COMUNICAÇÃO MÍDIA E CONSUMO

e-ISSN 1983-7070

Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação e Práticas de Consumo da ESPM

CATALOGAÇÃO NA FONTE

Comunicação, Mídia e Consumo / Escola Superior de Propaganda e Marketing, Ano 1, v. 1, n. 1 (maio 2004) – São Paulo: ESPM, 2020 –

Ano 17, v. 17, n. 49 (mai./ago. 2020)
Quadrimestral
ISSN 1983-7070 online
Acesso em: http://revistacmc.espm.br

1. Comunicação – Periódico. 2. Mídia. 3. Consumo. I. Escola Superior de Propaganda e Marketing. II. Programa de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação e Práticas de Consumo.

CDU – 659.1

ESPM
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Comunicação, mídia e consumo

Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação e Práticas de Consumo da ESPM, São Paulo

Publicação quadrimestral
ano 17 • volume 17 • número 49• mai/ago. 2020
versão eletrônica da revista disponível em:
http://revistacmc.espm.br

Indexadores e Diretórios: Revcom, Latindex, IBICT/Seer, Sumarios.org, LivRe, EBSCO, Univerciência, DOAJ (Directory of Open Access Journals), GALE-CENGAGE Learning, Portal de Periódicos da Capes, Diadorim, Scopus

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Publicação quadrimestral do Programa de Pós-graduação da ESPM

DOI 10.18568/cmc.v17i49.2406

FOREWORD

According to Maria Aparecida Baccega, "the concept of consumption necessarily presupposes, as the other face, the concept of citizenship". This is because consumption is one of the social and cultural practices that give meaning to the sense of belonging of the subject and "enable their participation in multiple territories, allowing them to outline their identities"[1]. The present issue of the magazine brings a series of articles that reflect about the facets of this inter-relationship between communication, theoretical approaches and methodological perspectives.

In "*La presencia de las voces gitanas en los medios de comunicación españoles*", Gabriela Marques Gonçalves discusses how the absence of voices of certain social groups in a public space can harm the effectivity of a full democracy, considering the participation of minorities in a public sphere through communication. In order to do that, the author makes a study on the participation of the media in the Roma population and the challenges of representativity imposed to marginalized groups. In turn, Daniel J. G. Montemayor and Xunaxhi M. P. Rasgado investigate the consumption of information about politics amongst young people, through a comparative study of the 2015 and 2018 election in Mexico. The authors question the loss of credibility of mainstream news

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

outlets in different contexts and their correlations with the democratic establishment.

Still about media representation on specific social groups and their connection with consumption and citizenship, Ariane Diniz Holzbach, Joana D'Arc de Nantes and Gabriel Ferreirinho bring, in "There is enough space for children on television! The presence of children shows in worldwide broadcast TV", a reflection about the space filled by children programs in broadcast TV, considering the role of program schedules within the structure of television content. To do so, the authors have mapped the schedule of 16 countries and 30 channels, looking for specificities of these schedules in dialogue with global contexts. In "Content analysis of journalistic event "Casais de O Boticário"", José Antônio Ferreira Cirino and Elton Antunes also analyze the duo consumption-citizenship through news around an advertisement piece released in 2015, which had as lead characters homosexual couples giving each other gifts on Valentine's day. In the article, the authors show how elements, such as consumption, citizenship, religion and politics surrounded the coverage of the theme.

In the current issue, it is also possible to find analyses on wider communicational processes and their inter-relationship with consumption practices. In "Affective market in Japan: a study on Gatebox and loving relationships with characters", Beatriz Aoki e Christine Greiner reflect about consumption experiences which enable to the consumer the experience of living with their favorite characters. According to the authors, such practices reveal trans-dimensional affectionate relations between human beings and characters, as well as other forms of interaction that emerge of this context. The diversity of forms of consumption of entertainment is also analyzed by Carlos Sobrinho and Anderson Santos in " From sports journalism to infotainment: the case of the contract between Neymar Jr. and Globo as a paradigm". Through the presuppositions of Political Economy of Communication, the authors observe changes in Grupo Globo's sports journalism, especially through the dislocation of journalistic issues towards entertainment. To do so, they use as case study the contract with Neymar Jr., between 2014 and 2015.

The correlation between processes of citizenship and consumption through social elements is also analyzed in " Control and enhancement of freedom of expression in the world of work". In the article, Fernando Pachi Filho and Valéria Moura present the results of a research performed with workers of seven organizations, with the goal of identifying how freedom of expression is signified and experienced in the workplace. The authors observe that, even though freedom of speech is recognized and valued by the interviewees, there are boundaries inserted into contexts where workers have a low margin to exercise those values. Finally, in "Mimetic isomorphism in Brazilian cinema: the US governance model and the frustration of the national film industry", the focus is given to national cinema through the examination of attempts of industrialization of Brazilian cinematography in the 20s and 60s. Debora Taño e Ana Lúcia Torkomian identify practices of legitimation of national cinema in relation to a model of production institutionally mimicked with the classical Hollywood model.

We wish you all a delightful reading.

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

Sumário

Artigos

COMUN. MÍDIA CONSUMO, SÃO PAULO, V. 17, N. 49, P. 203-221, MAI./AGO. 2020
DOI 10.18568/CMC.V17I49.2302

La presencia de las voces gitanas en los medios de comunicación españoles[1]

The Romani voices' presence in Spanish media

Gabriela Marques Gonçalves[2]

Resumen: *Este trabajo objetiva debatir cómo la ausencia de las voces de determinados grupos sociales en el espacio público pueden perjudicar la efectividad de una democracia social plena, pensando la participación de las minorías en la esfera pública desde la comunicación. El trabajo de campo se basa en 20 entrevistas semi-estructuradas realizadas entre 2017 y 2019 en Barcelona (Cataluña) con la población gitana, la minoría étnica con más presencia en Europa. Abordaremos los productos mediáticos producidos sobre este colectivo, su participación en los media y los retos que ellos plantean en este área.*

Palabras Clave: *democracia; población gitana; espacio público; medios de comunicación; representación.*

Abstract: *This work aims to debate how the absence of some social groups' voices in the public space can prejudice the effectiveness of a broad social democracy. This work thinks about the minorities' participation in the public sphere since the communication field. The fieldwork is based on 20 semi-structured interviews realized between 2017 and 2019 in Barcelona (Catalonia) with the Romani population, the most present ethnical minority in Europe. We will discuss the media contents produced about this group, their participation in media and the challenges raised by them in this area.*

Keywords: *democracy; romani population; public space; media; representation.*

1 Este trabajo forma parte de una investigación realizada gracias a la beca de investigación doctoral de CAPES-MEC (Brasil).

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Introducción

Las teorías del espacio público están íntimamente relacionadas a las diferentes visiones sobre la democracia y su consolidación. Con el desarrollo de los medios de comunicación de masas, este espacio se ha vuelto más complejo, ganando diferentes modos de mediación y haciendo de los media actores importantes en la realización de los debates democráticos. Sin embargo, los sujetos sociales, cuyos discursos acceden a este espacio, son, comúnmente, los que detentan un saber validado por aquellos que tienen poder (CHAUÍ, 1986). Hay así una reducción del espacio democrático para algunas voces legitimadas y legitimadoras de lo que se entiende ser la vida en sociedad. Cuanto más reducido es el acceso a la producción de discursos en esta arena democrática, menos espacio hay para la diferencia. Desde las discusiones teóricas sobre la democracia deliberativa, Silveirinha (2005) trae al debate la propuesta de Young de pensar la democracia comunicativa.

Así, en esta presentación proponemos debatir cómo los sujetos autorizados son legitimados en el modelo de la democracia deliberativa, favoreciéndose aún más del contexto de los medios de comunicación de masas en lo que dice respeto a la formación de la opinión pública. Esta competencia del saber favorece a los grupos dominantes como las élites económicas y la élite política, dificultando el acceso a los grupos minoritarios a este espacio. Además de esto, el desarrollo de las tecnologías digitales no se muestra como solución para la diversificación de voces en estos espacios de deliberación. Como destaca Sodré (2002, p. 12-13), las nuevas tecnologías de la información conservan las “viejas estructuras de poder”, aunque pueda al mismo tiempo acelerar lo que se entiende por democratización en los parámetros neoliberales. Todo ello nos hace preguntar cómo es posible garantizar la efectiva pluralidad de narrativas en el espacio público.

Centrando el debate en el contexto español, traeremos a la reflexión la realidad de la población gitana[3] acerca del espacio que dispone en la

3 El contexto socio-histórico de la población gitana de España puede ser encontrado en otros trabajos del/de la autor/a.

creación de las narrativas en los medios de comunicación. Este colectivo es la minoría étnica más numerosa de Europa y llegó al que hoy se reconoce como el territorio español a inicios del siglo XV. Desde su llegada, la población gitana ha sufrido persecuciones racistas sistematizadas por decretos reales y leyes que culminaron ya en el período democrático en la marginación socio-económica de gran parte del grupo, además del ocultamiento de su historia y de su cultura.

Intentando contribuir a los debates sobre esta invisibilización y buscando sacar a la luz los discursos de la población gitana, para el análisis aquí propuesto, recogeremos sus opiniones sobre cómo debe ser la presencia de este colectivo en los media españoles. Las experiencias nos muestran la dificultad en enumerar contenidos producidos por gitanos en los medios de comunicación y los desafíos del movimiento asociativo gitano en lo que se refiere a este campo. La muestra está compuesta por 20 sujetos mayores de 18 años residentes en la provincia de Barcelona, en Cataluña. La mitad trabaja en asociaciones o entidades gitanas y su nivel de escolarización va desde la primaria hasta el post grado. Son 10 hombres y 10 mujeres quienes componen el grupo de entrevistados cuyos discursos son analizados para este artículo.

Democracia y espacio público

Silveirinha (2005) describe la democracia como "una forma de lidiar con los desacuerdos entre ciudadanos que comparten una sola sociedad, pero no una sola cultura" (p. 41). El abandono del macrosujeto histórico hizo que las minorías conquistaran un nuevo espacio en la democracia al reivindicar políticas relacionadas a la diferencia y a su representación. Así, nación y clase pasan a dividir lugar con cuestiones relacionadas con género, raza, etnicidad y sexualidad. Para la autora, ello constituyó el surgimiento de nuevos retos para los modelos democráticos vigentes, no sólo en relación al fin de la marginación de los grupos minoritarios, sino también a la promoción de la inclusión de las diferencias.

Silveirinha (2005) apunta tres tipos de democracia: la representativa liberal, la radical y la deliberativa, siendo esta última, según la autora, la más abierta a las cuestiones de los grupos minoritarios ya que la deliberación "es un proceso argumentativo en torno a las cuestiones relevantes y de reflexión sobre las alternativas disponibles" (p. 42-43). Según la autora, el diálogo posibilita la reflexión colectiva para llegar a un consenso sobre las reivindicaciones en cuestión. En la democracia deliberativa, la participación del ciudadano no se restringe a las elecciones, sino que se extiende al debate público en el intercambio de argumentos sobre diferentes cuestiones comunes a la vida en sociedad. Así, desde esta perspectiva, es necesario que haya un mayor alcance en relación a los actores que pueden efectivamente participar de la actividad política, es decir en las deliberaciones colectivas. En este proceso, la comunicación juega un rol importante ya que puede facilitar o impedir la toma de decisión.

Acabar con la marginación y promover la inclusión de las diferencias significa posibilitar "el acceso a las formas de participación en la vida colectiva" (SILVEIRINHA, 2005, p. 41-42) de forma horizontal a los diferentes grupos sociales, es decir, la participación dialógica activa en las discusiones públicas destinadas a deliberar decisiones. Esta perspectiva de democracia se apoya, entre otras, en las teorías del espacio público y de la comunicación de Habermas. Para este autor, desde la lectura de Silveirinha (2005), el espacio público incluye no sólo "los procesos políticos formalmente institucionalizados de opinión política y formación de la voluntad" (p. 49) sino también la esfera pública informal. Ello debe garantizar la equidad comunicativa para que haya de hecho una argumentación púbica dialógica entre los diferentes sujetos políticos.

La equidad comunicativa

La equidad comunicativa se posiciona como un elemento importante de la democracia deliberativa porque el foco no solo lo centra en el proceso de decisión sino que también incluye el proceso argumentativo que va a resultar en la decisión (SILVEIRINHA, 2005). Por ello, es necesario garantizar la participación igualitaria de los diferentes sujetos en los espacios de argumentación, lo que es imposibilitado constantemente por la concentración de poder (jurídico, político, económico y mediático), cuyas relaciones distorsionan la deliberación, lo que empuja a las minorías hacia los márgenes del debate público.

Esta marginación se debe también, según Silveirinha (2005), por un lado, a la resistencia de determinados sujetos miembros de grupos minoritarios a participar de los debates y, por otro, al desprecio hacia sus medios discursivos desde los grupos de poder, habiendo así una desigual capacidad en la participación en los espacios de argumentación. Ello da como resultado que el debate público siempre esté aliñado por la cultura dominante.

La resistencia a la participación y el desprecio a determinados discursos son resultado, por un lado, de lo que Chauí (2011, p. 19) llama el "discurso competente", reforzado por la idea de la "sociedad del conocimiento":

> El discurso competente se confunde con el lenguaje institucionalmente permitido o autorizado, es decir, con un discurso en el que los interlocutores ya han sido previamente reconocidos como teniendo el derecho de hablar y oír, en el que los lugares y las circunstancias ya han sido predeterminadas para que sea permitido hablar y oír y, al fin, en el que el contenido y la forma ya han sido autorizados según los cánones de la esfera de su propia competencia (CHAUÍ, 2011, p. 19).

Este discurso competente es parte de una jerarquía organizacional que rige la vida en sociedad y que es reforzada constantemente por la figura del experto, aquél que ostenta el conocimiento sobre determinados asuntos. Según Chauí (2011), aquellos que no interiorizan las reglas de consolidación de este discurso pueden verse a si mismos como incompetentes y asociales. Así, la producción del saber no pertenece a todos, no es cosa pública, lo que imposibilita la participación igualitaria en los espacios de argumentación colectiva.

Para superar esta desigualdad, Silveirinha (2005) apunta la importancia de mirar la diferencia como recurso de comprensión del otro. Pero añadimos aquí, además, la necesidad de tener una consciencia histórica de los procesos de opresión y colonización que resultaron en esta desigualdad y, por lo tanto, en las necesidades específicas y particulares de determinados sujetos en el presente. Los privilegios históricos de determinados grupos sociales deben ser puestos sobre la mesa a la hora de la toma de decisiones. Ello porque hay "el refuerzo de la injusticia por la universalización de las normas de los grupos dominantes con base en políticas de distribución que son ciegas a la diferencia" (SILVEIRINHA, 2005, p. 54).

La grande crítica que la autora apunta sobre la democracia deliberativa basada en las ideas de Habermas es que se trata de "una concepción de democracia que privilegia una cultura de argumentación racional, una forma de discurso que no admite diferencia al habar y escuchar" (SILVEIRINHA, 2005, p. 55). Para superar esto, es necesario "incluir la representación y la participación directa de los grupos sociales en desventaja (…) (contrariando) el estatuto dominante y las jerarquías culturales" (SILVEIRINHA, 2005, p. 55-56). Como esta argumentación racional no está distribuída uniformemente entre todos los sujetos sociales, hace falta diversificar las formas de comunicación aceptadas en los espacios de deliberación.

Así, Young (1996 *apud* Silveirinha, 2005) propone la idea de democracia comunicativa en lugar de democracia deliberativa. En ella, la acción comunicativa resulta en la "reciprocidad asimétrica entre los sujetos" (YOUNG, 2000, *apud* SILVEIRINHA, 2005, p. 57), ya que se considera sus diferencias culturales y sus perspectivas sociales.

Los medios de comunicación en la democracia

El rol de los medios de comunicación de masas en la democracia es visto de diferentes maneras por los teóricos. Desde la perspectiva liberal, por ejemplo, la función de los medios es limitar el poder de los gobiernos y de las instituciones políticas. Para los autores de esta corriente,

> (…) esta función es cumplida proporcionando al público información fiable considerada necesaria para formar una opinión informada. (...) las múltiples fuentes de información proporcionadas por los medios de

> comunicación son consideradas un suporte racional en la toma de decisiones (JAMAL, 2006, p. 31).

Ya los autores de la teoría crítica apuntan que la propiedad privada de los medios diseminaría la ideología de las clases dominantes. Para estos teóricos, "la propiedad privada de los medios de comunicación posibilita a los capitalistas controlar simultáneamente las instituciones políticas y mediáticas" (JAMAL, 2006, p. 30).

Según la perspectiva liberal, la concentración de los medios en las manos de algunos grupos empresariales sería equilibrada por la multiplicidad de flujos de comunicación y por las numerosas opciones proporcionadas por los media, lo que fortalecería la democracia (JAMAL, 2006). Los medios de comunicación de masas se presentan así como un espacio abierto a todos, sin embargo, "se funda en la hipótesis de que todo puede ser mostrado y dicho o de que todo es mostrable o decible, desde que establecidos criterios que autoricen quien puede mostrar y decir y quien puede ver y oír" (CHAUÍ, 1986, p. 31). El discurso competente es así reforzado por los medios de comunicación que nos convencen de "que estamos viendo y oyendo la producción colectiva de ideas o de valores" y que es necesario poseer los saberes vehiculados en ellos para poder "participar válidamente en la vida social" (CHAUÍ, 1986, p. 34-35).

