiatrist" (ZERO HORA, 1990, p. 23) it is possible to see some of these issues present in the newspaper's discourse, who published the report, and professionals that were interviewed and gave information to the subject. It is a text on the growing number of the demand for children and teen psychiatric service and the cause for that demand.

When describing these phenomena, the newspaper repeatedly uses words such as illness, disorder and issues (ZERO HORA, 1990, p. 23), describing what seems to be the deviation of something that only presents two possibilities: the norm or the pathology. In addition to that, also is made a relation of this raise in demand for psychiatrists with the education and the moment the children were living at the time. The newspaper, through the discourse of professionals invited to speak, criticism to new family configurations and the education that "in the name of freedom is made licentiousness to children" (ZERO HORA, 1990, p. 23). There is, in the middle of the newspaper, a rejection to new forms of living, and an attempt of fitting family to norm, highlighting the consequences in case they choose the contrary. It is worth highlighting that, according to the positivist logic, the newspaper authorizes only a few people to speak on these themes. Within the health area, we observe the prevalence of the pediatrician and the psychiatrist to speak on themes such as the development and the relationship of the children with the parents. Including, some news speaks on events geared towards healthcare professionals with talks led by psychiatrists.

Consequently, by the valorization is given to the scientific discourse (FOUCAULT, 2002), it was praised with their spokesperson, the scientist, the expert (FOUCAULT, 2002), excluding popular knowledge and all the knowledge generated by the community.

We still put here in question the applicability of the principles of ECA in a context where remainders of a hard science still have a bigger status. We believe that the contradiction between the view of childhood found within this axis in question, crystalized and still marked by the discourse of difference, is contrary to what the statute advocate, which thinks in the construction of childhood as a concept under development throughout time (CRUZ; HILLESHEIN; GUARESCHI, 2005).

About the aspects of gender, the binary logic printed in the newspaper is reinforced in the exercise of spreading utterances that deal with parental roles and childcare. Within the family, ZH highlights motherhood and fatherhood through the (re)production and/or demarcation of different roles.

Maternity is extremely valued in the news reports, as it appears in a great extent to analyzed columns. The mother is brought as the main care agent when it comes to childhood and there is a strong emotional appeal involved in the discourse to keep this logic standing. One of the news reports highlights that "pregnancy continues after the birth" (ZERO HORA, 1990, p. 25).

One of the strategies used to sustain this form of understanding and feeling the world published by the newspaper is the use of the biologic discourse. The valorization of breast milk appears as an alternative to link even more the maternity to a labor of love and instinctive protection. Specialists at the time, who were gaining space in the pages of a newspaper, affirmed the benefits not only physical for the child, but they would also sustain that the baby fed by breast milk would not only receive the biological food, but the affection necessary for their development, and that such actions would deepen their connection to their mothers.

All of these issues would make the woman responsible for the childcare, since, in that scenario, the maternal/paternal role were directly

linked to the biologic sex. An example of that is one of the news with the title "Mother and baby should always be together" (ZERO HORA, 1990, p. 25), where they spread the idea that the mother is responsible for the physical and emotional health of a child. The column also talked about the newborn not having autonomy, having needs that only a mother can provide and that their communication is basically linked to her.

Badinter (1985) says that motherhood wasn't always understood and invested the same way, and that, in order to understand it as an invented phenomenon directly linked to the context it was narrated, it is important to recur to History. The practice of breast feeding made by wet nurses, common in previous centuries, is one of the examples that put in question the maternal love as being a biologic characteristic, innate to every mother. The awful health and hygiene conditions that showed an almost non-existent investment on childhood in 16th and 17th century takes us to highlight how concepts like motherhood and childhood have been changing through time.

The column Live Better, where, at times appeared questions to the writer questioning habits of child care, is one of the proofs that there isn't only one maternal attitude, the own newspaper is a registration of that fact.

In fact, there are different forms of expressing care and discourses authorized by science uttered by specialists that want to standardize these different manifestations of maternity. In an attempt of recognizing these different manifestations, science makes a similar movement to what we already discussed with dichotomies, and this form of care are rated in groups, considered "normal" or "risk" (STREY; CADONÁ, 2012).

Within these arguments, one of the images of care in a child's life ends up being erased. Paternity, in the news we had analyzed, was not as present as maternity was. Fathers appear a few times as a parental duo when talking about raising older children, not newborns. In the news reports, the newspaper talks about pregnancy and the care during this period, and, even so, the father role was not highlighted.

Saldanha, Muhlen and Strey (2012) point towards the advances in the contemporary world, with the decline of patriarchy, mainly motivated by feminist movements, have been causing changes of scenery in the modern family landscape. In a different rhythm from motherhood, the concept of fatherhood have also been changing, as well as the role played by a man in society.

Despite these changes, the reference of family found in the newspaper is still about a husband, wife and children, the same that is still predominant in contemporary western societies. Marcondes (2012) discusses how social relationships originated in this model of family arrived from a dichotomic division of gender between the public and private sphere. The private sphere was socially attributed to the woman, which would have the work of taking care of children and the household organization. In the public sphere, the responsibility for maintenance would be delegated to the man, who would exercise authority over the woman, providing for the family and exercising social activities, such as work. This is a model based on gender asymmetry, where the male is dominant over the female, and which left marks in social relationships that we can still see today. The news reports analyzed reflects this disparity of gender relationships based in the difference. To the man, the care for children wasn't attributed, not having an appeal for science to strengthen a feeling of father instinct, since it never was a part of the history of fatherhood. The father appears in some news reports related to older children, already in a school age, when his authority can be claimed in the child's upbringing.

In the case of ECA, around the question of responsibility with the child, we never see the reinforcement that the care should be exclusive for the mother or having any type of gender distinction regarding that (BRASIL, 1990a). However, that does not guarantee that this disparity do not happen in the applicability of the Law. Would it be possible to put into practice the statute with a strong production of subjectivity working in the sense of reinforcing the magnitude of motherhood and the invisibility of fatherhood?

Conclusion

The late 1980's and early 1990's had as characteristic a landmark regarding the approval of public policies. In addition to the Federal Constitution (BRASIL, 1993) and the Federal Laws worked in this article, SUS and ECA, in 1993 the Organic Law of Social Service (BRASIL, 1993) was approved. All these laws have in common a rupture with the previous world and subject views. Our research had the intent of questioning and answering, among other questions, this one: is it possible to put in practice the principles of ECA and SUS in media publications at the time?

We should highlight that the media situation is only a cut-out of the reality lived by the population in 1990, therefore, our analysis does not represent the only truth about the context of that time. It is not our intention to close the discussion, or ended with the analysis materials, but rather open up a reflection for a complex reality that interferes to this day in the way two important public policies are put in practice in our country.

We know, as we discussed before, that the best way of applying policies like ECA and SUS is through the instrumentalization of the audience. It is in the autonomy that these laws acquire strength (VIANA, 2016). In the news reports we analyzed, mainly the ones about the way the State deals with healthcare in childhood, we found an authoritative way of intervening, something completely different from the two laws we studied.

The own emphasis in a biologicist discourse, which authorizes only the medical professional to speak about questions of child development, as an expert, puts in question the principles and guidelines of SUS. We know it advocates a multidisciplinary work, where the own user is considered the biggest connoisseur of what is happening, and, therefore, the information is not given in a prescriptive manner, as we saw in the newspaper.

In relation to gender issues, we could see a disparity about the visibility of maternity and paternity roles. Even though society has evolved, still dichotomized and crystalized, these roles reflect a reality where

mothers are still seen as the main caregiver for their children, while fathers are responsible for providing sustenance for the household.

Guattari and Rolnik (1996) highlight the importance of the analysis of production of subjectivity using the example of when a powerful nation, like the United States of America, wants to establish the possibility of economic expansion in a third world country, it will begin to work in subjectivation processes. We can bring that to the research thinking that for public policies to be implanted successfully, one of the ways of working the production of subjectivity at the time was through press, which, as we saw, was opposite, most of the time, to what the laws were about.