A su vez, Silveirinha (2005), citando a Young, apunta que los medios de comunicación de masas son un reto para las teorías de la democracia, porque este espacio de argumentación pasa a ser mediado de forma compleja y no se da en una situación de interacción face a face. En este contexto,

> la estructura del campo comunicativo, destinada a producir el sentimiento de la comunicabilidad plena, de la participación y de la comunidad, no es creada durante la práctica de la comunicación, no es un proceso de constitución recíproca de los interlocutores, sino antecede, regula, controla y predetermina la propia comunicación. El espacio es anterior a sus ocupantes, no es creado o recreado por ellos según la lógica peculiar del acto comunicativo (CHAUÍ, 1986, p. 31-32).

Al no ser un proceso que se base en la práctica comunicativa de la reciprocidad de los interlocutores, se crea una homogeneidad en la perspectiva desde la que se tratan los temas de los contenidos emitidos. Tal homogeneidad no favorece la llamada democracia comunicativa ya que esta presupone "la diferencia, la discordancia y el conflicto" para que se pueda reconocer y abarcar las diferencias (SILVEIRINHA, 2005, p. 59). Otro factor que deriva en la falta de pluralidad es la concentración de medios de comunicación bajo el poder de algunos grupos financieros.

Ramonet (2012) cita el ejemplo de Francia, donde cinco grupos económicos dominan el sector de la prensa francesa de grande público. El autor también cita el dato de que un quinto de los miembros de los consejos de las principales empresas americanas están también en la dirección de los mayores medios de comunicación del país. Hay así, el "control capitalista sobre los medios de comunicación, considerados bienes como muchos otros, y en los que a menudo la transparencia de la estructura de propiedad está poco garantizada" (CAGÉ, 2016, p. 17).

Con el desarrollo tecnológico de la comunicación digital, el orden sociotecnológico se impuso sobre los procesos sociales cuyas "relaciones sociales de producción, por ejemplo, ya no consisten en una acción sobre las personas y las cosas, sino en una interacción entre las personas y la información" (ELHAJJI, 2005, p. 199). Esa tecnología hizo que las "instancias de mediación política, económica y social" se trasladaran de la dimensión espacial a la temporal (ELHAJJI, 2005, p. 193). En este nuevo contexto, la participación en los espacios de argumentación está basada en la instantaneidad e inmediatez en la elaboración de los discursos.

Las conexiones globales provocadas por las redes digitales y el carácter interactivo de estas tecnologías facilitaron el entrecruzamiento de los discursos de productores y receptores, que sumaron sus comentarios, fotos y videos a las narrativas producidas por aquellos que venían ostentando la competencia del discurso. Sin embargo, lo que podía aumentar el intercambio de argumentaciones, se transformó en un espacio más de los grupos dominantes. Ramonet (2012) califica como censura democrática este contexto de abundancia de información que nos impide acceder a otras informaciones, muchas de ellas relevantes para las luchas de las minorías.

Además de esto, es siempre importante destacar las brechas existentes en el uso de Internet y en su conectividad. Según el informe de la ONU sobre la medición de la sociedad de la información del 2017, el porcentaje de los hogares con conexión a Internet es dos veces mayor en los países desarrollados: "La probabilidad de que las personas accedan a Internet con regularidad en Europa es tres veces superior que en África, a lo que se suma la posibilidad de que los primeros gocen de mayores velocidades de acceso al conectarse" (ITU, 2017, p. 2).

Este contexto no favorable para el fortalecimiento de una democracia comunicativa puede ser contrarrestado por uno de los elementos comunicacionales apuntados por Young (2000 *apud* SILVEIRINHA, 2005) que ayuda a mantener la pluralidad en los espacios de argumentación que es la narrativa, el contar historias. Ello porque "la única solución para la conversación manipulativa o inapropiada es más conversación, para exponerla o corregirla, sea por un conjunto de razones, un modo de reconocimiento, una forma de argumentar o una narrativa" (YOUNG, 2000 *apud* SILVEIRINHA, 2005, p. 60). Por todo ello, la comunicación se coloca en un espacio central en la defensa del debate público como garante de una democracia efectivamente participativa y que respete las diferencias. Asegurar la participación a los grupos minoritarios en la producción de narrativas es así fundamental.

Metodología

Teniendo en cuenta el contexto presentado, nos proponemos analizar el caso específico de la población gitana de Cataluña que formó parte del grupo de entrevistados para este trabajo. El trabajo de campo fue desarrollado en la comarca de Barcelona entre los años 2016 y 2019, siendo la observación participante la principal herramienta metodológica para acercamiento a la muestra y para comprensión de la realidad analizada.

A partir de este acercamiento, fue posible contactar y realizar las entrevistas para posterior análisis. En total, hemos contado con 20 personas, siendo 10 mujeres y 10 hombres, con edad entre 18 y 47 años y con diferentes niveles de educación formal. Entre las preguntas realizadas cuyas respuestas analizaremos en este trabajo están: ¿Hay algo sobre los gitanos en los medios de comunicación que sigues? ¿Qué le parece? ¿Sugeriría algo? ¿Algunos de los medios citados son producidos por gitanos?

Para las entrevistas semi-estructuradas se buscó crear un ambiente de diálogo distendido, facilitado en aquellos casos que la investigadora conocía previamente a la persona. Se intentó hacer entrevistas que tuvieran como cualidades "la flexibilidad de permitir al informante definir los términos de la respuesta y al entrevistador ajustar libremente las preguntas" (BARROS e DUARTE, 2008, p. 62). Este es un trabajo cualitativo por lo que el resultado estará relacionado "a la significación y a la capacidad que las fuentes tienen de dar informaciones fiables y relevantes sobre el tema de la investigación" (p.68) siempre relacionándolas con su mundo simbólico y social.

La sistematización de los datos se dio primeramente con la transcripción literal y completa de todas las entrevistas realizadas. Destacamos que hubo una preocupación por ser lo más fieles posible al discurso de las personas entrevistadas intentando reproducir las expresiones y modos de hablar de la muestra, con el objetivo de valorizar y visibilizar un legado lingüístico producido desde un contexto cultural propio. Las pequeñas modificaciones hechas resultaron simplemente de la adaptación del discurso hablado al escrito para una mejor comprensión del lector de este texto, ya que no se hizo una descripción de lenguajes corporales o demás herramientas propias de una conversación presencial.

La identificación de la muestra en el texto será hecha por una numeración que va de 1 a 20, totalizando el número de personas entrevistadas, seguida de H para hombres y M para mujeres y la edad correspondiente.

La participación en la producción de las narrativas mediáticas es importante para garantizar un espacio democrático y nuestro trabajo de campo se ha centrado en recoger las opiniones y actitudes del colectivo gitano. Ahora bien, es evidente que el análisis del modo en que los medios vienen mostrando a esta comunidad es un complemento indispensable para nuestro estudio. Para desarrollar esta cuestión emplearemos fuentes secundarias como se verá en el siguiente apartado.

La población gitana y los medios de comunicación españoles

Para comprender la realidad de la presencia de la población gitana en los medios de comunicación españoles hemos buscado diferentes estudios para análisis. El primer documento importante es el Informe sobre la diversidad y la igualdad en la televisión catalana en el año 2016, el último publicado por el Consejo de Audiovisual de Cataluña. Su objetivo es "analizar si los contenidos de las emisiones de televisión reflejan la diversidad de la sociedad actual y si el tratamiento es igualitario para los diferentes segmentos de la población" (2017, p. 13).

Los análisis fueron hechos desde dos categorías de contenidos: ficción y no-ficción. Sólo en la segunda se hicieron análisis referentes específicamente a la población gitana. Los resultados apuntaron que, en la TVC, las personas gitanas ocuparon 0,1% del tiempo de palabra en cualquiera de los formatos. Se trata del menor porcentaje de presencia, si lo comparamos con el de blancos, árabes, asiáticos, personas con rasgos indígenas americanos, negros e indopakistanes. Por su parte, en TVE Catalunya el porcentaje es el mismo en los teleinformativos y presenta un ligero aumento hasta el 0,4% en las intervenciones en debates y entrevistas. Por último, en 8tv aparece idéntico índice, 0,1% en los teleinformativos, mientras que en los debates y entrevistas es inexistente.

Otro documento que nos ha servido es el informe anual *¿Periodistas contra el racismo? La prensa española ante el Pueblo Gitano*, producido por la Unión Romaní desde 1995. Los datos que se presentan aquí son referentes al informe editado en 2018 que analiza 2.331 piezas publicadas el año anterior por 406 medios diferentes de la prensa escrita y digital. Del total del material, el 77,35% de las piezas fueron valoradas como neutras, las negativas alcanzaron el 18,40% y las positivas descienden al 4,25%, la cifra más baja desde que el informe empezó a ser publicado. Estas valoraciones positivas se concentran en los artículos de opinión, sumando la mitad de estos materiales.

En lo que se refiere a las fuentes gitanas, ellas estaban presentes en el 31,45% de las piezas. Cataluña es la tercera región donde más se utilizaron estas fuentes, representando un 11,87% del total de España. Cuando las comunidades autónomas son analizadas por separado, el 30,21% del material publicado en Cataluña presenta fuentes gitanas, un número ligeramente por debajo de la media nacional. Entre sus provincias, Barcelona es donde más textos se han publicado sobre la comunidad gitana (93,74%). Si se analiza en relación a lo nacional, es la segunda provincia con más publicaciones (11,58% del total), siendo la mayoría con valoración neutra (80,74%).

El último documento que utilizamos es la tesis doctoral de Joan Oleaque (2014) sobre la representación de la población gitana en la prensa española. Fueron analizados tres diarios nacionales (ABC, El País y La Vanguardia) entre 1981 y 2010, en los cuales los gitanos aparecen como fuente en muy pocos casos. En ABC su voz aparece en dos ocasiones: una entrevista con el músico Manzanita en 1981 y en el reportaje sobre la muerte de Lola Flores en 1995 que recogió declaraciones dadas por la artista a lo largo de su vida.

El País es el medio que más evoca fuentes gitanas, sin embargo su uso no significa una imagen menos estereotipada de la población gitana. Así, en un reportaje del 1982, no aparece el nombre real ni completo de las fuentes gitanas, siendo utilizadas referencias que les ridiculizan como "'una madre (que) pregunta en tono patético' o como 'el patriarca Manolo'" (OLEAQUE, 2014, p. 272). Además sus discursos se limitan a quejas y excusas. Ya en una noticia de 1995, "la voz de Los Otros llega a través de dos fuentes gitanas muy vulgarizadas" (OLEAQUE, 2014, p. 145), intensificando la relación con un origen callejero. Sólo en 2010 "se identificará más respetuosamente a las fuentes étnicas, pero no se recogen de ellas más que experiencias miserables, asistenciales y marginales como expulsados de Francia" (OLEAQUE, 2014, p. 272).

Finalmente, igual que en ABC, la presencia de gitanos como fuente se da en solamente dos ocasiones en La Vanguardia, "con una visión mucho más oscura y marginal" ya que en ninguna de las dos ocasiones se da su versión sobre los hechos, sino que "intensifica una árida pintura suburbana sobre lo étnico y lo inmigrante" (OLEAQUE, 2014, p. 275). Ya en lo que se refiere a la autoría gitana, entre todos los textos analizados – considerados los más representativos del período abarcado -, solamente uno es escrito por un gitano, que es una crítica musical de 1989 publicada en ABC sobre un concierto de los músicos Paquera de Jerez y Camarón, en Madrid.

Esta poca presencia de gitanos en los medios de comunicación desde lugares que no estén marcados por el estereotipo se suma a lo que Ramonet (2012) llama "muro de información", que hace que sea difícil encontrar determinados contenidos en un contexto de hiperabundancia de información.

En nuestro trabajo de campo, detectamos que muy pocos de los gitanos entrevistados acompañan con frecuencia el trabajo de sus pares que tienen una actuación más representativa o más constante en los medios de comunicación. En seis de las 20 entrevistas analizadas para este texto, la muestra no mencionó ninguna producción en medios de comunicación hecha por gitanos, aunque sí algunos de los entrevistados hicieron referencia a producciones artísticas en la música, las artes visuales y el cine. Entre los demás, la producción más mencionada fue el programa de radio semanal "Gitanos", de Radio Nacional de España, conducido por Joaquín López Bustamante y Manuel Moraga, del cual cuatro entrevistados hicieron referencia. Sin embargo, sólo dos de ellos afirmaron acompañar el programa, y uno de los entrevistados destaca el día y horario de la emisión como un factor que dificulta el acceso.

> … en Radio Nacional de España hay un programa, pero claro, el problema es que es domingo a las nueve de la mañana. O sea, ¿qué gitano o qué persona está despierta a un domingo a las nueve de la mañana,

> escuchando la radio, Radio Nacional de España? Claro es que es todo como más complicado, es como más obstáculos para que no llegues a ese programa que es muy bueno, muy bueno, y que habla especialmente de la cultura del pueblo gitano a nivel estatal, que lo llevan dos gitanos muy cultos y muy buenos, pero, claro, no llega a la mayoría de la gente, ni siquiera al pueblo gitano (E19H46).

Entre las otras producciones mencionadas, la mitad de nuestros entrevistados enunció publicaciones como revistas y periódicos, impresos o digitales, aunque algunos de ellos no han recordado sus títulos o sólo sabían de su existencia, sin seguir sus contenidos. Como ejemplo está el anuario *¿Periodistas contra el racismo?*[4], mencionado por dos de los interlocutores. Además, una de las entrevistadas mencionó videos producidos por asociaciones como el documental Samudaripen (El holocausto olvidado)[5] sobre el holocausto gitano en Auschwitz, producido por Voces Gitanas y lanzado en 2016. Pero cabe destacar que todos estos entrevistados trabajan o colaboran en asociaciones gitanas, algunas a nivel nacional; otras, autonómico y otras, local.

> … a nivel de publicación, hay que reconocer que la Fundación Secretariado Gitano tiene muy buenas publicaciones, pero se pierde la energía porque realmente no representa al pueblo gitano, realmente no. Es como muy gestionado a lo payo y eso no funciona, no funciona. Tiene que haber una buena gestión al mismo tiempo que la representación gitana esté garantizada porque si no no llega al público, ni en general ni gitano, solamente llega a la gente que está buscando información sobre gitanos para hacer estudios y estudios hay tantísimos que no valen para lo que se está pensando. (E19H46)

La evaluación de E19H46 sobre las publicaciones de Secretariado Gitano nos da una pista sobre por qué estos materiales no alcanzan efectivamente a la población gitana, lo que nos muestra el reto que el

4 Un resúmen de los informes está disponible en la página web de Unión Romaní (última visualización el 10/06/2019): [https://unionromani.org/periodistas-contra-el-racismo/].

5 El documental acompañó la visita de gitanos y gitanas de Cataluña al campo de concentración de Auschwitz, que forma parte del proyecto Dikh He Na Bister (Mira y no olvides). El documental está disponible en (última visualización en 04/04/2019): [https://vimeo.com/148087557].

movimiento asociativo tiene en relación a sus estrategias de comunicación, de modo a producir contenidos que realmente interesen a la comunidad y también de encontrar modos de difusión que hagan que estos materiales alcancen a sus miembros.

Los otros medios a los cuales algunos entrevistados hacen referencia tienen relación con sus intereses personales, sea la religión, la dedicación a algún deporte, la música o las amistades. Así, radios evangélicas gestionadas por gitanos fueron mencionadas por dos entrevistados. Otro de ellos destacó reportajes televisivos sobre lucha greco-romana, a la que se dedicó profesionalmente por algunos años, y dos entrevistados más hicieron referencia a contenidos audiovisuales producidos por gitanos españoles o extranjeros.

La discusión sobre el tema de las producciones realizadas por gitanos y gitanas ha llevado a algunos entrevistados a mencionar experiencias propias en la producción de contenidos o, al menos, a mostrar interés en producir por si mismos contenidos relacionados con la población gitana. Se nota así, de algún modo, las posibilidades de intervención directa en los medios que parte de la muestra tiene con la producción de sus propios materiales mediáticos o culturales. Un ejemplo es el entrevistado que mencionó su deseo de cursar periodismo "para potenciar el mundo gitano en los medios de comunicación" (E6H25), aunque actualmente esté estudiando algo diferente, el grado en Trabajo Social. Otro ejemplo aparece ligado a la asociación Voces Gitanas, mencionada anteriormente. Creada en 2011, esta asociación trabaja especialmente en la creación de piezas radiofónicas y audiovisuales con jóvenes gitanas.