To conclude, we made a reflection on the process of research and its goals, with the feeling it does not need to end here. In the research universe, we often faced barriers and practices that go against our world view, which takes us to feelings of frustration. Unfortunately, many researches end up being made only in paper and do not fulfill their goals, never returning to those who need it: the community.

We believe research must not end on itself. Our results must be incorporated to our practices, debated by professionals of the area and (why not?) used as justifications for good extension projects. For example, one of the ways to take research outside of the university would be to transform it in a community program to discuss with healthcare professionals about the origins of SUS and the repercussions in their current practices. Thus, research fulfills its role as a gamechanger.

"If you can look, see. "If you can see, notice", said José Saramago (1997, p. 9) in Blindness. In other words, we have the tools to change the reality we live in, and now we need to use them with more intelligence. Otherwise, we will continue to see without noticing.

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Da montagem ao collage: found footage, voz-over e filme-ensaio

From montage to collage: found footage, voice-over and essay-film

Rafael de Almeida[1]

Resumo: *Objetiva-se investigar, à luz de Seams (Karim Aïnouz, 1993), como a voz-over, o found footage e o filme-ensaio são colocados em relação, bem como se comportam enquanto práticas criativas autônomas, em obras que reutilizem imagens de arquivo. Partimos da hipótese de que a aproximação entre esses elementos se dá, sobretudo, por meio do procedimento de montagem, encontran-do-se frequentemente conectado com a noção de collage. Pretende-se analisar os procedimentos de montagem do filme, para por fim sinalizar que o collage é o res-ponsável* não apenas por colocar em relação criativa a voz-over, o *found footage* e o filme-ensaio, mas por garantir que esses elementos potencializem seus papéis narrativos diante da construção textual discursiva e crítica, sobre o machismo brasileiro, pretendida pelo curta-metragem.

Palavras-chave: *found footage; voz-over metacrítica; filme-ensaio; collage; Seams (filme).*

Abstract: *The objective is to investigate, in the light of Seams (Karim Aïnouz, 1993), how voice-over, found footage and film-essay are put in relation as well as behave as autonomous creative practices in works that reuse archival footage. Our hypothesis is that the approximation between these elements occurs mainly through the editing procedure, being often connected with the notion of collage. We intend to analyze the editing procedures of the film, to finally signal that the collage is responsible not only for putting in a creative relation the voice-over, the found footage and the film-essay, but for ensuring that these elements enhance*

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their narrative roles before the discursive and critical textual construction, about Brazilian machismo, intended by the short film.

Keywords: *found footage; metacritical voice-over; essay-film; collage; Seams (film).*

Introduction

The reflection proposed here has the interest on the dialogue between voice over, found footage and film-essay as a form of widening our comprehension of the editing procedure in works that are based entirely or partially in archive material. Through *Seams* (Karim Aïnouz, 1993), we intend to investigate the role operated by the editing process by putting these three elements in dialogue.

Seams is a short film-essay which, from a subjective perspective, reflects on the issue of female oppression in a Brazilian context. Conducted by a masculine and analytical voice over, the narrative mixes interviews, with acted sequences and a wide variety of archive footage, making use of the found footage technique. Thus, while the film proposes to perform an affectionate portrait of the director's grandmother and her four sisters, simultaneously brings up a reflection that transcends the universe of the enunciating subject and reaches the social world: the sexism in Brazilian society.

Through this perspective, the research issue we are dedicated to questions, through Seams, how do voice over, found footage and film-essay are put in relationship, as well as behave as autonomous creative practices, in works that reuse archive footage.

We come from the hypothesis that the approximation between these two elements is given, mainly, through the procedure of editing, finding -Itself frequently connected with the notion of collage, "a creative technique that is also a critical method" (WEES, 1993, p. 52, our translation). By being "ruled by the principles of decentralization and dispersion, collage 'is dominated by multiple positions of observation: each fragment is mobile and open to interaction with a multitude of semantic, symbolic, aesthetic contexts" (ELENA, 2009, p. 217, our translation). Through practices coinciding with voice over, found footage and film-essay, archive images seem to obtain a character of fragment which allows its articulation through the editing process understood as collage.

That is because we come from the understanding that the collage can be perceived as a compositive procedure in which the editing "transcends its purely technical dimension of juxtaposition of shots to reach an aesthetic dimension that presupposes an evident urge to emphasize the heterogeneity of the materials used, of making them come in conflict, of establishing between them a dialectic relationship (VAQUERO; LÓPEZ, 2009, p. 26, our translation). In other words, although we recognize that all editing presupposes a certain aesthetic dimension, generally it seeks to make invisible, rather than reinforcing, the connection between shots. Collage, as we will see, will go against that.

Interested in understanding the procedures of editing Seams through those three elements – the reflection around the found footage technique; the discussion around voice over; and the study on form and characteristics of film-essay – we will analyze the work through a formal and analytical investigation of certain sequences of the film, preceded from a decoupage. Through that, we intend to check how editing, understood by the perspective of collage, puts such elements in relation and contributes for the discursive construction of the film. We intend, in a first moment, to reflect on collage as one of the types of editing for found footage films. Then, we seek to perceive the use of voice over as an editing procedure, through the exploration of the concept of metacritical voice. With this background in sight, we will leave for a comprehension of Seams as a film-essay, constituted by verbal commentary and editing understood as collage.

From found footage to collage

Black and white archive images. Scene 1: man leaving the woods. Scene 2: in American shot, a man on his back with a shotgun and a machete on his back. Scene 3: the man shoots an alligator, which falls in the water of a lake in front of him.

Image 1 - Frames from the film Seams

Source: Reproduction.

Scene 4: man poses for the camera with a proud image, crouched, holding the gun with the dead alligator ahead of him. Scene 5: professional old photograph, gathering seven men, all wearing formal attire and mustaches. Scene 6: two men cut a tree trunk with axes.

Image 2 - *Frames* from the film Seams

Source: Reproduction.

Scene 7: man breaks tree stub on the floor with an axe. Scene 8: agile panoramic scene from right to left of a man riding a horse trying to lasso a calf, running in front of him. Scene 9: three men holding guns, one of them shoots an alligator in front of him.

Image 3 - *Frames* from the film Seams

Source: Reproduction.

Scene 10: ceramic jars over a table in fast motion, the flowers are shaking. Scene 11: a two-year-old boy leans in a fence, stands, turns and points towards the camera. Scene 12: Small plane taxing.

Image 4 - *Frames* from the film Seams
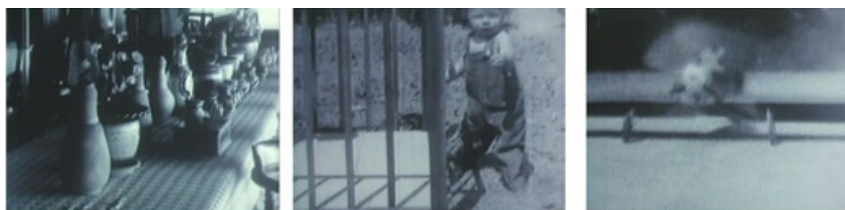
Source: Reproduction.

Scene 13: 10-year-old boy showering naked in a big faucet, on the yard. Scene 14: general shot of a plane taking off.

Image 5 - *Frames* from the film Seams

Source: Reproduction.

Seams makes wide use of the found footage technique, here understood as a procedure that guarantees the performance to use "mass media with their infinite supply of images waiting to be ripped from their context and reinserted in collage films, where they will be recognized as fragments that still carry the marks of their mediatic reality" (WEES, 1993, p. 46, our translation). In this exercise of repossession, the stolen images – those extracted from their original place –, despite not abandoning completely their semantic contexts where they were generated, allow themselves to play other roles and generally gain new meanings. In other words, in a synthetic form, found footage is the name of the cinematographic technique that uses other materials, originally produced with other ends.

William Wees (1993) proposes a distinction between three types of found footage editing: compilation, collage and appropriation. With that, the author suggests that the different methodologies of using the technique of found footage are related with distinct paradigms of artistic practice. Even though the categorization proposed by the author runs the risk of being reductionist, it seems to us like an important starting point for indicating the predominant methodologies in the construction of films made partially or entirely with archive materials. Through Wees, we understand that:

1. With the compilation methodology, found footage would be seeking archive footage with strong factual character, capable of associating to reality and inducing a documentarizing [2]reading as in conventional documentary films, supported by a realistic aesthetic tendency.

2. With the collage methodology, the found footage would manage the archives less by its character of document, rather than for their creative possibilities built by their understanding as image leading to an aesthetic reading, as avant-garde films, supported by a modern aesthetic.

3. With the methodology of appropriation, found footage would handle archive images due to their conditions of simulacrum, to its capability

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2 For more information on modes of reading, we suggest "The issue of the audience: a semiopragmatic approach" by Roger Odin.

of falsely imitate the reality, directing to a simply artistic reading, as in music clips, sustained by a post-modern aesthetic.

Through what we exposed, it becomes evident that the collage is different from traditional editing because it is one of the specific methodologies of editing for films performed through the technique of found footage. Wees defends that the collage methodology "has the best potential to criticize, defy, and possibly subvert the power of the images produced, and distributed, through the corporative media (WEES, 1993, p. 33, our translation).

It is believed that all black and white images from Seams, shot in 1930, are part of the collection of the Ford *Motor Company*, incorporated by the American National Archive in 1963?(MACHADO; BLANK, 2015). The original intention of the images, therefore, was to make an advertisement of Henry Ford and his company in the context of the frustrated project of development in the city of Fordlandia, a company town in Pará, next to the Tapajós river, built to explore the rubber from the rubber tree.

Well, if they are advertisement images linked to the institutional image of a multinational company, in its original context, most of the shots described above would praise the image of the man as an explorer. The virile image of a man capable of exploring inhospitable paths within the woods, dealing with fierce animals and protect himself from them, extract natural resources from trees, handling firearms safely and domesticating field animals. However, Karim seem to make use of the methodology of collage from found footage, which subverts the originally planted meanings and promotes a critical and analytical posture in relation to images and their uses.

Even if we consider the primordial role operated by the voice over at this moment, it is perceptible that, by agglutinating in a dynamic montage, with short shots and straight cuts, visual signs that link the naturalized violence employed by a group of men, the collage brings a criticism to sexism in Brazil. That is reaffirmed when the contrast is generated with shots 11 and 13, in which boys − read as "projects of men"

– try to stand or take care of themselves with freedom in an oppressing environment. The methodology of collage on found footage reaffirms the character of editing as a violent operation, using that in their own favor.

We come from the presupposition that the essence of film has their roots based on fragmentation and heterogeneity. Editing is, therefore, a primordial tool to organize the discontinuity from which cinematographic narratives arise. However, "precisely the tradition of editing consisted in concealing the violence of its own operation, to offer an appearance without crashes in continuity (…)". Editing, little by little, became invisible. "As they developed the codes of traditional editing that work in an opposed sense to collage: we can characterize them in this sense as an intention of dissimulate the surroundings and hide the disparity of elements" (WEIN- RICHTER, 2009, p. 54, our translation) By dissimulating the surroundings of the shots, the violence of the operation of editing is apparently reduced in favor of an acritical and submissive reception on the behalf of the viewer. Collage will take the opposite meaning of this movement.

Therefore, collage films dismount or remount their archive materials, in a way to make difficult a reception of images both as proof of reality (as foreseen by the compilation film[3]) as well as images that do not have any relationship with reality (as foreseen by the film of appropriation[4]). In essay-films that work with collage "there is a constant questioning, or skepticism, about the meaning of archive images" THUR, 2008, p. 171), in general, materialized by an analytical and critical voice over.

3   In the path of Wees (1993), we understand the compilation film as a product performed through the technique of found footage with editing through the methodology of compilation. In other words, what interests the movie of compilation is the research and the order of archive materials with an eminent documental value. In general, historic documentaries that handle an expressive amount of archive materials as discursive proof can be considered compilation movies.

4   Alsothrough Wees (1993), we perceive the film of appropriation as a product made through the technique of found footage, with editing through the methodology of appropriation. In other words, what matters to the film of appropriation is the character of artifice of the image found and rearranged through editing. Normally, music videoclips that use a wide amount of archive material, as sensory images disconnected from its original semantic context, can be understood as appropriation films

Metacritic voice over and collage

Archive images in black and white. Scene 1: a young couple riding in a road with a convertible car. Scene 2: in a closer shot, they look at each other and smile, as the man drives. Scene 3: the sea waves touch the feet of a girl lying next to the sea, resting on her elbows and looking at the camera.

Image 6 - Frames from the film Seams

Source: Reproduction

Scene 4: in a slow panoramic from left to right, the camera reveals women with different ages sitting in the bleachers. One of them holds an umbrella. Scene 5: a man handles what it seems to be an old camera, in medium shot. Scene 6: a group of smiley women look at the camera.

Image 7 – Frames from the film Seams

Source: Reproduction

Scene 7: three women walk, arm in arm, showing their dresses and feathered hats. Scene 8: in a small group, women greet each other by

shaking hands. Scene 9: two women walk by the pool until both of them toss a piece of bread in the water.

Image 8 – Frames from the film Seams

Source: Reproduction

Scene 10: two women dance together in a saloon, holding hands. Scene 11: a girl smiles, taking her hand to her lips and taking it off afterwards. Scene 12: two teenagers, one beside the other, smile and hold flowers.

Image 9 – Frames from the film Seams

Source: Reproduction

Scene 13: two men in a stage. Scene 14: in a general shot, we see a ballet class for girls, while a nun watches them crossing the scene. Scene 15: a few boys having fun sitting in the stairs, while one of them kiss his friend on the cheek.

Image 10 - Frames from the film Seams

Source: Reproduction

In Seams, the archives are used less for their character of historic evidence rather than the capability of generating spaces of reflection and critic involvement in the relationship with the verbal commentary. Archives do not completely abandon their original meanings, but also obtain others in the new arrangement. While we see each one of the sequences shot described above, we see the following narration in voice over:

> In Portuguese, moça means virgin. Menina means girl. Mulher means woman. Coroa means spinster, but it also means crown. Veado means deer, which also means faggot, which also means queer. Sapatão means big shoes, but it also means dyke, which means queer. In the northeast region of Brazil, the word lesbian is almost never used. Puta means whore. It is the worst thing anyone can say to a woman if they want to insult her. If anyone wants to insult a man, they call him a veado, which means faggot. Every girl is afraid to be called a whore (puta). I feared the word veado since I was little. (*Seams*, Karim Aïnouz, 1993)

Therefore, the voice over – understood as an extradiegetic voice belonging to the narrator – is allowed to work in an ironic sense, which also means sarcastic, which also means critic. The narration proposes a game between what's explicit and what's implicit, in a way that it does not necessarily say what they want to mean as a whole. That discursive capacity is the product of careful investigation of meanings permeated both by visual signs, which build something that is socially understood as acceptable masculinities and femininities in archive material, and

by words that have their multiple meanings dissected by the narrator, superposed to the images with the intention of generating collisions that will subvert their original meanings. Therefore, on one hand, we have that the technique of found footage, by incorporating previously filmed material in new works, "critically investigates the history behind the image, discursively incorporated in its story of production, circulation and consumption (ZRYD, 2003, p. 42, our translation). In other words, to Zryd, found footage is a meta-historic form that criticizes the narrative standards behind the story. On the other hand, the use of voice over guarantees to the creator the possibility of "commenting through a critical distancing, analyzing and interpreting visual resources (RASCAROLI, 2009, p. 52, our translation). Thus, the voice over behaves as a privileged channel so that a precise (re)exam of archive images employed is performed.

The scene 15 of the sequence described is followed by the narration: "I feared the word veado since I was little". Considering the source of the images, the original intent of scene 15 was also to make an advertisement of Henry Ford and his company. When we take the scene from its original context and reintegrate it to a new semantic context, through the technique of found footage, Karim impedes us of linking such image to its original advertisement purposes.