> … hace poco estuvimos en la radio y propusimos hacer un programa de radio de gitanas, de chicas gitanas … y sí que me gustaría, claro que me gustaría porque sería algo nuevo y algo que … la gente que es gitana vería que podemos hacer más cosas. ... que se nos escuche un poco. No solamente diciendo somos gitanas, si no que se normalice un poco el tema. (E5M25)

La normalización de la presencia de la población gitana en los medios de comunicación es mencionada no sólo por E5M25. Esta demanda está relacionada a la producción de contenidos que no estén siempre relacionados a temas como discriminación y marginación pues lo que se plantea es que el protagonismo de los gitanos en la sociedad en diferentes ámbitos no quede oculto. Un ejemplo dado fue un programa cuya presentadora era Lolita Flores[6].

> ... en la Televisión Española hay un programa de entrevistas super divertido, super natural, super ameno, super bien dirigido que la entrevistadora es una gitana, es Lolita Flores … se ve muy dinámico y vi críticas del programa muy buenas, que hablaban de lo bien que lo hacía, la naturalidad que hacía las entrevistas … la protagonista es Lolita Flores, como es algo bueno no la van a poner la etiqueta de gitana. Pues a estas cosas hay que poner la etiqueta de gitano, esto es gitano. Y es un ejemplo de televisión, pero como es tan bueno, pues no es un ejemplo de gitano porque lo gitano tiene que ser malo, tiene que ser casposo o tiene que ser flamenco, pero no puede ser algo normal … Pues son ese tipo de cosas que debemos hacer, dejar que los gitanos participen con normalidad y no desde única y exclusivamente en el estereotipo gitano, o gustar de torcer ese estereotipo de ignorancia, de tontería, de atavismo, de cosas. Es buscar cosas diferentes. Esto creo que es un buen ejemplo de buena práctica (E16H36).

En general, se pudo notar en nuestra muestra una demanda para que se conozca mejor la historia y la cultura del Pueblo Gitano y una manera de hacerlo sería la producción de contenidos para los medios de comunicación o simplemente un cambio en la manera de producir el material sobre su pueblo. Por otro lado, dos de los entrevistados creen que esto no es lo ideal para acabar con la estigmatización de esta comunidad. Para uno de ellos, esto enmarcaría aún más las diferencias entre los gitanos y los no gitanos. En el segundo caso, la persona entrevistada entiende que lo más urgente es que se deje de enfocar en lo negativo. Opinión compartida por otros entrevistados que critican las generalizaciones que los medios de comunicación hacen sobre los gitanos, poniendo siempre los actos individuales en el marco de una práctica cultural y colectiva. Cuando se trata de los gitanos, las conductas de

6 Programa de la Televisión Española llamado “Lolita tiene un plan”, de cuatro episodios, que se emitió en agosto de 2017 y se basaba en la realización de entrevistas.

desviación son atribuidas por la sociedad mayoritaria al colectivo gitano (y no, al individuo). En muchos casos, se pide un cambio en el trabajo de los profesionales de comunicación.

> Yo creo que si se dejara de publicar tantas cosas negativas no haría falta estar mostrando tanto la parte buena. Pero como la parte negativa sí que la hay, entonces por otra parte me gustaría que también enseñaran la otra, que eso no lo veo. ... la solución sería que las cosas negativas no le dieran tanto bombo porque también hay un montón de cosas negativas de otras culturas y no resaltan tanto. (E11M28)

Una iniciativa propuesta por uno de los entrevistados fue la realización de actividades de formación desde las entidades gitanas con profesionales de la comunicación. Sin embargo, en la opinión del entrevistado, los profesionales y empresas de comunicación están “muy cerrados a esa formación o a esa incorporación de este enfoque o perspectiva concreta, específica, puntual” (E19H46).

Finalmente, dos entrevistados comentaron que se deberían sancionar las malas prácticas en la representación del colectivo gitano y de otros colectivos en los medios de comunicación. Se subraya la importancia del código deontológico, pero también que se fiscalice si este código está siendo cumplido.

Consideraciones finales

Los relatos expuestos nos muestran como muchas veces la participación de voces gitanas en los medios de comunicación son vistos como discursos competentes solamente si se encajan en un formato que haya sido predeterminado anteriormente, como fue expuesto por Chauí (2011). Su participación es permitida siempre y cuando los lugares y las circunstancias de hablar y de oír ya hayan sido definidos con antelación. Aparte de esto, la presencia de las voces gitanas en los medios de comunicación es muy reducida, como nos muestran los estudios analizados, lo que dificulta la efectividad de participación en el espacio público.

A pesar de estos datos sobre una baja participación en el debate público, hemos visto que algunas personas de la muestra ya han tenido en algún momento la oportunidad de participar en la producción de un contenido mediático. Aparte del entrevistado que es músico y utiliza regularmente sus canciones para hablar sobre su forma de vivir, otras dos entrevistadas también explican de qué les gustaría hablar en una producción mediática, especialmente enseñando desde su punto de vista qué es lo que hacen en su día a día. Hay un interés en enseñar su cultura y su modo de ver y vivir el mundo, yendo más allá de los temas que les reducen a los problemas que vive su comunidad.

Hemos visto, además, que no hay un seguimiento regular de contenidos producidos por la población gitana, aunque haya el interés por contenidos relacionados con su identidad como, por ejemplo, por acompañar noticias relacionadas con su colectivo.

Nuestros entrevistados tienen conciencia de los procesos de discriminación reforzados y/o creados por los *mass media*, al mismo tiempo que presentan un conocimiento sobre el funcionamiento de los medios suficiente para proponer formas de solucionar dichos problemas. Las frentes de actuación para garantizar la participación de la población gitana en este espacio de argumentación que forman parte los medios de comunicación se muestran muy diversas. Las experiencias recogidas aquí nos dan algunas herramientas para hacer el debate.

Finalmente, es importante destacar que, a partir de la actividad digital individual, sí se da el uso de herramientas como internet para hacer difusión de temas relativos a su identidad y a sus reivindicaciones. Resaltamos la importancia de proyectos y actividades realizados por diferentes asociaciones para fomentar el debate, la reflexión y la reivindicación de otras maneras de narrar qué es ser gitano.

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Data de submissão: 28/03/2020
Data de aceite: 15/06/2020

COMUN. MÍDIA CONSUMO, SÃO PAULO, V. 17, N. 49, P. 222-243, MAI./AGO. 2020
DOI 10.18568/CMC.V17I49.2366

Televisoras y redes sociales en el contexto de una transformación en materia de consumo de información sobre asuntos de la vida pública: Percepciones de una nueva generación en México

Television and social networks: The process of transformation in the consumption of information about public matters: Perceptions from a new generation in Mexico

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Resumen: *La relación entre los medios sociales y la participación política de los jóvenes en diferentes contextos, ha sido materia de estudio en la academia durante la última década. Con el objetivo de examinar si en efecto existía un cambio en las preferencias en el consumo de información sobre política entre los jóvenes, se realizó un estudio en cuatro estados de México durante un proceso electoral nacional en 2015. Este mismo estudio se replicó durante las elecciones presidenciales del año 2018. En términos generales, los resultados obtenidos durante la elección no variaron de manera significativa de un proceso electoral a otro. La presente investigación pretende contribuir al debate académico sobre un fenómeno que en algún momento se consideró emergente, pero que en la actualidad parece encontrarse en un proceso de consolidación.*

Palabras Clave: *redes sociales; internet; participación política; juventud; México*

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Abstract: *The relationship between social media and the political participation of young people in different contexts has been a subject of study in the academy for the last decade. In order to examine whether there was indeed a change in preferences in the consumption of information on politics among young people, a study was conducted in four states of Mexico during a national electoral process in 2015. This same study was replicated during the presidential elections of 2018. In general terms, the results obtained during the election did not vary significantly from one electoral process to another. This research aims to contribute to the academic debate on a phenomenon that was once considered emergent, but that currently seems to be in a process of consolidation.*

Keywords: *social networks; internet; political participation; youth; Mexico.*

El papel de los medios de comunicación en la democracia

La comunicación es un elemento fundamental dentro de la sociedad, incluso una característica natural del ser humano, por tanto, los medios de comunicación tienen la responsabilidad de hacer posible que el proceso comunicativo tenga lugar (PÉREZ ESPINO, 1979), de ahí la importancia de este análisis. Aunque se han realizado estudios sobre la comunicación que parten de los procesos de opinión pública, difusión y propaganda que se enfrascan dentro de un contexto electoral, existen también perspectivas que retoman la responsabilidad social de los medios con respecto al fortalecimiento de las democracias contemporáneas (RODRÍGUEZ-ESTRADA, 2018).

En ese sentido, resulta vital para el fortalecimiento democrático que los medios de comunicación sean en verdad eso: intermediarios que cumplan con una función social, que permitan la existencia de una auténtica comunicación que promueva la pluralidad y sean verdaderos espacios donde se discutan los temas de interés público (MANCINAS, 2014), es decir, que para conseguir la existencia de un auténtico proceso de comunicación, los actores de las historias que se gestan en la sociedad debieran ser, en consecuencia, los poseedores y prosumidores de la información que se distribuye en el espacio público (PÉREZ ESPINO, 1979).

Medios de comunicación y democracia en México

De acuerdo con Fernández (2005) la televisión es el medio de comunicación de masas por excelencia al proporcionar una experiencia más directa de las cosas. Otorga la sensación de que lo que en ella se ve es la realidad y, por esto, contribuye poderosamente a formar la opinión pública. Por eso, cuando las televisoras cuentan con una basta capacidad política, la democracia entra en complicaciones. Cuando existe una concentración de influencia en un solo sector de comunicación o incluso en un solo medio, se generan problemáticas debido a que la concentración puede reflejar falta de pluralidad de información e inhibición de las distintas expresiones culturales que existen en la sociedad (GÓMEZ; SOSA, 2010).

Sin embargo, ese escenario que pudiera considerarse riesgoso para la democracia, en México tuvo lugar a través de la empresa Televisa (ESTEINOU, 2008; GUTIÉRREZ, 2010; LAY ARELLANO, 2013; MANCINAS, 2014; PÉREZ ESPINO, 1979; SÁNCHEZ, 2008; TREJO, 1994). La dinámica de mercado impuesta por los procesos de globalización propició la concentración de la propiedad, y los medios de comunicación no estuvieron exentos de este proceso, pues transformaron su función de satisfacer la necesidad de información de las personas, para convertirse en "empresas" cuyo fin era lucrar con el tiempo y espacio.

El grado de concentración del mercado audiovisual que tuvo lugar en México por medio de Televisa, no se dio en otro país democrático del mundo (GUTIÉRREZ, 2010). La democracia se convirtió en un negocio para los medios de comunicación. Los periodos electorales representaban enormes ganancias para la empresa, pues gran parte del financiamiento que los partidos políticos recibían, iban a parar a sus arcas y se materializaban a través de propaganda política (ESTEINOU, 2008; SÁNCHEZ, 2008; VILLAMIL, 2014).

Es por ello, que tal y como señala Villafranco (2005) resulta conveniente prestar atención a los instrumentos de comunicación, pues el papel de los medios debiera estar acorde a los fines de un estado democrático que basa su organización en la existencia de instituciones y reglas que impactan, tanto al sistema político, como a la sociedad; sin embargo, la transformación de los medios de comunicación en un poder de facto que se encuentra fuera de las instituciones e intereses del Estado, deja de ser instrumentos de información, para convertirse en actores de los procesos políticos con agendas e intereses propios.

Con ese escenario, no está demás recalcar que el desarrollo democrático de la vida pública de toda sociedad se encuentra en constante peligro de que los empresarios dueños de estas industrias abusen del poder que tienen para influir en la opinión pública no sólo al interior del país, sino también en escenarios internacionales (VILLAMIL, 2017).

En el mundo de la teoría, el modelo de libre mercado predice que la competitividad creará empresas de medios de comunicación que responderán a las demandas de la audiencia y generarán diversidad de programación (OLALLA, 2004). Sin embargo, lo que sucedió en la práctica es que las empresas más que competir entre sí para ofrecer una diversidad de alternativas, terminaron creando alianzas, de manera que al final surgió una uniformidad de criterios (MANCINAS, 2014).

Medios sociales digitales

De acuerdo con Islas y Arribas (2018) Internet es el complejo medio de comunicación que efectivamente materializó el concepto de aldea global. Lo que ha traído inmediatez para la comunicación y la expansión de su escenario. Los medios digitales son un espacio virtual donde un grupo de personas interactúa, comparte información y se comunica, creando así comunidades.

Es decir, estos espacios dan lugar a lo que Castells (2009) denomina como la *autocomunicación de las masas.* Lo llama de esta manera debido a que debido a que la sociedad red es global, por lo tanto, el contenido que ahí se comparta puede potencialmente llegar a una audiencia global, y también es *autocomunicación* porque son los mismos usuarios los que generan los contenidos.

La importancia de los medios digitales, comúnmente conocidos como redes sociales, no radica en el volumen de personas e interacciones que se dan en ellas, sino que el surgimiento de un nuevo modelo para la comunicación y la relación entre los comunicadores se convierte en un elemento para la democratización de la información y la creación de prosumidores (VALENCIA; CASTAÑO, 2018).

En otras palabras, estos medios permiten desarrollar un modelo de comunicación, pues los contenidos se manejan de manera más horizontal, contrario a la verticalidad que existía en los medios tradicionales. Además de que se ha convertido en uno de los medios más influyentes para que los jóvenes, principalmente, se mantengan en contacto, amplíen sus relaciones, localicen y soliciten información y también sirvan como un espacio para el nacimiento de nuevos lenguajes de comunicación.

El poder de influencia que solían tener los medios tradicionales en la opinión pública se encuentra en un proceso de transformación, debido a que las herramientas digitales permiten a los seres humanos apropiarse de los medios digitales, los cuales les brindan la capacidad de llevar a cabo el proceso continuo de comunicación que se comentaba anteriormente, pues entre otras cosas, permiten consultar información de toda índole y de diversas fuentes, de esta manera también lo que pudiera comenzar como una comunicación interpersonal, tiene el potencial para diversificarse de tal manera que se convierta en una comunicación colectiva y de masas (LEDESMA et al., 2018).

Sentimiento de eficacia política y construcción de capital social

La nueva dinámica de consumo de medios y acceso a fuentes de información que trajo la llegada de los medios digitales permite que en el estudio de la participación política el sentimiento de eficacia política sea considerada como una variable fundamental para que el ciudadano pueda participar en asuntos de interés colectivo (FINKEL, 1985). La forma de predecir el sentimiento de eficacia política es la conversación sobre cuestiones de carácter público en la que participan los ciudadanos, así como las noticias que consultan (MORENO, 2012). Desde el estudio de Kenski y Jominie (2006) se descubrió que la información que los ciudadanos obtenían a través de internet podría ser importante en el fortalecimiento del sentimiento de eficacia política.

Es importante señalar que, en algunos casos, los medios no convencionales pueden incidir de manera distinta. Por ejemplo, el estudio de Tin y Wan (2018) establece que los jóvenes que participaron en este estudio de Malasia demostraron tener más confianza al tomar acciones concretas en torno a la participación política, que en discutir con otros interlocutores. En otras palabras, en dicho estudio se observó un elevado sentimiento de eficacia político externo, lo que significa que tienen confianza en que pueden incidir en asuntos de interés colectivo, sobre un sentimiento de eficacia política interno, que se traduciría en la seguridad de que su contribución parte de una formación sólida (BALCH, 1974).

Existen otros estudios en los que se asegura que la implicación cívica incide de manera directa tanto en la eficacia política interna, como en la externa por igual (SEREK et al., 2017). De acuerdo con Mcevoy (2006) el sentimiento de eficacia política de los ciudadanos puede ser considerablemente mayor en la medida en que estimen que un régimen determinado puede dar respuesta a sus demandas.

Por otro lado, Ahn (2012) realiza una diferenciación entre el capital social que generaron aquellos usuarios activos, el cual fue mayor frente al de aquellos que no utilizaban tanto estos medios. Se considera para esta investigación la noción del capital social, como aquella en la que los ciudadanos establecen vínculos que les permite llevar a cabo acciones colectivas con un mismo objetivo (SHAH; GIL DE ZÚÑIGA, 2008).

En muchos casos, las personas se conocen a través de medios sociales antes de hacerlo de manera presencial para decidir si comparten características similares, como lo demostró la investigación de Cumming y Dennis (2018). En esto coincide el estudio realizado en China por parte de Pang (2018), en el que estableció que el uso de los medios sociales puede contribuir de manera positiva en términos psicológicos, debido a que proporciona a los usuarios la oportunidad de establecer contacto con otros.

Respecto a la consolidación del capital social entre estudiantes que se adaptan a un nuevo ambiente se cuenta con estudios de Li y Chen (2014) y Pan (2018). En el primer caso se analizaron los efectos de los medios sociales en la consolidación del capital social entre estudiantes provenientes de China que se adaptaban a una nueva cultura en los Estados Unidos, mientras que en el segundo los estudiantes del mismo país que radicaban en Alemania vieron cómo a través de las redes sociales se consolidó su integración social.

Otro factor que también puede marcar una diferencia sobre la forma en que las redes sociales pueden contribuir a generar capital social entre estudiantes, es el tipo de usuarios con los que se mantiene comunicación a través de estos medios. En otras palabras, en la medida en que se mantenga contacto con personas cercanas, se acentúa la tendencia a consolidar el capital social (GUO, et al., 2014). Por último, también resulta notable destacar que el contexto puede resultar clave en la manera en que se puede apreciar esta relación, como lo demostró el estudio comparativo de Leea et al. (2016) sobre estudiantes en Australia y Corea.