Decontextualizing, the scene is similar to a domestic video, where we can imagine a father filming his son surrounded by friends, sitting in the school staircase. The camera influences the kiss between two boys: like a game, as something that cannot be done. as something that would "harm" the image of the one being kissed. When recycling this plan, Karim seems to bring up, therefore, a criticism to the way advertisement images materialize the demonstrations of affection between two boys. *Found footage*. Criticism.

Simultaneously, we hear a young male voice say: "I feared the word veado since I was little". The voice over seems to lean over the picture we have before our eyes to take another look at it -reexamine it, reevaluate it. The conclusion the director gets is shared with us through

verbal commentary. This exercise is evident to the enunciating subject that would not fit any display of affection between two boys, unless it is covered by the logic of the game and the unlikely. Especially if one of them imagined feeling sexually attracted by the same sex, as if it is the case of the subject narrating the film. Metacritic voice over. Criticism of the criticism.

In this context, the performance of a criticism of the criticism – verbal commentary of the voice over examining the visual archives of found footage, which depreciate the discursive standards of mass media – guarantees the conception of metacritic voice over (RASCAROLI, 2009). "This critical distance is frequently similar to this positioning of the filmmaker text, which distances from behind the camera, its creative function, and becomes a Metacritic – of images, of the society that produces it, of their own text and its role in it" (RASCAROLI, 2009, p. 52, our translation).

Thus, the Metacritic voice over analyzes "methodically without method" (ADORNO, 2003, p. 30) the structures of meaning that sustain the visual discourse of archive images of the found footage film. In other words, through Adorno's perspective: on one hand, the essay must challenge the priority of method as essence of thought; on the other, the essay must not give up precise analytical procedures intrinsic to the reading performed along with the object analyzed, allowing it to be fertilized by it.

Therefore, performers, "when they superpose a commentary, they distance themselves from the images and examine them, almost 'finding' and presenting them again, as preexisting objects" (RASCAROLI, 2009, p. 52, our translation). Therefore, the Metacritic voice over is presented to us as a mechanism of editing, essentially. A mechanism that is capable of investigating images through peculiar procedures, which, although they are not supported by a specific method, work with a singular and analytical experience of filmmakers with their own images. Which orient the way critical thinking behaves and materializes through voice.

Seams: collage and film-essay

Archive images in black and white. Scene 1: subjective camera from a cable car approaching the station. Scene 2: subjective camera from a helicopter, in low-angle shot, of a man holding onto his ledge while the helicopter flies. Scene 3: a girl doing a cartwheel.

Image 11 - Frames from the film Seams
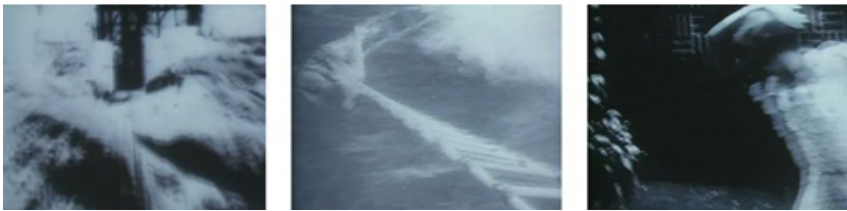
Source: Reproduction

Scene 4: a girl doing the cartwheel (repetition of scene 3). Scene 5: women with long white dresses and hats, running among the bushes towards the camera. Scene 6: the same women jump a fence and run.

Image 12 - Frames from the film Seams
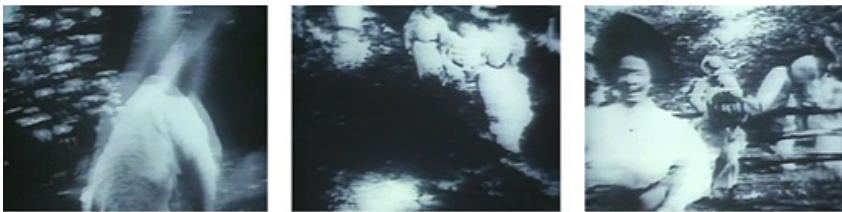
Source: Reproduction

Scene 7: 10-year-old children "playing" in a staircase; one of the boys lifts up the skirt of a girl that tries to stop him and runs, embarrassed; while she runs, she gets slapped in the bum by another boy. Scene 8: subjective camera from a train in movement registers the field ahead.

Scene 9: another scene of subjective camera from a moving train registering the path ahead.

Scene 13 - Frames from the film Seams

Source: Reproduction

Scene 10: 3-year-old boy, dressed as a prince with a cape, gives a kiss to someone off camera; the action repeats itself more than once. Scene 11: two men ballroom dancing together. Scene 12: explosion.

Image 14 - Frames from the film Seams

Source: Reproduction

As we see the scenes described above, we hear:
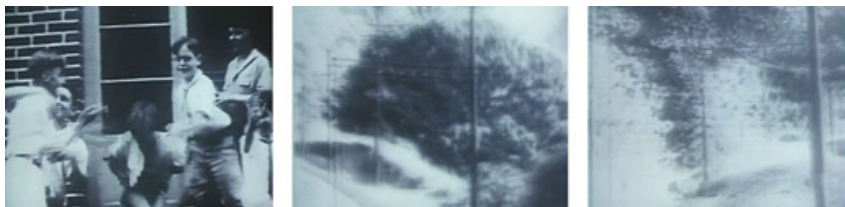
> My nightmare: Zélia looks at me and asks: "You are 26 years old. Don't you have a girlfriend?". First, I lean over, look at her and say: "I can't hear you". When she asks the second time, I answer: "No, I don't. Not exactly!". I also say: "Life is so complicated". (*Seams*, Karim Aïnouz, 1993, our translation).

As a film-essay, Seams fills the "gap understood between subjective speculation and social history" (ARTHUR, 2008, p. 171, our translation).

The short film presents a critical and personal reflection about a set of questions surrounding sexism in Brazilian society. This reflection does not propose to be "anonymous or collective", but original from an authorial discourse, materialized on the Metacritic voice over of the narrating subject, which approaches the issue of the subject not to present an ostensive factual report (the field of traditional documentary), but to offer an openly personal reflection, profound and instigating". Under this perspective, as a film-essay built through collage, "found footage played a decisive role in its development, since it created a visual platform establishing discursive connections between events which may seem disconnected (ARTHUR, 2008, p. 171, our translation)

Karim comes from his own personal universe and the subjective experience of his great-aunts to make a portrait of them and their affectionate relationships, marked by servility and by the abandonment of men that went through their lives. Even though he grew surrounded by women, the environment he lived in was marked by sexism and oppression. In an environment with such characteristics, there is no space for other types of masculinity, other than the man that naturally grows up to be the "alfa-male".

The methodology of collage coming from found footage evidences that, when it contrasts unequal elements, there is no space for boys like the scene 10 of the sequence described: princes, delicate and affectionate, characteristics destined only to girls. Let alone men that dance together, wrapping their arms around the other's waist, like on scene 11. There only seems to have space for those boys that, since childhood, deal with the opposite sex as a submissive body, even if by the logic of "play", as we've seen on scene 7, where the girl is embarrassed. In order to survive an environment like that, the only thing left to the gay man is the denial of his own affection. And the men dance, while the narrator denies: "No, I don't [have a girlfriend]. Not exactly!". However, the desire may be to explode (himself or this universe), as represented by scene 12.

When reaching the essay aesthetic of cinema, through collage and voice over, Seams operates a reflective transit between the open homosexuality of the director, in relation to his family world of affection, and the social world, where there is possibility of identification and dialogue with equally oppressed viewers, in a large spectrum. Through collage, the images of Fordlandia are freed "from the logic of advertisement and industrial capitalism" and "presented through an intimate perspective that has nothing to do with the context of production, and, thus, gain a poetic and political dimension" (MACHADO; BLANK, 2015, p. 89). Through the voice over, the critical reflection gains a body through the possibility of returning to see and examine the images employed, as well as the collisions between the sound and image track, which do not dissimulate the outlines between these sounds and images.