Metodología

Objetivo General

El objetivo general de la presente investigación es comparar la confianza en medios tradicionales y no convencionales, así como el capital social y el sentimiento de eficacia política que se crea con el uso de medios sociales virtuales de los jóvenes que fueron encuestados en los procesos de elecciones federales celebrados en México durante el 2015 y el 2018.

Hipótesis General

La hipótesis general del estudio es que la confianza en los medios tradicionales ha disminuido en las nuevas generaciones, pero eso no significa que las noticias difundidas en los medios no convencionales tengan una mayor credibilidad entre aquellos jóvenes universitarios que presenciaron los procesos electorales federales del 2015 y el 2018. Por otra parte, se anticipa que las redes sociales virtuales pueden contribuir a fortalecer tanto la creación del capital social como el sentimiento de eficacia política de manera interna y externa en los jóvenes, en los dos momentos históricos en los que fueron encuestados.

Herramienta metodológica empleada

La metodología que se siguió para el presente estudio fue de carácter cuantitativo y fue una encuesta aplicada en dos procesos electorales distintos. El primero de ellos en 2015 cuando se celebraron elecciones legislativas federales en México. Las encuestas se aplicaron entre el 6 de marzo y el 3 de junio de ese año, que constituyen los meses del calendario electoral en donde comenzaron las campañas en Nuevo León y Sonora, que junto con Coahuila y Durango, fueron los cuatro estados en los que se aplicó el cuestionario. La encuesta se contestó tanto de manera presencial como a través de la plataforma Google Forms, obteniendo 1694 respuestas de jóvenes estudiantes de estas cuatro entidades.

En el acontecimiento de las elecciones presenciales del 2018, se obtuvo la participación de 1239 jóvenes universitarios. En este caso la encuesta se aplicó sólo a través de la plataforma Google Forms. Durante este proceso se tuvo una respuesta predominante de estudiantes de Nuevo León, Sonora, Durango, Oaxaca y el Estado de México. Las encuestas se aplicaron entre el 30 de marzo y el 27 de junio del mismo año, periodo que comprendió el proselitismo electoral de las fuerzas políticas que se disputaron el poder público.

Es importante mencionar, que durante los dos procesos electorales en los que se aplicó la encuesta, la muestra fue por conveniencia. El único requisito para responderla fue que se tratara de estudiantes universitarios vigentes en ese momento. El trabajo de campo contó con la participación de profesores, personal administrativo y directivos de centros universitarios, tanto públicos como privados, de los estados a los que se hizo referencia.

Cabe señalar que la elección del 2015 registró una caída en votación de los partidos políticos que se habían consolidado desde los años noventa (PRI, PAN y PRD) respecto a su representación en el Congreso de la Unión, además de que surgió el Movimiento de Regeneración Nacional (MORENA), teniendo su primera incursión electoral (REYNOSO; MONTERO, 2016). Por otra parte, en las elecciones del 2018, el candidato Andrés Manuel López Obrador postulado por Morena, resultó triunfador de manera incuestionable en unos comicios que la izquierda partidista ganó por primera vez en su historia Aragón Falomir et al. (2019).

Para este ejercicio, se tomaron en cuenta cuatro dimensiones: confianza en medios de comunicación, consumo de redes sociales, capital social y sentimiento de eficacia política. En el caso de la primera dimensión, el cuestionario se basó en el estudio de Gómez et al. (2013) en la segunda dimensión, se tomó un indicador del estudio de Gil de Zúñiga (2012) en la tercera dimensión, se partió de la contribución de Pishghadam et al. (2011) mientras que en la última se utilizaron ítems de la publicación de Kushin y Yamamoto (2010).

Resultados

Tabla 1. Confianza en medios de comunicación por parte de los estudiantes mexicanos consultados en 2015

	Opción Mayoritaria	Porcentaje Total
Confianza TV (Noticias)	No le da confianza	50%
Confianza TV (Programas)	No le da confianza	48.3%
Confianza Radio (Noticias)	Le da confianza	**53.4%**
Confianza Radio (Programas)	Le da confianza	44.8%
Confianza correos electrónicos	No le da confianza	**64.2%**
Confianza Páginas Web	No le da confianza	47.7%
Confianza Blogs	No le da confianza	51.9%
Confianza Medios Alternativos	No le da confianza	41.9%
Confianza Redes Sociales	No le da confianza	48.4%
Confianza Prensa Escrita	Le da confianza	**55.4%**
Confianza Revista Impresa	Le da confianza	**55.1%**

Nota: N= (1694). Existen 3 valores: Le da confianza, No le da confianza, No lo sabe.

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de la recolección de datos

Tabla 2. Confianza en medios de comunicación por parte de los estudiantes mexicanos consultados en 2018

	Opción Mayoritaria	Porcentaje Total
Confianza TV (Noticias)	No le da confianza	50.6%
Confianza TV (Programas)	No le da confianza	51.5%
Confianza Radio (Noticias)	Le da confianza	48.3%
Confianza Radio (Programas)	Le da confianza	41.4%
Confianza correos electrónicos	No le da confianza	**60.5%**
Confianza Páginas Web	No le da confianza	46.7%
Confianza Blogs	No le da confianza	**56.8%**
Confianza Medios Alternativos	No le da confiana	42.3%
Confianza Redes Sociales	No le da confianza	**56.8%**
Confianza Prensa Escrita	Le da confianza	54.2%
Confianza Revista Impresa	Le da confianza	**58.7%**

Nota: N= (1239). Existen 3 valores: Le da confianza, No le da confianza, No lo sabe.

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de la recolección de datos

En términos generales, se puede vislumbrar que en el contexto de dos distintos procesos electorales las respuestas no variaron de manera significativa. Mientras que en 2015 la respuesta que mayor consenso tuvo fue la que implicó que los jóvenes no confiaban en la información sobre política que proporcionaban los correos electrónicos en un 64.2%, en 2018 esta cifra se mantuvo en 60.5%. Respecto a la confianza en las redes sociales en 2018 se incrementó, mientras que tres años atrás el 48.4% manifestaba que no consideraban que la información vertida en ellas era digna de confianza, durante las elecciones presidenciales el 56.8% manifestó su incredulidad.

Cabe aclarar que en ambos periodos se coincide en el rechazo a la televisión, tanto a las noticias como a los programas donde se discute sobre asuntos políticos (50% y 48.3% respectivamente en 2015, 50.6% y 51.5% en 2018). Pero también la confianza en las revistas impresas resulta importante en ambos casos (55.1% en 2015 y 58.7% en 2018). De esta manera, se puede observar que los jóvenes confían en algunos medios tradicionales, pero mantienen un nivel importante de escepticismo frente a la mayoría de las opciones (tanto en el caso de los medios convencionales como los no convencionales).

Tabla 3. Consumo diario de redes sociales por parte de los estudiantes mexicanos consultados en 2015

	Porcentaje Total
Nada	.5%
Unos cuantos minutos	4.1%
Media hora	6.4%
Una hora	17.3%
Dos horas	21.8%
Tres horas	16.8%
Más de tres horas	33.2%

Nota: N= (1694).

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de la recolección de datos

Tabla 4. Consumo diario de redes sociales por parte de los estudiantes mexicanos consultados en 2018

	Porcentaje Total
Nada	.3%
Unos cuantos minutos	2.9%
Media hora	5%
Una hora	14.7%
Dos horas	22.8%
Tres horas	19%
Más de tres horas	35.3%

Nota: N= (1239).

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de la recolección de datos

Tanto en la tabla 3 como en la 4 no existieron grandes variaciones en el consumo diario de redes sociales por parte de los jóvenes que fueron encuestados en el 2015 y en 2018. Quienes manifestaron que pasaban tiempo en los medios sociales más de tres horas diarias (la opción que implicaba el mayor tiempo posible dentro de la escala propuesta) representan un tercio de los encuestados en ambos casos. En los demás, como puede observarse en la tabla 4, la variación fue mínima.

Tabla 5. Capital social de los estudiantes mexicanos consultados en 2015

	Respuesta mayoritaria	%Total	*M*	*DE*
Las redes sociales contribuyen a generar confianza	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	35.5%	**3.32**	1.09
Las redes sociales contribuyen a disminuir confianza	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	38.3%	**3.17**	1.00
Incrementan la confianza entre gente que no se conoce	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	38.9%	**3.11**	1.11
Tengo fuertes lazos con mis contactos	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	38%	2.98	1.10
Confío igual en amigos offline y online	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	28.6%	2.50	1.21

Nota: N= (1694). El valor mínimo es de 1, y el valor máximo es de 5. Existen 5 valores: Totalmente en desacuerdo, desacuerdo, ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo, de acuerdo y totalmente de acuerdo.

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de la recolección de datos

Tabla 6. Capital social de los estudiantes mexicanos consultados en 2018

	Respuesta mayoritaria	%Total	*M*	*DE*
Las redes sociales contribuyen a generar confianza	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	35.1%	**3.51**	1.07
Las redes sociales contribuyen a disminuir confianza	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	38.5%	**3.26**	1.11
Incrementan la confianza entre gente que no se conoce	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	38.5%	**3.28**	1.10
Tengo fuertes lazos con mis contactos	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	36.1%	3.04	1.12
Confío igual en amigos offline y online	Totalmente en desacuerdo	26.5%	2.58	1.27

Nota: N= (1239). El valor mínimo es de 1, y el valor máximo es de 5. Existen 5 valores: Totalmente en desacuerdo, desacuerdo, ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo, de acuerdo y totalmente de acuerdo.

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de la recolección de datos

Respecto a las preguntas que están relacionadas con la manera en que las redes sociales pueden coadyuvar a la construcción del capital social, se observa que la media se encuentra más cerca del desacuerdo en cuanto a la afirmación en torno a que las redes sociales contribuyen a generar confianza (*M*=3.32, *DE*=1.09 en 2015 y *M*=3.51, *DE*=1.07 en 2018) frente a aquellos que manifiestan que estos medios contribuyen a disminuir la confianza entre los usuarios (*M*=3.17, *DE*=1.00 en 2015 y *M*=3.26, *DE*=1.11 en 2018).

En términos generales, los usuarios tienen reservas en cuanto a estas afirmaciones, por lo que resulta posible que en algunos casos y coyunturas específicas consideran que los medios sociales pueden contribuir a generar desconfianza mientras que en otros puede ocurrir lo contrario. Hay que señalar que quienes que no tenían claro si las redes sociales incrementaban la confianza entre gente que no se conoce se mantuvo prácticamente en el 38%, si bien la media tuvo una ligera variación (*M*=3.11, *DE*=1.11 en 2015 y *M*=3.28, *DE*=1.10 en 2018).

Tabla 7. Eficacia política de los estudiantes mexicanos consultados en 2015

	Respuesta mayoritaria	% Total	*M*	*DE*
Mi voto hace la diferencia	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	32.2%	**3.38**	1.22
La información que comparto en redes sociales es de calidad	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	42.8%	3.19	1.05
La información que comparto en redes sociales puede contribuir	De acuerdo	34.9%	**3.44**	1.16
Puedo hacer la diferencia si participo en política	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	32.3%	**3.37**	1.17
Tengo la manera de influir en lo que hace el gobierno	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	32.9%	2.74	1.20
Tengo la manera de influir en lo que hacen los partidos políticos	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	31.8%	2.60	1.18
Tengo la manera de influir en lo que hacen los candidatos	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	32.7%	2.63	1.16
Puedo contribuir a que otros cambien de opinión	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	32.8%	3.21	1.18

Nota: N= (1694). El valor mínimo es de 1, y el valor máximo es de 5. Existen 5 valores: Totalmente en desacuerdo, desacuerdo, ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo, de acuerdo y totalmente de acuerdo.

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de la recolección de datos

Tabla 8. Eficacia política de los estudiantes mexicanos consultados en 2018

	Respuesta mayoritaria	%Total	*M*	*DE*
Mi voto hace la diferencia	Totalmente de acuerdo	45.6%	4.01	1.13
La información que comparto en redes sociales es de calidad	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	44.2%	3.41	1.00
La información que comparto en redes sociales puede contribuir	De acuerdo	32.0%	3.68	1.05
Puedo hacer la diferencia si participo en política	Totalmente de acuerdo	31.8%	3.79	1.09
Tengo la manera de influir en lo que hace el gobierno	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	36.7%	3.13	1.17
Tengo la manera de influir en lo que hacen los partidos políticos	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	36.1%	2.94	1.18
Tengo la manera de influir en lo que hacen los candidatos	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	38.0%	3.00	1.17
Puedo contribuir a que otros cambien de opinión	Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo	37.0%	3.32	1.15

Nota: N= (1239). El valor mínimo es de 1, y el valor máximo es de 5. Existen 5 valores: Totalmente en desacuerdo, desacuerdo, ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo, de acuerdo y totalmente de acuerdo.

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de la recolección de datos

Como se observa en las tablas 7 y 8, las preguntas que fueron orientadas a medir el sentimiento de eficacia política fue bastante similar, pero de manera más acentuada durante el proceso electoral del 2018. En específico, las preguntas en torno a si los estudiantes consideraban que su voto hacia alguna diferencia (*M*=3.38, *DE*=1.22 en 2015 y *M*=4.01, *DE*=1.12 en 2018), si la información que comparten los jóvenes en redes sociales pueden contribuir a que otros cambien de opinión (*M*=3.44, *DE*=1.16 en el primer ejercicio y *M*=3.68, *DE*=1.05 en el segundo) y finalmente si podrían hacer una diferencia si participaban en política (*M*=3.37, *DE*=1.17 en el primer proceso y *M*=3.79, *DE*=1.09 en el caso del segundo).

En este sentido, los jóvenes demostraron que tenían un sentimiento de eficacia político externo, tanto en el caso de la participación convencional como en medios sociales.

Tabla 9. Relación entre confianza y consumo de medios con la participación política dentro y fuera de línea de los estudiantes mexicanos consultados en 2015

Confianza y consumo	Participación fuera de línea	Participación en línea
Confianza en medios convencionales	-.09**	-.05*
Confianza en medios no convencionales	-.15**	-.19**
Consumo de medios convencionales	.22**	**.29****
Consumo de medios no convencionales	.19*	**.45****

Nota: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001. Los coeficientes de Pearson en negritas indican las asociaciones más estrechas.

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de la recolección de datos

Tabla 10. Relación entre confianza y consumo de medios con la participación política dentro y fuera de línea de los estudiantes mexicanos consultados en 2018

Confianza y consumo	Participación fuera de línea	Participación en línea
Confianza en medios convencionales	-.06*	-.09**
Confianza en medios no convencionales	-08**	-08**
Consumo de medios convencionales	.18**	**.32****
Consumo de medios no convencionales	**.42****	.04**

Nota: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001. Los coeficientes de Pearson en negritas indican las asociaciones más estrechas.

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de la recolección de datos

En este rubro se analizan las principales relaciones entre la confianza y el consumo de los medios (divididas ambas opciones entre medios convencionales y no convencionales). Para el grupo de medios no convencionales se consideraron los digitales, como correos, redes sociales, blogs, mientras que para los convencionales se tomaron en cuenta la televisión, prensa y la radio. Es posible observar que si bien en las correlación no son especialmente altas, si resulta positiva y moderada en relaciones estrechas distintas que pueden observarse en los procesos electorales del 2015 y 2018.

En el caso del año 2015, la participación política en línea demostró una relación positiva con el consumo de medios no convencionales ($r = .45$ $p < .01$), mientras que, en el siguiente proceso electoral de carácter federal, la participación fuera de línea es la que tuvo una correlación positiva moderada con el consumo de medios no convencionales ($r = .42$ $p < .01$).

Discusiones y conclusiones

De acuerdo con los resultados que se han obtenido en este estudio, se confirman los hallazgos de Valencia y Castaño (2018), en cuanto a que se ha consolidado un nuevo modelo de comunicación en el que los medios sociales desempeñan un papel clave. Esta tendencia pudo observarse tanto en la elección del 2015 como en la del 2018.

En este sentido, se coincidiría también con los hallazgos de Ledesma et al. (2018) en cuanto a que existe un cambio notable en el consumo de información sobre asuntos públicos. No obstante, los jóvenes manifestaron que desconfiaban de la programación de la televisión, pero también de la información surgida en medios sociales.

En el caso del constructo de eficacia política, existe un punto de encuentro con el estudio de Mcevoy (2006) en el que afirmaba que este sentimiento puede crecer en la medida en que se considera que puede existir un cambio. Tanto en 2015 como en 2018 la pregunta de esta dimensión que tuvo un acuerdo más elevado fue precisamente si consideraban que su voto podría hacer una diferencia. Esto resulta clave en un proceso electoral, sobre todo en el caso de las elecciones presidenciales del 2018, en el que un candidato de oposición ganó de manera abrumadora (ARAGÓN FALOMIR et al., 2019). De igual manera, se confirma lo señalado por Kenski y Jominie (2006) en cuanto a que las conversaciones generadas en la red contriubyen a fortalecer el sentimiento de eficacia política.

Respecto al tema del capital social se produjo una situación dividida y aparentemente contradictoria. Los alumnos respondieron casi en la misma proporción (tanto en 2015 como en 2018) que las redes sociales causaban tanta desconfianza como confianza entre los usuarios. Se puede asumir que en algunos casos específicos los resultados de este estudio podrían coincidir con los de Cumming y Dennis (2018) y Pang (2018) sobre que los medios sociales pueden contribuir a generar enlaces entre personas que tienen los mismos intereses.

Cabe destacar que este estudio aun cuando no se trató de una muestra representativa sino por conveniencia, en la mayoría de los casos las tendencias se mantuvieron similares. Esto es notable, porque pasaron tres años desde la primera a la segunda aplicación e incluso cuando en ambos casos el contexto era de procesos electorales de carácter electoral, las elecciones presidenciales del 2018 representaban la renovación del poder ejecutivo mexicano, cuyo mandato es el más extenso en América Latina.

Puede afirmarse que la tendencia que apareció en el año 2012 con el Movimiento #YoSoy132, terminaría de acentuarse en el proceso electoral del 2015 y de confirmarse en las elecciones del 2018. En este trayecto los medios sociales son utilizados por los jóvenes para enterarse de asuntos de la vida pública, lo cual potencialmente contribuye a fortalecer el sentimiento de eficacia política que es esencial para la implicación cívica, tanto dentro del ciberespacio como fuera de él. Por otra parte, también puede facilitar la construcción del capital social, que es indispensable para generar acciones colectivas, incluso cuando en el caso de México depende de una situación determinada.

Por último, hay que señalar presente investigación tiene algunas limitaciones. La primera de ellas es de carácter metodológico, debido a que la muestra más que representativa, fue por conveniencia. Por otro lado, tampoco se puede argüir que los resultados son aplicables para la juventud mexicana, debido a que participó la comunidad estudiantil de varios estados, pero no se consideraron casos de jóvenes que no estuviesen matriculados en una universidad.

Aun tomando en cuenta las coincidencias en las respuestas de los jóvenes en ambos periodos de tiempo, los diversos estudios que buscan establecer la relación entre los medios sociales virtuales y la implicación cívica han concluido que los resultados son válidos para contribuir a explicar una coyuntura específica en un lugar determinado, por lo que los efectos de las tecnologías de la información y la comunicación pueden variar, según sea el caso.

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Data de submissão: 22/05/2020
Data de aceite: 15/06/2020

ARTIGO

COMUN. MÍDIA CONSUMO, SÃO PAULO, V. 17, N. 49, P. 244-267, MAI./AGO. 2020
DOI 10.18568/CMC.V17I49.2135

Existe espaço para as crianças na televisão! A presença da programação infantil na TV aberta mundial

There is enough space for children on television! The presence of children shows in worldwide broadcast TV

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Resumo: *Este trabalho objetiva compreender o lugar que a programação infantil ocupa na TV aberta considerando o papel das grades de programação na estruturação dos conteúdos televisivos. Nosso argumento tem em vista que: 1) as grades são fundamentais para compreensão das práticas de veiculação e consumo da TV contemporânea; e 2) a partir da análise das grades é possível compreender diversos fenômenos relacionados à programação infantil. A proposta é investigar a presença desse conteúdo na televisão aberta considerando para isso um mapeamento realizado em grades de 16 países e 30 canais. A análise revela a ainda marcante presença dos produtos infantis na TV e enfatiza a importância de perceber as televisões em diálogo com contextos globais.*

Palavras-chave: *programação infantil; grade de TV; televisão aberta.*

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Abstract: *This paper aims to understand the place that children's TV shows occupy in broadcast TV considering the role of the schedule in the structure of television contents. Our main argument is that: 1) TV Schedules are fundamental elements for understanding the consumption practices of contemporary TV and 2) from the analysis of TV schedules, it is possible to understand a series of phenomena related to children's TV programming. Our proposition is to investigate the presence of children' TV content in the worldwide broadcast television by making a mapping which includes 16 countries and 30 TV channels. The global analysis reveals the strong presence of children's content on TV and the importance of perceiving local television in relation to global ones.*

Keywords: *children's programming; TV schedule; broadcasting TV.*

Introduction

The scheduling directed towards children follows broadcast television history in its core and has been developed in an ever-growing rhythm until early 2000's. In numberless cases, including Brazil, children schedules filled big parts of television schedules in broadcast TV to the point of creating specific television genres to attract children, such as TV shows and telenovelas for children. These shows arrived not only to fill many daily hours of schedule but also to form a big audience, which in many cases, created competitions for audience in different TV channels.

Nowadays, the scenario seems to be different. American broadcast TV, for instance, which helped consolidate television as a fruitful space of children media consumption (STABILE; HARRISON, 2003), do not show any content directed specifically towards children. In Brazil, Globo, a channel that for over 20 years dedicated all their weekday mornings to children shows (with shows such as *Balão Mágico*, *TV Colosso* and *Xou da Xuxa)*, now does not have any regular show dedicated to children. Similarly, TV channels such as Band, Record, and RedeTV had a significant reduction of children shows throughout the last few years.[4] It is true that there are, in the Brazilian and the American case, different paid channels exclusively created for younger audiences (Cartoon Network, Disney Channel, Discovery Kids, Gloob, Nickelodeon, etc.), however, it is important to consider that TV subscription is a still a product catered to the elite[5]. Streaming services such as Netflix are relevant, but if in the whole world that platform gathers 63 million subscribers outside the United States[6], we can infer that it is a fairly incipient service in the global kids universe.

4 Between 2012 and 2016, according to anual reports of broadcast TV produced by Ancine, at the channel Band there was a decrease of the total anual of 5.08% of the programming destined to kids to 0.25%; at Record, there was a reduction from 2.98% to 0%; at Rede TV, the numbers changed from 2.95% to 0%.

5 Brazil has 17.7 million subscribers of subscription TV in a contexto where there are 67.3 million homes and over 102.6 million TV sets.

6 Data from 2018. Available at: https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mercado/2018/04/netflix-atinge-1189-milhoes-de-assinantes.shtml. Accessed in: Jan. 18th, 2019.

With these considerations in sight, this article intends to investigate the presence of children shows in Brazil commercial broadcast TV, but with a global focus, inserting the local television in a wider context in which it is perceived as one of the elements of a cultural process (CAREY, 1992) whose characteristics can help not only understand the phenomena from our television, but, complementing the known words of Williams (2016), especially understand television as a *global* cultural form. In this sense, how to measure the presence/absence of children content in Brazil's broadcast TV, taking into consideration the television in other parts of the world? To what extent the children schedule shown in televisions of different countries deal with local production? And in what way this production dialogues with imported products?

As we are aware that these are complex questions, whose answers go beyond the limits of an article, our proposition is to make an initial mapping of the children schedule found globally in broadcast TV, in a way of inserting the Brazilian case in a cultural process which, as such, cannot be understood in an isolated manner. To do so, we did an extensive analysis of the schedule of broadcast channels of 16 countries, highlighting especially: 1) the time dedicated to kids shows in each schedule; 2) the type of schedule (imported or local) and 3) which shows are broadcasted. This proposition requires that, primarily, we make a brief analysis related to the importance of kids shows as a unique element for the understanding of television as a cultural form so we can, then, analyze the researched schedules.

Children shows as a consequence of the programming schedule

The development of a kids schedule on television has a deep connection with the institution of a programming schedule since TV became popular, after World War II. At this time, children already were a group of interest for channels, which could be especially perceived in the American, British and also Brazilian television. In England, the first television show for children was released in 1946 on BBC. *Muffin the Mule* was a little puppet in the shape of a mule that interacted with the show host Annette Mills. During the 1950's, BBC showed at least seven shows for kids, a great part being directed towards little children.[7] Many were inspired in children theatre and had puppets, music and the participation of adults and children, which signalized a hegemonic look of the time that formatted the perception that children shows needed to be especially directed to early childhood.

In the United States context, between 1947 and 1963, channels broadcasted over 100 children shows (SHELBY JR., 1964, p. 247). Telecines[8], and, later on, kinescopes[9] allowed TV to offer a wide variety of children shows beyond game shows and theatre plays, like films and animations, even before the invention of the videotape. In this context, the first children's show in American television was *Movies for Small Fry Club*, released between 1947 and 1951 by the extinct DuMont Television Network. In this show, initially, they used to broadcast movies followed by a voiceover of the host Bob Emery (HOLZ, 2017). At that same period, NBC broadcasted *Howdy Doody*, led by Bob Smith with a puppet that gave name to the show. During this early stage of TV in the United States, NBC began broadcasting 14 weekly hours and CBS had 13 weekly hours of child programs (SHELBY JR., 1964) [10] which shows us the significant presence of children in front of the screen, considering that the television schedule still didn't totalize the 24 hours of the day.

Little by little, the puppets and more theatrical shows were losing space and animation became hegemonic in American TV schedules. These products suffered a complex process of change in audience when

7 *Andy Pandy* (1950), *Sooty* (1952), *Bill and Ben the Flowerpot Men* (1952), *Watch with Mother* (1953), *The Woodentops* (1955), *Pinky and Perky* (1957) and *Blue Peter* (1958). Available at: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/are-you-sitting-comfortably-a-history-of-childrens-tv-1335443.html. Accessed in Feb 7th, 2019.

8 The telecines that captured film projections through cameras and, then, transformed optic images into electronic signals for broadcasting in television. (BALAN, 2012).

9 The kinescope was developed in 1947 by DuMont Laboratories and commercially released by Kodak; through it, it was possible to tape record images reproduced by the television (NANTES, 2018a).

10 That happened in 1956. Between late 1940's and 1950's, NBC expanded its children scheduling with other shows such as *Judy Splinters* (1949-1950) and *Kukla, Fran and Ollie* (1947-1957).

they migrated from cinema to the schedule of broadcast TV channels. When they were only shown in the cinema, in the beginning of the 20th century, cartoons were socially perceived as short-films and had the main goal to entertain adults, while they were waiting for the main film to begin. These short films, then, were acquired by the first broadcast TV channels in the United States and began to compose the schedule when these channels were still defining their space (MITTELL, 2003; STABILE; HARRYSSON, 2003). In a short amount of time, TV channels perceived that cartoons had a special appeal to children, an audience that: 1) wasn't bothered by the repetition of content and 2) watched television in different hours from their parents, motivating the television presence in the domestic environment beyond the adult's time of leisure.

To explore this content in an efficient manner, considering the child audience, TV channels started to broadcast animated "short films" in a sequence, in addition to choosing to release them in the time of day in which children would be supposedly disposed to consume television content. This movement was responsible especially for two phenomena related to the cultural institution of television: on one hand, animated short films – which included products such as *Betty Boop*, *Felix the Cat*, *Woody Woodpecker*, *Popeye* and *Tom and Jerry* – were no longer perceived as short-films for adults, but as cartoons for kids. The same content, therefore, changed its audience by modifying the media platform and dynamic of exhibition. On the other hand, the need to agglutinate cartoons in determined time slots throughout the day helped evidence, along with TV channels, the need to think the television uses through a program schedule. With that, while in the United States and in the United Kingdom, this phenomenon took cartoons to Saturday morning and late afternoon, in Brazil, cartoons were mainly instituted in different schedules in the morning, from Monday to Saturday. More than a simple business approach, this choice has relation with cultural elements, related to the routine of urban children in each context. For instance, while in the United States and in the United Kingdom children had a school day (therefore, away from the television) beginning in the morning and ending mid-afternoon, in Brazil, until the 1990's, the school day would happen only in one shift (morning or afternoon), and supposedly children would tend to study in the afternoon.

The perception that cartoons were "kid stuff" (MITCHELL, 1995) was already culturally instituted in September 30th, 1960, when The Flintstones got released on ABC. Unlike all cartoons shown on television until then in the United States, this process was thought to be broadcast on prime time of that country, Friday, 8:30 P.M. (BOOKER, 2006). Much due to the place they filled in the schedule, The Flintstones were not considered a *television cartoon*, but a *sitcom*, which, as such, competed with *live action* shows that were broadcast simultaneously in other channels. The time of day designated to this show allowed it to: 1) develop a narrative closer to the structured series than the cartoons that were popular in other schedules; and 2) deal with themes more linked to the adult taste, with comprised even the merchandising of a cigarette brand. Until the second season (from a total of six) every episode of *The Flintstones* ended with an image of the lead characters Fred and Wilma sharing cigarettes in a moment of relaxation, in a typical behavior socially linked to the adult universe.

In Brazil, the insertion of kids shows in the schedule happened through variety shows, in a direct influence from radio, and in a very precocious manner: in 1915, TV channel Tupi released *Gurilândia*, a children talent show. The presence of hosts and audiences became, in the 1960's, the main television reference for children, gaining specific outlines that slipped into broadcast television until late 1990's. These shows instituted some exhaustedly replicated patterns, such as the presence of children in the audience, playful scenarios, doing activities and offering prizes (SILVA, 2017). Under these templates, shows led by men like *Capitão Furacão* arrived in 1965 on Globo and *Capitão Aza* in 1966 on Tupi. From the 1980's onward, women hosts stood out, such as Angélica, Eliana, Mara Maravilha and, especially, Xuxa, whose show

Xou da Xuxa[11] used to be broadcast on mornings at Globo from 1986 to 1992 and had even five daily hours, from Monday to Saturday (BORGES; ARREGUY; SOUZA, 2012).

We risk saying that the huge popularization that children variety shows hit on Brazilian TV channels might be greatly responsible for the hegemony that imported cartoons had in schedules. This show template was fairly lucrative, because only one TV host (surrounded by a small group of dancers, people in costumes, etc.) would interact with children in the audience for a few minutes; then, they would give space for the exhibition of cartoons. These were usually bought from Disney, Hanna-Barbera and Japanese production companies, which then sold *animes* and *tokatsus* with an attractive price. These products were tirelessly rebroadcast throughout decades, even when they changed the TV host, instituting even a culture of re-runs (KOMPARE, 2004) destined to the child audience still not as understood to television study specialists. In this context, on one hand, the hosts would capture children's attention in a *transmedia* universe – making use of different platforms for promotion (GOSCIOLA, 2014, p. 9) – extrapolating television through disks, live shows, films and all kinds of licensed products. On another hand, these channels would invest a lot into a popular TV host, but would tirelessly exploit the same cartoons, a lot of times acquired with low costs, for years in a row.

In this sense, the late 1990's had instituted a model of children shows in Brazil that would had the following patterns: a playful presentation performed in live action (which could be led by men, such as Sérgio Mallandro, women, such as Xuxa, children, such as in *Disney Club* and even people dressed up in animal costumes, as in TV Colosso), intersected by cartoons. This model dominated big slots of the television scheduling of broadcast television and helped consolidate the

11 The success of the show yielded versions for other countries also recorded by the presenter, such as *El show de Xuxa*, broadcast in 1991 in 17 countries in Latin America by the Argentinian channel Telefe, and *Xuxa*, broadcast in 1993 in 100 American channels, which covered the incredible mark of 85% of that countries territory.

Brazilian broadcast television as a fundamental space of children media consumption.

Presence of children shows around the world

Even though we are still lacking more dedicated studies to the Brazilian children shows in broadcast TV, there are some diagnostics that say that, currently, this content is apparently scarse. Some researches point towards the expressive raise of subscription channels specialized in children shows (HOLZBACH, 2018) and the reduction of funds destined to child publicity, which would have led to the change in focus of the audience in time schedules of channels (GAMBARO; BECKER, 2016; SILVA, 2017). In addition to that, the television schedule coexists with the arrival of technologic innovations and digital platforms, which present other challenges for the television field (NANTES, 2018b, p. 6) and which would be pulverizing children media consumption.

However, we understand that these facts indicate important reconfigurations of child schedule in television, but do not prove that this content is disappearing. That is because when we observe other contexts in a compared perspective, the observation on the Brazilian TV is complexified. Thus, for example, a quick research on television schedules in the United States show that their biggest broadcast channels, NBC and CBS, which in other times destined many hours to child schedules, entirely eliminated this product from their schedule, in a much bigger proportion than what happens in Brazil. And that is considering that this country lives for 40 years with a solid market of TV subscription and was more precocious in the multiplatform development. In other words, these two elements do not explain, alone, the contemporary changes in scheduling. Furthermore, the justifications for such changes in the child schedule do not count with the most important bond of this chain: the everyday practices of children. In this sense, it's interesting to have in mind that the child audience may be transforming their habits in such a way that certain channels cannot cater for their demands for media content. Children can be spontaneously abandoning these channels, so much so that the reduction in these schedules for children shows would be a natural response to a new social practice, and not the other way around.