> It is tempting to quote the use of found footage and collage as endemic for the essay, given the great number of films that count with juxtapositions of archive images and verbal commentary in the present. However, if essays are invariably heterogeneous in materials, their segmented relations and sound-image tend to imply collision or dialectic criticism. (ARTHUR, 2003, p. 59, our translation)

The discursive critic of the film essay of collage is supported by the counterposition and contradiction of the heterogeneous materials used and the image-sound disfunction reinforced by the commentary in voice over. When dealing with the relationship between collage and film essay, Vaquero and Lopez point that, in this context, images are treated by their residual character, from which "it is possible to find traces of the uses that are given in the past, put in evidence and questioned through the present". The intention of collage, therefore, is to "remark the edges, show from where the images can proceed, as well as the viewer with new positions that support unheard meanings, relativizing, thus, the function and position of the image in today's society (facing the rule of the dominant discourse)" (VAQUERO; LÓPEZ, 2009, p. 29). If the collage of film-essay allows this recycling of images from past found footage, the

comment in voice over allows essentially the recontextualization and criticism of these images in the present.

Final Considerations

Through the path outlined so far, we think we have evidenced the approximation between voice over, found footage and film essay is given, mainly, through the editing procedure known as collage, in works that recycle archive images. In addition to that, we understand that, as autonomous creative practices: 1) collage can be understood as methodology of editing of the technique of found footage; 2) the Metacritic voiceover performs a criticism of the criticism when it reexamines the recycled archive images; 3) the film-essay of collage supports its critical reflection simultaneously in the contrast of found footage images collected and in the division between sound and image, reinforced by the presence of narration.

Therefore, collage is the responsible not only for putting in creative relation the voice over, found footage and film-essay, but for guaranteeing that these elements potentialize their narrative roles through a discursive and critic textual construction intended by the work, when they contrast archive images in their diversity. Images treated by the film essay through the perspective of a "fragmented aesthetic" (ALMEID, 2017), which understands not only as residual images from another time, marked by the semantic context in which they were created, however, free to criticize their original circumstance of production and consumption and generating new meanings in other contexts.

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As relações entre horror e racismo no filme Corra!

The relation between horror and racism in the movie "Get Out"

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Deivison Moacir Cezar de Campos[2]

Resumo: *O artigo discute como o filme Corra! de Jordan Peele, apresenta experiências sensíveis do horror e do racismo nas sociedades contemporâneas. O conceito de horror é entendido a partir de Eugene Thacker (2011 e 2015), para quem a fruição com o gênero se dá no ato de pensar sobre um mundo impensável, não humano e desconhecido. Considerado o outro na sociedade Ocidental, a condição de ser negro, categoria criada durante o processo de escravização e colonização para a desumanização dos africanos (GILROY, 2007), atende a essa definição do gênero. O ser negro causa horror em quem ignora a condição humana, ao mesmo tempo que é afetado em sua humanidade pelo racismo. O texto promove o encontro de duas pesquisas que investigam as características das possíveis experiências estéticas do horror na contemporaneidade: pensando o fenômeno para além do medo (ACKER, 2018) com a que propõe uma crítica ao racismo estrutural a partir do midiático (CAMPOS, 2018).*

Palavras-chave: *horror; racismo; experiência estética.*

Abstract: *This article discusses how the movie "Get Out", directed by Jordan Peele, introduces sensitive experiences about horror and racism in contemporary societies. The concept of horror is understood through Eugene Thacker, for whom the genre fruition occurs by the act of thinking in an unthinkable world, non-human and unknown. Considered as the other in the Western society, the condition*

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of being black, category created during the slavery and colonization process for the dehumanization of Africans (GILROY, 2007), answers this genre definition. The act of being black provokes horror in whom ignores the human condition, at the same time its affected in their humanity by the racism. This essay promotes the encounter between two researches that investigate the characteristics of aesthetics experiences of horror in contemporaneity: thinking the phenomenon beyond fear (ACKER, 2018) with that one proposes a criticism to structural racism in the media (CAMPOS, 2018).

Keywords*: horror; racism; aesthetics experience.Introduction*

Horror is a genre that circles around diverse niches of mass culture: movies, TV shows and series, games, literature, internet videos, among others. In the audiovisual world, it is a phenomenon that was adapted to new consumption media (CONRICH, 2010) facing the crisis of movie theatres. In the last decade, the production of found footage of horror was intensified, movies simulating documentaries and created with different supports. These productions deepen the discussions about the relationship between technology and horror (ACKER, 2017), although these tensions already occurred in the genre for a long time. Facing a variety of styles and propositions, the critic has been highlighting certain works that, in addition to having expressive numbers in the box office, raised a debate in festivals and awards – Get out is one of them. *Get out, by Jordan Peele, Oscar winner as Best Original Screenplay, in 2018. We do not get in the debate about the attempt of categorization of recent movies, since in the trajectory of the genre it is common the moments of title growth and the repercussion around them* (HUTCHINGS, 2004).

First movie directed by Peele, Get out caused a controversy especially due to the approach on racism in the American society. Ashlee Blackwell highlights that the movie approaches the horror that non-white people feel "in spaces that suggest their colors and cultures to be politely softened in the best of cases, and invalidated in the worst case scenario" (BLACKWELL, 2019, p. 124). However, this is not the only possible reading. The production focuses on, at least, two ways for horror, through the conflicts of the lead character Chris (Daniel Kaluuya), who will meet his girlfriend's Rose (Allison Williams) parents in a weekend and ends up fighting to save his own life.

In this text, the concept of horror is understood through Eugene Thacker (2011 and 2015) to whom the fruition of the genre happens in the fact of confronting an unthinkable, non-human and unknown world. Considered the other in western society, being black, category created during the process of slavery and colonization for dehumanizing African people (GILROY, 2007) attends this definition of the genre. Being black produces horror in those who ignore the human condition, at

the same time it is affected in their humanity by racism. In the North American horror cinema, the black person Is built by the emphasis of difference "marking black people and their culture as the Other" (COLEMAN, 2019, p. 38). Because of that, it is necessary to identify how does Peele is located within this tradition.

The article promotes, therefore, the meeting of two researches that investigate the characteristics of possible aesthetic experiences of horror in contemporaneity: thinking about the phenomenon beyond fear (ACKER, 2018) with the one that proposes a criticism to structural racism through media (CAMPOS, 2018). Such effort is built through the methodology of creating video essays for the analysis of Peele's production.

Notes on being black in American horror movies

Robin R. Means Coleman builds two classifications to think about the relation of horror movies and black people in the United States: horror movies "with black people" and "black horror movies". The first group refers to the productions that include black characters without problematizing social and cultural issues related to race, unlike the second group, which proposes to think about context where black people are inserted into the North American society and how they are treated through difference (COLEMAN, 2019). The researcher presents different productions in different periods of movie history, confirming the perception that these two groups remain despite the transformation in both of them. Analyzing each one of these processes escapes the goals proposed for this article, therefore, we quote examples that helped crystalize certain characteristics of horror and its connection to racism.

Even though it is not a horror movie, The Birth of a Nation (1915), by D. W. Griffith, helped shape the narrative and aesthetic of classic cinema. Even so, the technical appreciation does not minimize the problems the story brings when telling a story of two families during the Civil War. The racist group Ku Klux Klan appears to judge and sentence black people. In fact, the persecuted characters in the movie are played by white actors with blackface painting (COLEMAN, 2019). One of the

characters in the story is accused of an attempt of rape against a white girl, as Coleman highlights. "The movie was made at a time where a mere look of a black man towards a white woman ("rape gaze") resulted in lynching (COLEMAN, 2019, p. 68). This distrust about the relationship between a black man and a white woman is brought back by Peele in Get Out, as we will approach in this text.