This article, although it does not intent do understand children's media practices, wants to diagnose the place of children schedules in broadcast television beyond the Brazilian case. That will allow us to insert the Brazilian television and children's schedule in a wider context, considering possible changes in the core of a cultural phenomenon, and not solely as something resulting from particular issues. Because of that, in the search for a global observation of children content in television schedules, we perform a mapping of broadcast television around the world, in a total of 16 countries and 30 channels, to know the place of children shows in these spaces. The channels we've analyzed were the following:

Table 1 - Countries and TV channels analyzed

País	Canais de TV analisados
África do Sul	e.tv
Alemanha	RTL
	SAT.1
Argentina	Eltrece
	Telefe
Austrália	Nine Network
	Seven Network
Brasil	Rede Globo
	SBT
Chile	Chilevisión
	Mega
China	TVB Jade (TVB)
Colômbia	Caracol
	RCN
Coréia do Sul	MBC
	SBS
Espanha	Antena 3
	Telecinco
Estados Unidos da América	CBS
	NBC
França	M6
	TF1
Hungria	RTL Klub
	TV2
Itália	Canale 5 (Mediaset)
	Itália 1 (Mediaset)
México	Canal de las Estrellas (Televisa)
	Azteca uno (TV Azteca)
Rússia	Canal 5
	CTC

Source: Created by the authors.

Methodologically, after we've selected the countries, we detained ourselves in two broadcast channels of a bigger audience of each place because we understand that leaves the analysis more consistent than analyzing only one channel, considering that in many channels, there are a competitivity between channels. We excluded, however, public television channels because we consider that they demand complementary discussions that did not fit into this article. Then, we collected television schedules from January 2nd to 8th, 2019, a neutral week that did not have big events that may interfere in the routine of these channels. The only exceptions to this period were Australia, China, United States and Italy, in which it was not possible to collect a retroactive material of the schedules, resulting in the analysis of the period from February 11th to 17th, 2019. The schedule was mainly collected in official websites of these channels and websites specialized in television.

The difficulty in finding a reliable material demanded us to exclude from the research previously selected channels, which especially comprised countries of the African and Asian continents. In fact, the ephemerid of the schedules which, in general, are only available for a couple of weeks – is certainly a fairly problematic element because it causes the systematic erasure of an unmeasurable register of television content throughout time. Even so, we try our best to find materials from all inhabited continents, balancing, as far as possible, our world map.

The first challenge we found was the definition of a "children show". For this purpose, in addition to watching a wide variety of shows broadcasted in the schedules (normally through excerpts published on YouTube), it was necessary to search in websites and specialized critics to have a grasp of the objectives and the type of audience of these shows. This problem does not happen only in schedules of countries that are geographically and culturally distanced from Brazil, it was necessary to create criteria even for the Brazilian schedule. That happened, for instance, with the series *Chaves* and *Chapolin*, shown by SBT and other Latin American channels. We know that, although many times they are broadcast inside shows clearly geared towards and consumed by children, such as *Circo Patati Patatá*, these contents have a big adult audience. In addition to that, in the specific case of SBT, Chaves is commonly used to "fill holes" in the TV channel's schedule, found in the most different times in different moments of the year, including the

Table 2 - Fragment of the table of data collection

ÁFRICA DO SUL													
Observação: só foram coletados dados de uma emissora, pois é a primeira e única emissora privada do país.													
e.tv | Fonte: https://mydorpie.com/m/?page=tvguide_etvschedule_2019-01-02													
2019													
02/01/2019 (quarta-feira)		03/01/2019 (quinta-feira)		04/01/2019 (sexta-feira)		05/01/2019 (sábado)		06/01/2019 (domingo)		07/01/2019 (segunda-feira)		08/01/2019 (terça-feira)	
Horário	Programa	Horário	Programa	Horário	Programa	Horário	Programa	Horário	Programa	Horário	Programa	Horário	Programa
00:10	Lucky Number Slevin (movie)	00:35	24: Legacy	00:35	24: Legacy	01:40	In Plain Sight	00:20	Lip Sync Battle	00:40	Making Mr. Right	01:40	Scary Movie 4
02:10	In Plain Sight	01:25	Making Mr. Right	01:25	The Heart Of The Matter	02:30	24: Legacy	00:50	The Challenger	02:20	Casino Royale	03:10	Little Big Shots
03:00	24: Legacy	03:00	Lip Sync Battle	03:00	Lip Sync Battle	03:20	Lip Sync Battle	02:35	SWV Reunited	05:00	Cool Catz Legacy	04:00	Mistresses
03:50	Lip Sync Battle	03:30	Lip Sync Battle	03:30	Lip Sync Battle	03:45	SWV Reunited	03:25	SWV Reunited	05:25	e-Insert	04:50	e-Insert
04:35	Lip Sync Battle	04:00	SWV Reunited	04:00	SWV Reunited	04:35	Lip Sync Battle	04:15	Lip Sync Battle	05:30	Judge Judy	05:00	Hillsong
05:00	Cool Catz Legacy	04:50	e-Insert	04:50	e-Insert	05:00	Instaglamour	04:36	Forensic Files	05:55	e-Insert	05:30	Just For Laughs: Gags
05:25	Judge Judy	05:00	Grassroots	05:00	Life By Design	05:30	e-Insert	05:00	My Father's Son: Motswana Rapper	06:00	The Morning Show	06:00	The Morning Show
05:45	e-Insert	05:25	Judge Judy	05:30	Couples Court With the Cutlers	05:35	Cool Catz	05:30	Joseph Prince - New Creation Church TV	08:00	Morning News Today	08:00	Judge Judy
05:50	Piper Penguin And His Fantastic... (filme/ animação)	05:45	e-Insert	05:50	e-Insert	06:00	Peppa Pig	06:00	I Am Soul Precious	08:30	Qubool Hai	08:25	e-Insert
06:45	Just Wright	05:50	Thomas & Friends	05:55	The Jungle Bunch: Back To The Ice Floe	06:05	Cool Catz	06:25	e-Insert	09:30	In Plain Sight	08:30	Qubool Hai
08:30	Qubool Hai (telenovela indiana)	06:55	The Greening Of Whitney Brown	06:55	Making Mr. Right	06:30	PJ Masks	06:30	Family Feud US	10:30	Days Of Our Lives	09:30	In Plain Sight
09:30	In Plain Sight	08:30	Qubool Hai	08:30	Qubool Hai	06:45	Jelly Jamm	07:00	Grassroots	11:15	Infomercials	10:30	10:30 Days Of Our Lives
10:30	Days Of Our Lives	09:30	In Plain Sight	09:30	In Plain Sight	07:00	Be Cool, Scooby-Doo!	07:25	e-Insert	11:20	Infomercials	11:15	11:15 Infomercials
11:15	Infomercials	10:30	Days Of Our Lives	10:30	Days Of Our Lives	07:30	Voltron: Legendary Defender	07:35	Hillsong	11:30	Rhythm City	11:20	11:20 Infomercials
11:20	Infomercials	11:15	Infomercials	11:15	Infomercials	08:00	Sistahood	08:02	Peppa Pig	12:00	Scandal!	11:30	Rhythm City
11:30	Rhythm City	11:20	Infomercials	11:20	Infomercials	08:30	Ultimate Spider-Man	08:07	Cool Catz	12:30	Imbewu: The Seed	12:00	Scandal!
12:00	Scandal! (soap opera - sul-africana)	11:30	Rhythm City	11:30	Rhythm City	09:00	Ultimate Spider-Man	08:30	Trolls: The Beat Goes On!	13:00	eNews 1pm	12:30	Imbewu: The Seed
12:30	Imbewu: The Seed	12:00	Scandal!	12:00	Scandal!	09:30	Scandal! Omnibus	09:00	GGO Football 2: International...	13:30	Steve Harvey	13:00	eNews 1pm
13:00	eNews 1pm	12:30	Imbewu: The Seed	12:30	Imbewu: The Seed	11:20	Imbewu: The Seed	09:30	ShizLive	14:25	Infomercials	13:30	Steve Harvey
13:30	Steve Harvey	13:00	eNews 1pm	13:00	eNews 1pm	11:45	Imbewu: The Seed	10:00	Rhythm City Omnibus	14:30	Peppa Pig	14:25	Infomercials
14:25	Infomercials	13:30	Steve Harvey	13:30	Steve Harvey	12:10	Imbewu: The Seed	11:50	Infomercials	14:35	Cool Catz	14:30	Peppa Pig
14:30	Peppa Pig	14:25	Infomercials	14:25	Infomercials	12:35	Imbewu: The Seed	12:00	Celebrity Scoop	15:00	Sofia The First	14:35	Cool Catz
14:35	Cool Catz	14:30	Peppa Pig	14:30	Space Buddies (filme)	13:00	Imbewu: The Seed	12:30	Films And Stars	15:30	GGO Football 2: International...	15:00	Trolls: The Beat Goes On!
15:00	Monchhichi Tribe	14:35	Cool Catz	16:10	Frenzy	13:25	Family Time	13:00	Infomercials	15:55	Sistahood	15:30	Pokémon The Series: Sun & Moon:...
15:15	PJ Masks	15:00	The Jungle Bunch: To The Rescue	16:25	Family Feud US	13:30	eShibobo	13:05	Infomercials	16:25	Just For Laughs: Gags	15:55	Frenzy
15:30	Supa Strikas	15:15	ALVINNN!!! And The Chipmunks	16:50	Judge Judy	14:00	Mr. Bean's Holiday	13:15	Shrek (filme)	16:50	Judge Judy	16:25	Just For Laughs: Gags
15:55	ShizLive	15:30	Mia And Me	17:15	Days Of Our Lives	15:50	The Song	15:05	Felix (filme)	17:15	Days Of Our Lives	16:50	Couples Court With the Cutlers
16:25	Just For Laughs: Gags	15:55	Craze World Live	18:00	Forensic Files	18:00		17:00	Steve Austin's Broken Skull Challenge	18:00	Forensic Files	17:15	Days Of Our Lives
16:50	Judge Judy	16:25	Just For Laughs: Gags	18:30	The Big Bang Theory	18:05	eNews Headlines	18:00	eNews Headlines	18:30	The Big Bang Theory	18:00	Forensic Files
17:15	Days Of Our Lives	16:50	Couples Court With the Cutlers	19:00	Rhythm City	19:00	Minute To Win It	18:05	Little Big Shots	19:00	Rhythm City	18:30	The Big Bang Theory
18:00	Forensic Files	17:15	Days Of Our Lives	19:30	Scandal!	19:30	eNews 7pm	19:00	eNews 7pm	19:30	Scandal!	19:00	Rhythm City
18:30	The Big Bang Theory	18:00	Forensic Files	20:00	eNews 8pm	21:20	Shrek	19:30	Black-ish	20:00	eNews 8pm	19:30	Scandal!
19:00	Rhythm City	18:30	The Big Bang Theory	20:30	24: Legacy	23:00	Scary Movie 4	20:00	Casino Royale	20:30	Chicago Med	20:00	eNews 8pm
19:30	Scandal!	19:00	Rhythm City	21:00	The Powerball Draw	23:50	Minute To Win It	22:50	Demons From Her Past	21:30	Imbewu: The Seed	20:30	Shades Of Blue
20:00	eNews 8pm	19:30	Scandal!	21:04	24: Legacy					22:00	Mistresses	21:00	The Powerball Draw
20:30	24: Legacy	20:00	eNews 8pm	21:30	Imbewu: The Seed					23:00	Casino Royale	21:04	Shades Of Blue
21:30	Imbewu: The Seed	20:30	24: Legacy	22:00	Armored							21:30	Imbewu: The Seed
22:00	The Challenger (movie?)	21:30	Imbewu: The Seed	23:45	The Challenger							22:00	Almost News With Chester Missing
23:45	In Plain Sight	22:00	Death At A Funeral									22:30	Felix

Source: Created by the authors.

Table 3 - Fragment of the table of data collection with the description of children shows.

África do Sul		
Quantidade total: 17		
Programa	**Tipo**	**Nacionalidade**
Peppa Pig	Desenho animado	Reino unido
Cool Catz	apresentado por personagens fantasiados de gatos + animações com esses personagens	África do Sul
Monchhichi Tribe	Desenho animado	Estados Unidos
PJ Masks	Desenho animado	Reino Unido e França
Supa Strikas	Desenho animado	África do Sul e Malásia.
Thomas & Friends	Desenho animado	Reino Unido
The Jungle Bunch: To The Rescue	Desenho animado	França
ALVINNN!!! And The Chipmunks	Desenho animado	França e EUA, franco-estado-unidense
Mia And Me	*Live action CGI animated television series*	Itália, Alemanha e Canadá, Italian-German-Canadian
Jelly Jamm	Desenho animado	Reino Unido; Estados Unidos; Canadá; Espanha; britânica-americana-canadense-espanhola
Be Cool, Scooby-Doo!	Desenho animado	EUA
Voltron: Legendary Defender	Desenho animado	Estados Unidos e Coréia do Sul
Ultimate Spider-Man	Desenho animado	EUA
Trolls: The Beat Goes On!	Desenho animado	EUA
Sofia The First	Desenho animado	EUA
GGO Football 2: International...	Desenho animado	China
Pokémon The Series: Sun & Moon:...	Desenho animado	Japão

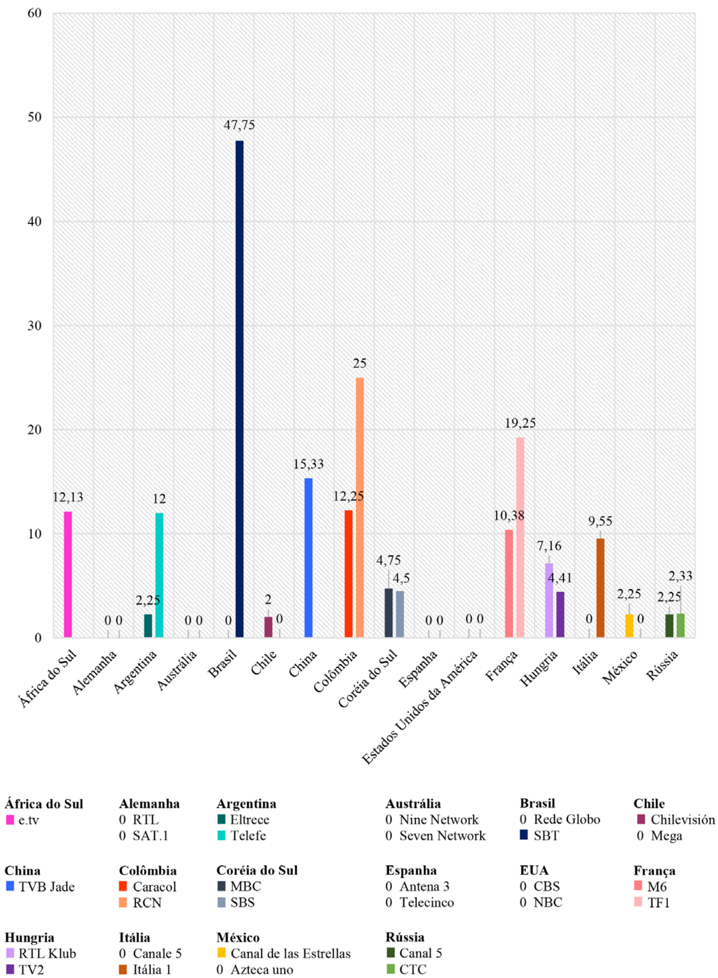
Source: Created by the authors.

late night (when television schedule is not generally aimed to children). Thus, the main criteria to define "children show" which guided our observation were:

– Analysis of the content of these shows
– Explicit age indication of the product as destined for the child audience in official websites of channels or websites specialized on television.
– Observation of preceding and subsequent shows to check if they were also considered adequate for children.
– Advertisement associated with the shows;
– When there was an age rating, we only considered shows suited for all ages or recommended for children.

From these criteria, we gathered cartoons, variety shows – for instance, educational shows, game shows or culinary shows – and serial fiction, such as *Chaves*, *Chapolin*, *Chesperito* and child telenovelas. We chose not to include movies in the analysis because they were not fixed in the schedule and they were not primarily directed to children, but rather for the "family". Graphically, the schedule mapped by us had the following characteristics:

Graph 1 - Presence of children schedule, in hours, in television schedules shown in the period of a week.[12]



Source: Created by the authors.

12 Most of the analyses focused on the period from February 2nd to 8th, 2019. In the cases of Australia, China, United States and Italy, the collection was made from February 11th to February 17th, 2019.

Presence/absence of children shows

Two of the first elements that stand out in Graph 1 are the significant amount of countries that do not broadcast any children shows in broadcast television and, in opposition, the great disparity that Brazil occupies in this scenario. Considering that Germany, Australia, Spain and United States do not have any children schedule in the analyzed channels, there seems to have a tendency of absence of children shows in historically richer western countries. However, we believe that the conventional political/geographical categorization – which dichotomizes the world between east vs west, rich vs poor, Anglo-Saxons vs Latino, for example – may be overly simplistic to explain contemporary phenomena.

That becomes evident when we pay attention to countries in which only one of the selected channels broadcasts children TV shows. Brazil, Chile, Italy and Mexico. Although most of these countries have a recent past of major economic difficulties, they cannot be perceived as a homogenous group. So, while Chile and Mexico have almost 0 children TV shows also in the second channel, Brasil (SBT) and Italy (Itália 1) have a significant presence of children content in the second channel that is analyzed. In addition, richer countries such as France and Hungary present a wide variety of children content, as well as their supposedly poorer companions, Colombia and Argentina.

The same way, "Eastern" countries cannot be perceived as similar, considering, for instance, that China and South Korea present children content, but the first, even with one only channel analyzed (due to the other channel being public) has almost double the amount of content in relation to Korea. Specifically about the presence of children schedule, South Korea is closer to Hungary, while China is more similar to South Africa. And, finally, Russia, which geographically occupies Eastern and Western territories, broadcasts children TV content in both channels analyzed, but in a modest manner: only 5 weekly hours total.

This problematization is essential to understand the place of Brazil on Graph 1. Although there is a certain perception that child content is sparce in broadcast TV, that is only confirmed if we look exclusively to Globo, channel that currently do not present any TV show geared towards children. When we analyze the second channel with the most audience, SBT, the schedule becomes not only significant, but transforms Brazil into the country that shows the biggest amount of children content. In the week we analyzed, we found 47.75 hours of children shows on SBT, almost 2 whole days of this type of content. This major disproportion between Globo and SBT certainly has contextual reasons, related to TV show choices from Globo and, especially, to strategic answers from SBT, which historically develop its television schedule considering, amongst other elements, the audience that is less favored by their main competitor.

What do countries broadcast as children shows?

In addition to quantifying the presence of kids schedule in 30 broadcast programming mapped, the analysis identified some particular characteristics of this material, starting by the nationality of the programs. The idea was mainly to better understand the presence of foreign content in different broadcast programming and to measure some characteristics in the way different countries deal with the relationship between local and global contents.

This goal has a relationship with a contextual aspect, since we know that Brazilian children programming was greatly influenced by foreign content and formats. This happened mainly with television cartoons, whose importation is partly explained by the low production of animations in Brazil (HOLZBACH, 2018), and, also, by some program formats, especially regarding SBT. The channel had, for many years, contracts with media conglomerates, such as Disney, Televisa and Warner, which enabled the creation, for instance, of the kids show *Disney Club* (1997-2001). With a popular audience in the first year of release, the format was presented by children and broadcasted with exclusivity in broadcast TV American cartoons, such as *Goof Troop, Hercules and Timon and Pumbaa.*

In the current schedule of SBT, foreign animations are still predominant. In the period analyzed, the channel broadcasted three shows that present groups of cartoons. *Bom Dia & Cia*, *Sábado Animado* and *Sessão Desenho*. The first one of them is the most long-lasting kids show in Brazilian television – it's on air since 1993 – and it was responsible for 29 hours of kid's programing in the researched week, approximately 60.73% of this type of content. Hosted by Silvia Abravanel, the show has games giving prizes to children through telephone or videocalls, in addition to animations almost exclusively original from the United States, with the exception of the Russian production *Masha and the Bear*. The same happens in *Sessão Desenho*, which broadcast only three animations[13], all of them American. In turn, *Sábado Animado* brings animations from that countries and others with a more diversified origin, such as *Barbie Dreamtopia* (produced by Mattel in USA with the animation of Snoball Studios, from Israel), Rainbow Ruby (co-produced by South Korea, China and Canada) and the only exception of national animation broadcast by the channel, Zuzubalândia[14].

SBT's broadcast programming presents serial fictions, filling 18.75 hours of the week. *Chaves (*from Mexico), *Henry Danger* (superhero comedy from the United States) and re-runs of the remakes of telenovelas *Carrossel*, *Chiquititas* and *Cumplices de um Resgate*. Even though these last two are nationally produced by the channel, they are adaptations of scripts coming from other countries in Latin America – especially Mexico, since the channel has a long partnership with Televisa, from which they buy original products and formats for adaptations. These children production have been receiving investment from SBT since 2012, making the channel the only Brazilian channel that currently produces telenovelas geared towards this audience.

In only 5 of the 30 channels we analyzed all products are originally from the country:

13 *Ben 10*, *Kung Fu Panda* and *Tom & Jerry*.

14 Zuzubalândia was based on the book Jujubalândia (1997), by Mariana Caltabiano, and also in the children's show with the same name that had puppets as characters and it was broadcasted by SBT in 1998.

– Channel 6 (Russia)
– Canal de Las Estrellas (México)
– M6 (France)
– RTL Klub (Hungary)
– SBS (South Korea)

In most cases, however, the amount of hours destined to these products are modest, indicating that local production is still under development, with one exception: the French channel M6, broadcasting over 10 weekly hours of original children shows[15]. The biggest part is composed by animations, including the famous production Alvin and the Chipmunks, broadcast from Monday to Friday, in the early morning. The French case may be related to the still strong presence of public television, which historically invests in educational productions for children and is fairly consumed in this country. The public channel France 2 is the second biggest in the country, being more watched than the channel M6, which motivates a competition that especially values the production of content for children. That also makes TF1, the most watched channel in France, dedicate the mornings to children, including weekends, in a total of almost 20 weekly hours of children content.

Thirteen channels have stations that broadcast shows with different nationalities.

– - Caracol and RCN (Colombia)
– - Chilevisión (Chile)
– - CTC (Russia)
– - e.tv (South Africa)
– - Itália 1 (Italia)
– - MBC (South Korea)
– - SBT (Brazil)
– - Telefe and Eltrece (Argentina)
– - TF1 (France)
– - TV2 (Hungary)

15 Some Productions were made in co-authorship with other countries.

– - TVB (China)

Apparently, there is not a standard of product origin; some concentrate most productions from their own country while others present products with different regions. However, we noticed in some cases the preference for some products coming from countries with geographic or language approximation. For instance, e.tv from South America broadcasts mostly animations coming from countries with English language, one of the official languages of the country, such as United Kingdom and the USA, being the last one the origin of 5 out of the 17 productions of the channel. In TVB, Chinese channel in which most of the children programming are cartoons, out of the 13 productions that compose the period studied, 12 are from Asian countries (China and Japan) and only one show is from France.

We saw that, out of the 18 countries that broadcast children programming, 17 present cartoons in the schedule, which allow us to say that cartoons are the main children content in broadcast TV throughout the world. The exception is Canal de Las Estrellas, from Mexico, which only broadcasts *Chapolin*. We also saw the curious presence of vintage cartoons such as Tom & Jerry, created in 1940, in channels such as CTC (Russia), SBT (Brasil), TV2 (Hungria) and Itália 1(Italy), and *Popeye* created in 1930, broadcasted by SBT. That probably has relation with the children appeal of these contents that may have a timeless effect, in addition to the already commented affection that children hold for re-runs.

Even though there is a certain heterogeneity in the products broadcasted, it is accentuated the presence of cartoons from the United States. In addition of being the main exporter of animations, we identified in nine channels productions or co-productions from the United States: Chilevisión (Chile), CTC (Russia), e.tv (South Africa), Itália 1 (Italy), MBC (South Korea), SBT (Brazil), Telefe (Argentina), TF1 (France) e TV2 (Hungary). On the other hand, countries like China and France, in addition to Korean and Russian channels, represent an interest opposition insofar as they either do not have any American content (China) or show a great amount of national content (France). There is also the occurrence of exclusively national content, as it is the case of Channel 5 from Russia, which only broadcasts as children content Masha and the Bear (in the unusual time slot from 5 to 5:25 AM). Despite the soft presence in the Russian programming, this animation has a good circulation and appeared in the programming of Chilevisión (Chile), SBT (Brazil) and TV2 (Hungary).

Final considerations

If on one hand the proposition of this article is seductive, on the other, we know it is about something as complex as it is limited. Seductive because, when mapping the child programming of different channels around the world, we believe to fill part of a profound gap existing in TV studies related, on one hand, to the place children fill as consumers of television products, and on the other, to the role of broadcast programming as a conjunctural element of television. We know, however, that the complexity of the theme allows us only to suggest in this article some characteristics of this programming that need to be analyzed in subsequent researches, because any analysis that is self-declared "global" is immediately defined as a proposition filled by limitations. In our case, we know that it was impossible to comprise, for instance, profound analyses of the 30 channels we've analyzed, because in addition of comprising a big amount of material, each one of the 16 countries incorporates contextual elements, which would demand debating social/cultural and media characteristics of each channel we've analyzed.

Still, we defend that the mapping performed inserted Brazilian broadcast television in a wider context, in a way of offering new information, such as the contents that different countries show in their channels, in addition to encouraging different gazes about already known phenomena, such as the exclusion of children content performed by Globo. Our study showed that, far from exiguous, the children programming in Brazilian broadcast television is one of the biggest in the world, and that there is still a relation between this programming and the American programming. We could see these elements when we looked at Globo through a global perspective, which inserted this channel in the midst of others, and a contextual perspective as well, also considering SBT, one of their main Brazilian competition.

We saw the dominion of cartoons in the schedule and the importance that imported productions represent in a good part of the world's channels. That happens not only with American cartoons, who travel the world and institute themselves in countries like South Africa, Australia, Brazil and Hungary, but also in the way that other countries, such as Russia, export their cartoons, or ignore the American product, such as France and China. Furthermore, we highlight the countries that invest in the exhibition of children shows, such as Colombia, and the countries whose channels do not invest, such as Germany, Spain and United States. In fact, it is, at the very least, ironic that the United States are the biggest exporter of cartoons, but they do not stimulate this product in their own broadcast television.

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Date of submission: 27/09/2019
Date of acceptance: 15/06/2020

COMUN. MÍDIA CONSUMO, SÃO PAULO, V. 17, N. 49, P. 268-293, MAI./AGO. 2020
DOI 10.18568/CMC.V17I49.2167

Análise de conteúdo do acontecimento jornalístico "Casais de O Boticário"[1]

Content analysis of journalistic event "Casais de O Boticário"

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Resumo: *Este artigo teve como foco realizar uma análise de conteúdo em torno do acontecimento jornalístico "Casais de O Boticário", peça audiovisual divulgada em 2015, que trazia casais homoafetivos se presenteando no Dia dos Namorados. Buscamos perceber como a pauta LGBTQ foi trabalhada nos conteúdos noticiosos, examinando a cobertura dos principais portais brasileiros de notícias online à época (Estadão, Folha, G1, O Globo, Terra, R7, UOL), com a coleta direcionada à captura dos textos com menções à propaganda. Após empreender um mapeamento do conteúdo das 81 notícias identificadas, denota-se, então, que a construção do acontecimento jornalístico em torno da propaganda "Casais" foi permeada de campos problemáticos, sendo os que ficaram mais nítidos: o consumo, a cidadania, a religião e a política.*

Palavras-chave: *análise de conteúdo; casais, LGBTQ; jornalismo; O Boticário.*

Abstract: *This article focuses on a content analysis around the journalistic event "Casais de O Boticário", audiovisual piece published in 2015, which brought gay couples on Valentine's Day. We seek to understand how the LGBTQ subject was worked in news content, examining the coverage of major Brazilian*

1 This research is a partially modified extract of Cirino's (2019) academic work titled "Problematic and deviant textualities: the formation of a discursive multiverse around the journalistic event "Casais de O Boticário", under the supervision of Prof. Elton Antunes.

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news portals online at the time (Estadão, Folha, G1, O Globo, Terra, R7, UOL), with the capture directed to texts with mention about the advertising. After undertake a mapping of the content of the 81 identified news, we realized that the construction of the journalistic event around the advertisement "Casais" was permeated with problematic fields, and those who were crisper are: the consumption, citizenship, religion and politics.

Keywords: *content analysis; couples; LGBTQ; journalism; O Boticário.*

Introduction

Many people that were in Brazil in June 2015, were somehow surprised by an audiovisual advertisement signed by O Boticário in which homosexual couples give gifts to one another on Valentine's day, celebrated, in the country, on June 12th. The advertisement piece was broadcast, initially, on May 24th, 2015, during the commercial break of Fantástico, one of the shows with the biggest audience at Rede Globo de Televisão. However, the advertisement gained strength of circulation mainly on online social media, after being posted and shared on O Boticário's account on social media. The video in question reached almost four million views on the brand's YouTube page and won the main award at Effie Awards Brazil 2015.

The advertisement was developed with audiovisual elements that are common to this type of production: soundtrack, presentation of characters that are going to give gifts to their significant others and a highlight for the products that are being advertised. In the end, breaking possible heteronormative expectations, considering the timeline of the script of a standard advertisement narrative of big brands, not every couple that appear are like they are foreseen in the beginning of the script, or even as they are traditionally represented. In the ad, homosexual couples appear, an aspect that configure by breaking expectation and bringing controversy, a central element of the disruption of an event (QUÉRÉ, 2005). The rupture in the standard representation of couples, in the moment of Valentine's Day, impacted on different opinions and controversial positions, evidenced by posts on online social media, such as Facebook, YouTube, Twitter (SILVA; SALGADO, 2016). The intertwining of the episode mentioned with the scenario of LGBTQ identities in Brazil was figured as essential to clarify the intrinsic elements to the dissemination of information that collaborate to shape identities, beliefs and practical actions.

As affirmed by Carvalho (2014, p. 132): "[…] It is particularly productive […] For us to think about communication as a metaphor to unveil the social, or in other words, the relationships, mediations and interactions that communicative processes establish with the social setting". Analyzing this mediation of a subject that faces traditional standards of the current social structure, considering that individuals that are beyond or in the borders of sexuality and gender are increasingly coming out (LEAL, VAZ; ANTUNES, 2010), it becomes crucial to unveil forms of appearance of problematizations and how they are engendered in journalism to gain visibility.

The conflicts of actors and social themes are gathered on journalistic textualities in a controlled simulation (MIGUEL; BIROLI, 2010), which can be visualized as an attempt of exposure of what is real, through the lenses with distortions inherent of their activities, being in some moments a magnifying glass – increasing or decreasing –, narrating universes and wide discursive spaces that, when mixed with textuality, fatally suffer reductionisms inherent to the activity.

O Boticário belongs to Grupo Boticário and, according to their official website, counts with over 10 thousand employees, working in the different brands composing this entrepreneurial conglomerate (O Boticário, Eudora, Quem Disse, Berenice? and The Beauty Box), began in 1977, as a prescription drugstore. As the fifth biggest group of retail and multi-branding, it works from the industry, researching and producing beauty products, to the sale point, in different physical and virtual channels, with a revenue of over 12 billion reais. The advertisement with homosexual couples initiated a series of other pieces from O Boticário, that brought up debate and reflection on divorce, ethnic diversity, adoption, sexism, among other topics in the last four years.

The data collection took place between May 28th and July 15th, 2017, without the use of specific software, through the research system of the websites themselves, to find history of publication, using the keywords: "O Boticário", "Valentine's Day", "Couples ad". As a result, we found 81 texts, being the biggest amount of publications on the theme performed by the websites *Folha* (19-23%), followed by *Estadão* (16-20%), *UOL* (15-19%), *G1* (11-14%), *Terra* (10-12%), *Globo* (6-7%) and *R7* (4-5%).

Organizing data by date and amount of texts, we can see that the biggest amount in one day (14 posts – 17%) was concentrated in 06/03/15, followed by 06/04/15 (nine posts – 11%), 06/02/15 (eight posts – 10%) and 06/05/15 (seven posts – 9%). In order to understand the sample, it is important to highlight that from 06/01/15 to 06/05/15, 51% of the total of texts published on 2015 about the advertisement were posted, which means that in this five-day period arise half of the data analyzed. Generally, the great epicenter of discussion of the theme happened from 06/01/15 to 06/12/15, with 74% of the total of posts.

Methodological structuration

Considering the amount of material initially collected, we investigated possible recurrences in the 81 texts collected through a content analysis – CA (BARDIN, 1977), based on the rule of exclusivity (all texts on the theme in the defined period), supplying a general map of these materials. The analysis of newspapers is framed in the possible dominions of CA application, in the linguistic scope of "writing". The purpose, more than being descriptive, is to make a learning opportunity through determined recurrences exposed in the studied textuality (BARDIN, 1977).

In order to evaluate the form the recurrences of content emerge in the texts, we coded the material. "One of the operational instruments in the composition of this mapping is the so-called coding or indexation sheet" (LEAL; CARVALHO, 2012b, p. 17). Due to the amount of material collected to this phase, we opted to develop an electronic sheet for condensation of coding data. It was divided into ten main categories of analysis, some inspired in the study by Leal and Carvalho (2012b) about journalism and homophobia, in which we filled the information obtained through a critical reading of content.

As the first category, we undertook sample identification: the date of publication, the title used to name it and the journalistic genre characteristic in which such textuality is fit into, the publishing company/blog/webpage in which it was inserted. We also indicated their origin, if it was bought from a news agency, coming from a company release or produced by the outlet.

Then, we analyzed the approach of the outlet in relation to the text: what was their position on the ad, if they were favorable, neutral or unfavorable, and if the theme of the advertisement was approached in a secondary manner, if it was only an allusion or if it was the main subject of that publication. We also listed the themes evoked in the sample, showing the events, happenings and subjects brought up in this context.

The next categories presented have one characteristic in common: all of them had their topics filled as they emerged in the sample, in other words, we released the general category for critical reading and as they appeared in the text they demonstrated the groups. It is also important to point out that we did not do a quantification of frequency in each text, but rather the entire sample. As an example, in a news story, a consumer of O Boticário's products mentioned five times the advertisement of the brand as a "video of the demise of moral values". For effects of the research, we only counted that this nomination happened in that text, not how many times it happened. The same was applied to other situations.