The idea of the Other as practically a monster is brought back in many movies – in *King Kong* (1932), for instance, natives are shown as fanatic savages. The lack of control in rituals appears mainly, in productions representing Haitian voodoo. However, this practice is associated by the cinema to the zombie, and, according to Coleman, there's a consistent reason for that. "It was Haiti's impact on whiteness that generated horror" (COLEMAN, 2019, 108), because the Caribbean country abolished slavery in 1794 after the Haitian Revolution, leaded by Toussaint L'Ouverture, a leader that practiced voodoo. Soon, voodoo started being represented in movies as something bad, a way of stigmatizing the Haitian country that defied the colonizer (COLEMAN, 2019).

The zombie monster was used numberless times to think about human relationships with difference, social status and gender, according to what we can identify in the classic by George Romero *Night of the living dead (1968). During a zombie attack, a black man*, Ben (Duane Jones), takes initiative and organizes the defense of a group of people in an abandoned house, however, the lead character has a tragic ending: he is murdered by the town cops that deemed him as a zombie threat. Romero said, numberless times, that he didn't choose Jones for the role because of his race, but the debate is in the movie, encouraging many sequels, making Romero's work an example of "black horror movie", as Coleman comments:

> [...] Ben's presentation was innovative, different and important, only for the novelty of his encounter and treatment by white people. There wasn't any desire for a white woman or submission or hesitation. Still, Night was a pessimistic movie in every level. *Night became a fictional reminder of Norman Mailer's assertive in his 1957 essay* "White Negro, where he

> affirms that: "Any negro that wishes to live needs to live with danger from his very first day, and no experience can be casual to him, no negro can walk in a street with the certainty that no kind of violence will attack him in his walk […]. (COLEMAN, 2019, p. 201)

The construction of the character Ben opened a path in the market for other productions. The 1960's and the 1970's were important for the horror genre as whole and Blaxploitation also had an interest in fear narratives:

> The economic conditions in which black movies were made coined the term "blaxploitation" – a merger between the words black and exploitation – used to defined black movies at the time, horror or otherwise. Blaxploitation describes an era of releases of black movies that were frequently inspired by the Black Power ideology while presenting themes like empowerment, self-sufficiency (not always obtained by legal means) and awareness. (COLEMAN, 2019, p. 207)

In this period, titles like Blacula (1972), Blackenstein (1973), *Abby* (1974), Dr. Black, Mr. Hyde (1976), among others. However, this process of representation did not become continuous in the industry, because in the next decade – 1980's – conservatism advanced in Hollywood and in horror movies, bringing slashers to the North American suburbs. "These white monsters had the particular goal to punish the ones closer to him: White rural/suburban families. White parents were judged for not taking care of their children […]" (COLEMAN, 2019, p. 249). Black characters went through a process of invisibility or they are in the movies only to be victims of these monsters, having their bodies sacrificed in benefit of white people, as occurred with the cook Dick Hallorann (Scatman Crothers) in The Shining (1980) (COLEMAN, 2019).

Get out! Is inserted, therefore, in the context of the relationship between racism and horror, fundamentally due to the problematization of the constant fear felt by black people in a society where others see them as the Other, the threat, in addition to the exploitation of their bodies. We can establish, then, connections between these forms of fear and horror with the theories by Eugene Thacker.

Readings of contemporary horror

Thacker (2011 and 2015) argues that the fruition with horror is given in the act of facing an unthinkable, non-human and unknown world. According to the north American author, "facing this idea is facing an absolute limit to our capacity of properly understanding the world" (THACKER, 2011, 1, our translation). Aesthetic experiences with a post-human, cosmic horror and the absence of stable categories of thought to deal with these phenomena are the focus of Tacker's trilogy Horror of *Philosophy*.

> Maybe genres like horror are interesting not because we can create inge-nious interpretative models for them, but because they lead us to question some of our most basic suppositions about the process of knowledge pro-duction, or about the arrogance of living in a world centered in humanity as we currently live in (THACKER, 2015, 11).

According to this discussion, horror overcomes fear to problematize the battle with the unknown and the awareness of a world without us, as well as the limits of thought (2011). The world for us is the exterior and how we relate to it; while the world in itself simply exists regardless of our existence. In turn, the world without us is the battle with the unk-nown and non-human, an element that is very explored in horror. "As H. P. Lovecraft knowingly said: 'The most ancient and strongest emo-tion in our existence is fear, and the most ancient and strongest type of fear is the fear of the unknown'". (THACKER, 2011, 9) The North American writer is frequently quoted in books as fundamental for the understanding of the phenomenon:

> And us, as human beings, certainly have a collection of ways to relate with the non-human, either through science, technology, politics or re-ligion. But the non-human remains, by definition, a limit: it designates both what we relate and what remains inaccessible to us. That limit is the unknown, and the unknown, as the horror genre reminds us, is, a lot of times, a source of fear or horror.

Lovecraft's universes destabilize these limits between the world we live in and the one that is unknown to us. Such experiences with horror are not new, however, we identify an expansion of narratives that explore sensations that are not always linked to fear or disgust. We perceive a preponderance of vertigo, discomfort, inconveniences that lack outlined and clear characteristics. The audience experiences a swampy narrative terrain, although it not always easy to decode it. The confrontation with the "unthinkable" suggested by Thacker acquire, therefore, a constancy.

Methodologic path

The investigation of the aspects of aesthetic experience with horror in the cinema and the relationships of these with cultural and social phenomena demand methodologic procedures that seek to problematize the hermeneutic tradition: Human Sciences (GUMBRECHT, 2010). Thus, we intend to perform video essays as a support for the film analysis. It is recurring the argument that instruments are built throughout research and that necessity is deepened by the reflections around the sensitive dimension of experience. "[...] Cinema has means of proposing certain aesthetic ideas due to their machinelike processes. It is precisely the relationship of these apparatuses with human creations that strengthen the fruition of the viewer with images in a screen" (ACKER, 2014, p. 5). Therefore, the perception of limitations in a text in description and interpretation of audiovisual is fundamental in researches that face these challenges.

Video essays were expanded in the last few years with the transformations of increasingly accessible technological tools. According to Catherine Grant (2013), video essay is a performative practice of film studies. "They use techniques of reframing, remix, applied in movies and excerpts of moving images" (GRANT, 2013). Through this perspective, we produced two videos, Get out! And the horrors of the sunken place and Get out! and the horrors of racism, which help the analytical study in the crossing of two readings proposed in the film.

Get out! And the horrors of the sunken place

In his trip, the character Chris goes through the first tense moment: he hits a dear in the road and the animal doesn't instantly die. The approximation of the man to the animal (Figura 1) foreshadows a childhood trauma, which the viewer will only know late on.

Image 1 - The accident with the animal leads Chris to the memory of a trauma.

Source: Reproduction of the video essay Get out! And the horrors of the sunken place.

It is precisely in the hypnosis performed by his mother-in-law Missy (Catherine Keener) that we know the dimension of horror that inhabits the memory of the lead character: Chris's mother was hit by a car and died while he was at home watching TV. Missy accuses him of not doing anything and the pain is unbearable for the man, who tries not to remember. At this point of the dialogue, the shot slowly closes in the character's face, which marks the distress and the attempt of escaping the images and actions of the past (Image 2).

Image 2 - Hypnosis activates memories Chris wants to avoid.
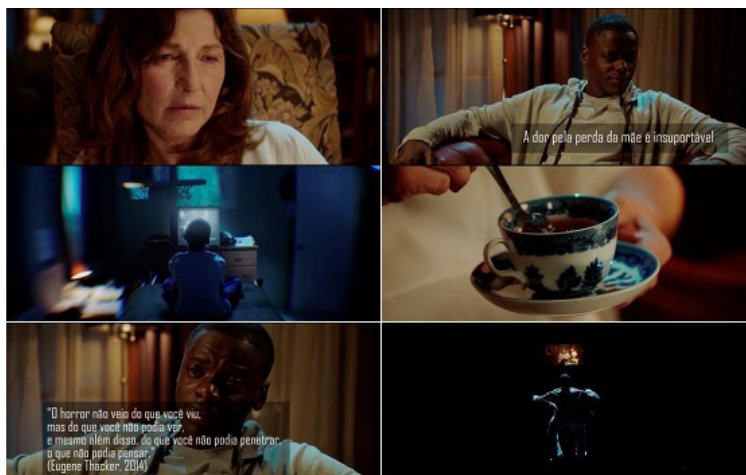
Source: Reproduction of the video essay Get Out! And the horrors of the sunken place

When commenting about the aspects of Lovecraft's work, Thacker argues that "Horror did not come from what you saw, but what you couldn't see, and beyond that, what you couldn't penetrate, what you couldn't think about" (THACKER, 2015, p. 13) This is Chris's attitude towards his mother's death, a pain so deep that escapes thought (Image 2). Ashlee Blackwell (2019) argues that Chris's despair expands because the evil that surrounds him attacks precisely the loss of family stability, his references in the world:

> Because once black people get out of the safety of their homes, families and communities and go to a world filled with racial microaggressions and prejudicial behavior, there is a real and conscious anguish in relation to the loss of identity and extinction. This anguish was incorporated into our DNA through generational trauma (BLACKWELL, 2019, p. 14).

When entering the sunken place ordered by Missy, the character loses all and any stability of thought or actions and falls into an abyss that expands his childhood memories. The rhythm of the image is slower, and the sound works with the ambiance of daydream and fluidity. In the

video essay, we emphasized that through collage and fusion of images of the dear that died by hitting in the beginning of the movie: Chris as defenseless as the agonizing animal in the side of the road (Image 3) motionless in front of Missy, the man struggle in despair in the perpetual void in which they send him.

Image 3 – Fusion of Chris's image with the dear of the beginning of the movie.

Source: Reproduction video essay Get out! And the horrors of the sunken place.

The sunken place imposes a condition of total impotence – as a viewer, the character sees the exterior world as a screen in which it is impossible to interfere. In a certain way, this scene brings back Thacker's philosophical discussion of the experience of a world without us, indifferent to Chris's experience as a human being with life and history. This environment is where he will start existing after giving up his body for the macabre experience of Rose's family – sunken into the unknown, in a type of perpetual nothingness.

When he's captured, Chris is informed of the procedures by the man that will receive his brain, Jim Hudson (Stephen Root): the first step was the hypnosis, the second step was the mental preparation for the transplantation of the most important organ of the human body; and the third step is the surgery. After the change, the young man won't die, but he will live watching what the body is doing without having any control over it, a lifeless existence. In this sequence highlighted in the video

essay, we highlight the construction of a dialogue between Chris and Jim. The shots and reverse shots refer to his childhood trauma again, because the environment helps activate in the lead character the moment where he knew of his mother's death (Images 2 and 4).As the conversation advances, the family's prisoner understands what will happen and has flashes of the people he found and behaved strangely, because they were already submitted to the experience (Image 4).

Image 4 – Chris is informed of what will happen after the surgery.

Source: Reproduction of the video essay Get out! And the horrors of the sunken place.

According to Thacker, a life without being is something common in horror traditions:

> "The infamous question 'What is life? Seem to be always hidden by the question 'What is being?' And even if the whole idea of Life without Being may seem absurd for philosophy... however, as we say, it isn't for horror (THACKER, 2011, 132).

The permanence in the sunken place is precisely the existence of a life without being and Chris will become something similar to a zombie,

horror monster reconfigured different times for the approach of social and political issues in cinema, according to what we discussed in this text. The essence of the man will go to Jim, who wants his talent as a photographer, the eye. The final image of the video essay highlights a fusion between both faces, because, even if in a limited manner, Chris will remain alive, which in the presented circumstances is more frightening than being dead.

The exposure of racism through the horror experience in Get Out!

The movie Get Out! Makes direct reference to the structural principles of Western racialism and the contradictions that arrived in contemporary days. In the movie, the relationship between the Western white logos and the Black African American body, built by racist theories, is updated. Because of that, at the same time black youth are hunted like dear, direct reference to the eugenic perspective of the black infrahumanity, their bodies, re-signified by sports and by the advertisement as superhuman (GILROY, 2007), are fetichized.

> The historic association of blackness with infra humanity, brutality, crime, laziness, excessive and threatening fertility, among others, between undisturbable. But the apparition of a rich visual culture that allows blackness to be beautiful, also feeds a fundamental lack of trust in the power of the body of keeping in place the borders of a racial difference. (GILROY, 2007, p. 42)

The perspective adopted by the screenplay becomes very complex, because it is about a black man, Peele, narrating how white people fetishize black bodies. To solve this dissociation between who is telling and what is told, the author uses satire to approach the subject. However, some critics, mainly Universal Studio, considered the production a comedy, including the category for the Golden Globe nomination. The author refrains that classification, because he considers that "the theme of the movie is not funny (…) I think the problem here is that the movie

subverts the idea of every genre. Call it whatever you want, but the movie is an expression of my own experience, of the experiences of a lot of black people and minorities" (COVRE, 2017).

The unknown world, a brand in some horror movies, is built on different perspectives. The most visible is the possibility of performing a brain transplant. The notion of a double in a body is no strange to the afro-diasporic and African culture, however, that possibility is linked to the Sacred (ANGRAS, 2008). The other unknown world is the possibility of de-racialized relationships. To build the universe of the movie, the screenwriter and director adopts the perspective that white people make an effort to understand black universe and individuals. He projects his imagination into white bodies to show how they think the black body.

The beginning of the work make three mentions to the different forms racism is manifested in history and in everyday relationships. In the first scene, there is a kidnapping of a black man that is walking in a suburban street in the United States – a direct allusion to the hunt for enslaved people in Africa during the colonial period. He is attacked by a masked man, put on a trunk of a vehicle and disappears (Image 5).

Each family member fills a very clear role in the hunting, emptying and transplant of black bodies. In the action of the brothers, Jeremy (Caleb Landry Jones) uses violence and Rose uses seduction to hunt. The mother Missy appears to be a conciliatory and organizing member of the family, however, her real role is to empty this body. The father, Dean (Bradley Whitford), playful and interested in the black culture, has the job of filling that emptied body through a brain transplant.

The dear head exposed in the family house alludes to the valorization of hunting and the use of a carcass as a prize (Image 5). Chris and the animal are put in the same place in two moments of narrative breach. The accident, in which the character remembers the childhood trauma explored for his capture; and when he reacts to the condition of submission to which he was imposed.

Image 5 – Hunt to black bodies.

Source: Reproduction of the video essay Get out! And the horrors of racism.

In the scene where Chris and Rose pack their bags for the trip, they have a discussion about the acceptance of her family of their interracial relationship (Image 6). The young man is concerned about how he is going to be received by the girlfriend's family. According to Fanon (2008, p. 75), "Historically, we know that the black man accused of having slept with a white woman would be castrated", on the other hand, it has a relation with dominion of the oppressor. In the United States, interracial couples remain a taboo, because they break the separatist multicultural logic of the north American society – unlike Brazil, for example, where interracial relationships were normalized as a form of social whitening. As we already discussed, this aspect of racism is in classic movies such as The Birth of a Nation and King Kong. The debate is in the movie, especially in the perspective of objectification of the black body attending the desire of the character – her relationship with the people she captures is only sexual, according to the demand of white people for transplant.

Image 6 – The invitation to visit Rose's parents provokes a debate on interracial couples in the United States.

Source: Video essay Get Out! And the horrors of Racism

The third sequence, already in the trip to Rose's parent's house, shows a police approach. In addition to the accident with the dear having awaken Chris's memory about the accident that caused his mother's death, it also points towards another act of everyday racism; The policeman asks information about the accident to the woman, but he asks for the black man's documents, even though he wasn't driving the car. The girlfriend reacts with anger, which provokes a tension with the policeman (Image 7). The scene makes reference to the elevated number of deaths, the imprisonment and violence against black people, which had caused protests, often violent, throughout the north American territory.

Image 7 - Rose confronts the policeman after he asked for Chris's documents even though he wasn't driving.
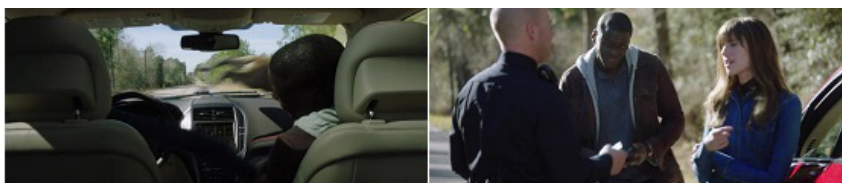
Source Video essay Get out! And the horrors of racism.

These three excerpts insert production in the debate on racism in a teleological way are the highlights of the second video essay: The first sequence has a direct relationship to slavery and maintenance of the infra human condition of black people; the second sequence reflects

on how this imaginary was consolidated in the form of structural racism and their consequences in personal relationships; and, lastly, how these stereotypes – infra-humanity, sexualization and marginality – are socially controlled. In conjunction, the excerpts analyzed produce another narrative layer that exposes the historic condition of black people in the United States but deals with a common background in every African diaspora.

The omnipresence of the dear is another element to be observed. The animal appears in the trip and causes the accident – Chris watches him agonize, bringing back, as referred, to the memory of his mother accident where she suffered the whole night before dying (Image 1). In a connection with the racist perspective of Black infra humanity, this aspect reappears in a dialogue from Dean Armitage, the father, when he says: "I don't like dear. They mate like rats. I don't like them".

The presence of the animal arrives again when the lead character is already arrested in the basement, being prepared for the transplant surgery. It is the head of a deer exposed as a trophy. In that moment, both are hunts and kept as present trophies, but relegated to absence. Ironically, the father will be killed by both of them. Another relationship between hunting and black people are established with the head exposed in the basement wall and the set of photographs of black men that Rose keeps in a wall above her bed.

The family contact with black people refers to a theme that has increasingly more attention of the movements, which is the valorization of black culture without the presence of black people, after all, as Rose says, "they are very white". Nowadays, that can be seen in the arrival of rock to the musical market, for example. In the Brazilian culture, such fact has been happening in music and more traditional manifestation, such as capoeira, religion and carnaval. In the movie, black bodies are desired since the mind, or the existence that inhabits that body, is not there.

The specific uses of the black body (SANSONE, 2007) acquired their own brands, distinguishing them, equally, from most cultural identities.

The body techniques refer, according to Mauss (1974, p. 211), on how individuals, mediated by culture, use their bodies. Therefore, it proposes the social nature of techniques, mainly, by being learned through imitation, putting prestige to the individual that "makes the act ordered, authorized and proven" (p. 215). The body is transformed into an instrument and the technique is a traditional and effective act, because it depends on tradition to have a transmission. Appropriating this instrument is the desire of white people in the movie.

The body, therefore, is in the center of every discussion about the place of the black person in contemporary societies proposed by Peele. In the first encounter with Jeremy, he questions Chris about sports, such as MMA, and says that "with his posture and genetic map, if he really trained, he would be a beast". In a similar way, the housekeeper Walter (Marcus Henderson) spends his days on physical activities, such as cutting grass and wood, and at night he runs at the garden (Image 8).

Image 8 – Fetishism and the desire for the black body.

Fonte: Reprodução ensaio audiovisual *Corra! e os horrores do racismo.*

Running makes a direct reference to racial issues. In addition to the well-known prevalence of black people in athleticism In a research performed during the 1940's by Fanon (2008), in which white interviewees would comment randomly a set of up to 40 proposed words. When referring to "black", the word was related to "biologic, sex, strong, sportsman, powerful, boxer, Joe Louis, Jesse Owens, Senegalese soldiers, wild, animal, devil, sin. The expression Senegalese infantry evokes the qualifiers: terrible, bloody, solid, strong". (FANON, 2008, p. 144).

That perspective, however, is prior. According to Gilroy (2007, p. 41), the "biologic cycle", according to Fanon's terms reflecting on the iconic stardom of Joe Louis and Jesse Owens, begins with a mythical image of the Black man: incredibly agile and athletic (GILROY, 2007, p. 41). That admiration makes them renounce "the most modern techniques of organization of the relationship between body and soul in the joyful reduction of the black body to its natural superiority, physical, biochemically programmed" (p. 305).

The cult to the visitor's body appears in a direct form during the event promoted by the family. Chris is presented to many of the couples that want him for transplant, each one with their own interests. One of the couples, the Gordons, are interested if the man plays golf, referring that they know Tiger Woods – black golfer champion. The couple Nelson and Lisa is interested if black sexuality is really better; while the Dray's understand that the whites were already privileged before, but now "black is in".

The comments are linked to known racist stereotypes: athletic body, sexualized and, finally, a body gifted with quality: the desire for inhabiting it goes through its acquisition, just like in the slavery period. The auction is performed as if it were a family Bingo session. However, no one speaks and the one who offers more will receive the subject as object. In Chris's case, the winner wanted his eyes. The photographer, initially pacific and submissive to his girlfriend's desires, needs to change into the beast, referred by Jeremy in the family gathering.

The character Rod (Lil Rel Howery), Chris's friend, builds another narrative layer, making criticism and a counterpoint to the story, creating a point of view around the black perspective. Rod perceives what is happening even without really knowing what it is about. In one of his first apparitions, he reminds his friend about one of his rules: "Don't go to a white girl's parents house" He is the image that makes the unknown world believable. When the photographer tells he became the center of attention at the party and that he was hypnotized, Rod warns him: "They

could make you do any type of shit. Bark like a dog, fly around like a pigeon. I don't know if you know, white people love to have sex slaves".

Despite making a sexual reading of the consequences of the trance, Rod understands something weird is happening. "I'm just connecting the dots. I'm accepting what you're telling me. I think the mother set everybody up in a trance and is fucking with everybody". He accepts the weird aspect of the story so much that he goes to the police. The unbelievable world, which to him is real, becomes a joke to the interlocutors. The character is Peele's alter ego, warning about the dangers of trusting white people you don't know in the context of structural racism where we live. This layer, even though it isn't the most apparent narrative layer in the movie, is the one who carries the director's proposition, because it shows the horror in racial relationships in contemporary societies.

The closure of the story, with Chris being saved by Rod, makes a nod to the ending of Night of the living dead (1968), by George Romero. In the 1960's classic, the black character, the only survivor of the zombie attack, ends up assassinated by the police. Rose, in agony, tries to use the racist mechanism of accusing the boyfriend when she sees the police coming. However, the car approaching is his friend's car. Peele signals, thus, that things are a little different for African American people now in comparison to 50 years ago. The reference to the character Ben is an homage to the legacy of this movie and what it represents for "Black horror cinema".

Final Considerations

The aesthetic experiences proposed by the movie Get Out are in the different narrative layers presented by the movie. Using marks of the horror genre, the director Jordan Peele raises questions that affect the everyday life of black people in the United States, but in a general way in contemporary societies. With that, the movie gains depth and, from a proposal of allocation, produces recognition for afro Americans – even in a supposed unbelievable context.

Eugene Thacker's theories are an important theoretical reference for the understanding and sensible analysis of a genre that increasingly raises reflections around the unknown and tensions multiple forms of strangeness, and discomfort. The movie Get Out! Offers, through these narrative layers, different readings.

This text presents, therefore, two moments of observation that are complementary. The first exposes the connection of the work with aspects of the unknown and the unthinkable, through Thacker (2011 and 2015). In the second one, there is further development around the racial context that Peele's work problematizes.Such discussions show the place of horror in contemporary cinema and how gender has been reinventing itself throughout the years, despite the market mishaps and technologic transformations. Therefore, the need for research around the aesthetic is expanded and shows how much cinema studies need to face genres in all their complexity. A movie like Get out! Exaggerates the need for analysis on social, cultural and political implications of horror and the way this genre contributes for the reflection and the combat to racism in today's society.

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