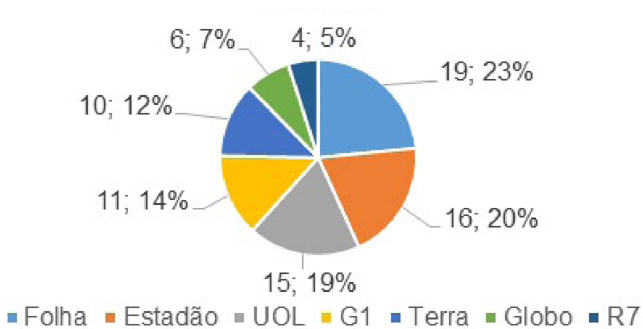
In this perspective, we raised related themes present in the news to get a glimpse of the performed chains, which events and subjects were involved in this problematic fields, as well as the incidence of their presence in the texts, correlating with the approach. In this time, we also checked how the news outlet named the advertisement "Casais" during the text, consulting the possible impact, when framing in certain formats, and also how they named the event around the advertisement.

We created the category "actors to understand which were the main members of these text, grouped essentially in general fields, such as "religion, science, politics, artists, activists", so we could understand what type of actor were mentioned or evoked the most in this textuality. In order to specifically fulfill the objectives of this research, we also looked how the identities related to sexuality and gender appeared in the sample. We listed the terms that emerged in the text to know how they call the people (gays, lesbians, transgenders, etc.) and also their love configurations (homosexual, couples, etc.)

About the content

The sample was composed by all the texts from the main news portals in Brazil, which mentioned directly or indirectly the campaign "Casais" from O Boticário, in 2015, which resulted in 81 materials, from the outlets: 19 (23%) from *Folha*; 16 (20%) from *Estadão*; 15 (19%) from *UOL*; 11 (14%) from *G1*; 10 (12%) from *Terra*; 6 (7%) from *Globo*; 4 (5%) from *R7*.

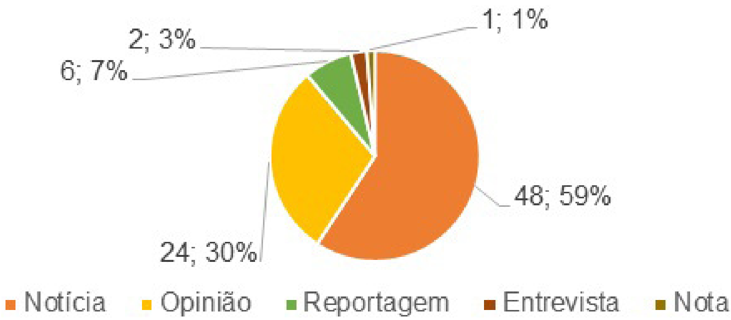
Image 1 - Graph: outlets



Source: created by the author.

Folha and Estadão stood out as the news outlets that published the most about the subject, due to, mainly, blogs and columns that discussed the theme. In Folha's case, thanks to the presence of texts published in the newspaper that were replicated online. The others had a presence essentially of news, reports and interviews. The borders of journalistic genres may get blurred when we approach texts coming from the web, still, for effect of an initial approximation, we classified each text into more general categories of journalism production.

Image 2 - Graph: journalistic genre



Source: created by the author.

We classified 48 (59%) texts as news, considering their predominantly informative tone, with a more factual focus; 24 (30%) were identified as "opinion", as more punctual examples we had the presence of chronicles, articles, blog posts, reader panel, columns, etc.; 6 (7%) were in the category report, because they deepened the discussion of the theme, presented other chained subjects, as well as the loss of the factual tone; 2 (3%) were more inclined to the interview format, due to the presence of explicit questions and answers from the interviewee, in the classic "ping-pong" style. Finally, 1 (1%) text was considered a note, because of the length and and how it brought punctual information.

The presence of many opinion texts reflects the controversial characteristics of the theme, which conquered the gaze of article writers and bloggers in news outlets in Brazil. Even though it did not represent an expressive amount, the existence of reports that speculated about the subject shows that the event was not fleeting, but it had enough lifespan to demand the production of special journalistic texts, bringing experts, characters and other situations, not only the case of the controversy.

Another characteristic of these reports is that they were not produced by the outlets analyzed, they came from news agencies. Despite their total amount (six), only two texts originated these publications. "What do evangelicals that are going to boycott Boticário say?", posted by the news websites UOL and Terra, and "Companies bet in advertisements with gays to 'modernize image'" which appeared in the news websites G1, UOL, R7 and Terra, both typed by BBC-Brazil.

About the origin of the texts, then, we classify 72 (89%) as produced by the outlet itself and 9 (11%) coming from news agencies.

Image 3 - Graph: Text origin

Source: created by the author.

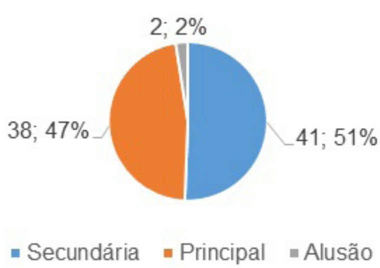
This definition was created based in the mention of authorship attributed to other websites, such as BBC Brazil and *Estadão Conteúdo*, and for visualizing that many portals published the same text. With the lack of this mention, or the proximity of the texts, we understand that they were produced by the staff of the portal. Another goal of this part of the analysis was to verify if there was some text motivated by the O Boticário release or some brand, however, with the material we've collected, and the absence of brand releases, it wasn't possible to identify if something was copied, except the official "speeches" of the cosmetic company.

We also mapped the information on the approach of the advertisement and their event in texts. 41 (51%) posts versed in a secondary form about the theme, in other words, they brought the discussion chained to another topic that was central to the content; almost tied, 38 (47%) texts brought the advertisement and/or the controversy surrounding it as the main focus, despite that, they mostly presented other situations for the discussion; only two (2%) texts were classified as being texts with allusion to the advertisement, because they only mentioned the subject and/or event without further development.

We perceive, in this sample, a frequent interconnection of subjects. Even though the event of the controversy was concentrated in June 2015, until the end of the year, there were repercussions that justified their news as main focus during all this period: the archiving of the lawsuit on Conar, the award of the ad on Effie Awards, etc.

Other textualities evoked, yet, the discussion of the advertisement in a secondary form in the studied period: events like Marcha para Jesus, the LGBT parade in São Paulo, other advertisements with the LGBTQ theme, other controversial ads that led to a creation of a lawsuit on Conar, etc. About the allusions, it only happened in a note – a highlight of Estadão presenting an article that would be published in the evening issue, especially for tablet, and an interview with a book author on the LGBTQ theme that cites, in the middle of his conversation with Folha, the controversy with O Boticário.

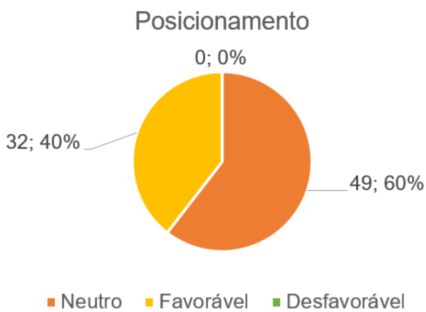
Image 4 - Graph: approach on the ad



Source: created by the author.

Our proposition was to analyze the position of the news outlets creating the text in relation to the ad and/or event, regardless of the speech positioned to sources and characters of the texts, considering the elements brought by journalism, which could define a side in this story. Among the texts, 49 (40%) were classified as "neutral" in their position about the advertisement and/or controversial event, mainly because they didn't define or framed the situation with ideologically positioned terms, which could demonstrate the news website posture about the theme; the other 32 (40%) texts brought some element during the typing of the text that can be understood as a favorable position to the advertisement.

Image 5 - Graph: position about the advertisement



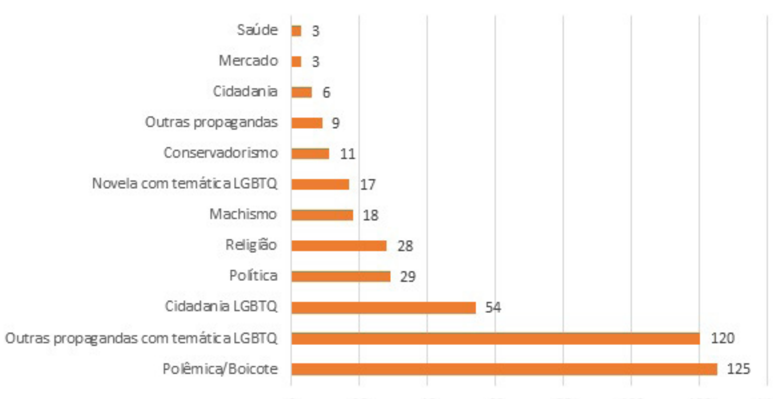
Source: created by the author.

We found 17 texts as "favorable", which are in the category opinion, which, due to its opinionated condition, had a bigger tendency to become favorable or not to the event. Still in this sense, we also found 15 news, in its majority, due to the use of terms that the controversy around the ad as an act of homophobia, motivated by social network users and religious groups. None of the texts was identified as "unfavorable", even though there were strong opinions of religious figures, that treated the situation as a campaign in favor of "homosexualism", a derogatory term that refers to homosexuality as a disease. We recognize that journalism does not always leave traces of its unfavorable position about some themes when they use shortcuts, such as the voices attributed to other people, outsourcing the responsibility of ideological and political consequence. For this research, since the goal was to check the position of the news outlet, even these outsourced mentions did not turn the position of the text as unfavorable.

Through the next results, we did not present percentages, bearing in mind that the mentions were counted, in some situation, with more than one incident in the same text, since the use of percentages could give a wrong view of representativity in the entirety of the texts. For example, some publications did not bring any direct or indirect voice, others, in turn, presented at least five of them. The first category of this scenario is the analysis of themes present in 81 texts studied. We seek to verify which subjects and events, and possible problematic fields were evoked in the discussion.

We found 89 coded themes in a distinctive manner that emerged in these texts. Aiming the best comprehension, the data were categorized in groups of main themes, being them, listed from the biggest amount of mentions to the smallest: 125 – controversy/boycott; 120 – Other advertisements with LGBTQ theme; 54 – LGBTQ Citizenship; 29 – Politics; 28 – Religion; 18 – Sexism; 17 – soap operas with LGBTQ theme; 11 – conservatism; 9 – other ads; 6 – Citizenship; 3 – Market; 3 – Health; 1 – Other (telenovelas). O Boticário ad was a transversal theme in every sample, because of that it was not quantified, however, the "controversy" and the "campaign for boycott" were counted to understand how many mentions there were about the ad specifically with that focus. In addition, we took into consideration, in this big group, the Conar lawsuit, Reclame Aqui, Tumblr page "Aproveita e boicota também", the circulation of messages on WhatsApp asking for the boycott and the award given to the ad "Casais".

Image 6 - Graph: group of themes emerging in the texts



Source: created by the author.

The second subject with the biggest amount of mentions was the "other ads with LGBTQ theme", due to the profile of the texts that were published in this sample when they mentioned the advertisement from O Boticário, recurred to other cases that already happened in Brazil and in the world, or even related, through a list, the ads that brought up LGBTQ identities or relationships under this configuration. Among the codifications that were gathered by this group, the ones who discussed the subject of brands/companies that support the LGBTQ cause and sexual diversity were present; advertisements and campaigns from Sonho de Valsa, Gol, Motorola, BB Seguros, Coca-Cola, Arezzo, Natura (with a specific focus on a beginning of a boycott that the brand had, initiated by Marco Feliciano), Oreo, Ikea, Ben & Jerry's, Tiffany and Co., Microsoft, Telefónica, Magnum, Renault, Prefeitura do Rio, Banco Wells Fargo, McDonald's, Honey Maid and Hallmark Cards. Furthermore, in this category, it was also evoked an ad with a gay kiss, rejected in 2000.

In turn, the third group of themes considered the discussion in relation to the LGBTQ citizenship, grouping, under this category, the LGBT pride parade in São Paulo, homosexual marriage, adoption by homosexual couples, gay marriage in the United States, the Facebook campaign "#LoveWins", the trans actress that acted the crucifixion in the parade, the trans Caitlyn Jenner and the steady union approved by STF in Brazil, in 2011. Not only in this case, but also in other mentions, it became clear the gathering of previous themes to compose the texts, with historical milestones or even other advertisements and telenovelas that approached this context, brought up to contribute on the approach of LGBTQ issues in Brazil.

Next, in "politics", we had mentions to politics, bills and specific events, such as Eduardo Cunha as the president of the chamber of deputies, Straight Pride day, bill against children advertisement portraying gay families, Family Statute, hacking of Marco Feliciano's page, anti-sodomy law in the United States, Dilma Roussef with record of negative popularity, reduction of the age of criminal responsibility, chemical dependence, Marta Suplicy with insinuations on her political opposition, campaign "Da Proibição Nasce o Tráfico" and the bill "Cristofobia". All of them were intimately connected to the LGBTQ discussions as a response to some action of these identities, such as the bill of Cristofobia – direct reaction compared to "homophobia", due to sacred art being broken during the LGBT Pride Parade in São Paulo, in June 2015, and the recurring "Straight Pride day" also in response to the growing importance of the parade and the day of fight against homophobia; others appear to be inter-related, but indirectly, levered by other discussions, being understood as a third degree theme, such as president Dilma's popularity, issues on chemical dependence and the campaign "Da Proibição Nasce o Tráfico", for example.

In the religion category, there were issues of Protestantism and Catholicism, among them, mainly mentioned, the request for boycott from the minister Silas Malafaia to the brand O Boticário, followed by the March For Jesus, cure of homosexuality, mass pamphlet condemning homophobia in the congress, Marco Feliciano criticizing Malafaia, American minister accusing Pokémon to turn children into homosexuals, minister cheating on his wife with a churchgoer, release of the book *Ovelha - Memórias de um Pastor Gay (Sheep - Memoirs of a gay minister)*.

In the themes that involved the main discussion on "sexism" presented in advertisement, we highlighted the ad "mimimi", on menstrual cramps, led by Preta Gil, Itaipava's summer that quantified the ml of beer and silicon of the woman in the advertisement, ads from Bombril, Risqué and Skol, in addition to a campaign mobilizing scientist women against sexist comments.

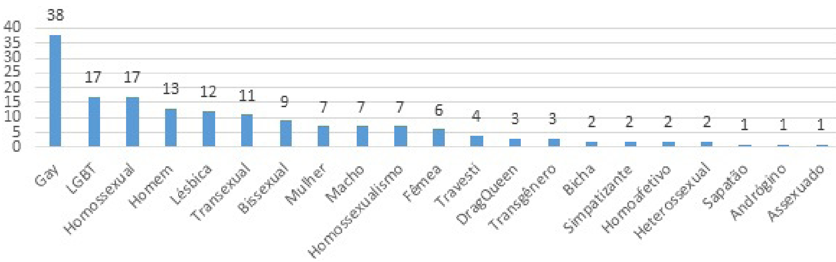
There were also in the texts the television productions that approached the LGBTQ thematic, being the themes grouped under this category: the telenovela Babilônia and all the controversy surrounding it due to the kiss between lesbian elder women. This scene, was, precisely, a historic milestone in telenovelas with LGBTQ couples, along with the telenovela Amor à Vida, shown in 2013, which brought "Felix", a gay character.

In addition to those, other themes were present, composing the categories Conservatism, Other Ads, Citizenship, Market, Health and Other Telenovelas, a little distant from the LGBTQ scene, but still keeping in its core some connection. Out of these, it is important to highlight the mention of health that, although low on quantity, evoked controversial topics, such as the fact that the American president Ronald Wilson Reagan (1911-2004) had pronounced the word "AIDS" only in 1985, the exclusion of homosexuality as an illness by WHO and the chemical castration of Alan Turing.

We also promoted the raise of mentions related to identities, about sexuality and gender, to check which were more commonly used in the texts. Listing per quantity of mentions, from biggest to smallest, we had as result: 38 – gay; 17 – LGBT and homosexual; 13 – Man; 12 – Lesbian; 11 – Trans; 9 – Bisexual; 7 – Male and homosexualism; 6 – Female; 4 – Transvestite; 3 – Drag queen and transgender; 2 – Fag, supporter, homoaffective, heterosexual; 1 – Lesbo, androgynous and asexual.

The fact that the term "gay" was highlighted as the main used in the examined texts shows, still, their frequent use as generalist, defining and representative of all LGBTQ discussion and identities. In second place, LGBT, acronym used by São Paulo's Pride Parade, which justifies their result of mentions. In third, homosexual, also more common in the definition of people that deviate the heteronormative standard. Other identities were mentioned, mainly, when listed to explain the acronym "LGBT". Then, we see the mention of the term "man", which was quantified in this research to analyze this mention in this scenario; as well as "woman", which had a smaller representativity in this sample, but still showed up, when the news tried to explain the advertisement as showing men and women exchanging gifts on Valentine's Day. In the same group, appeared the terms "male" and "female", due to the texts that cited mentions of evangelicals, as being this the formation of the "correct" condition of humanity: couples of males and females, which, in some mentioned, sounded like an animalized view, of sex being solely for reproduction, for example, furthermore, to the recurring use of the transcription of Malafaia's video, which made that same kind of affirmation.

Image 7 - Graph: Identities - Sexuality/Gender

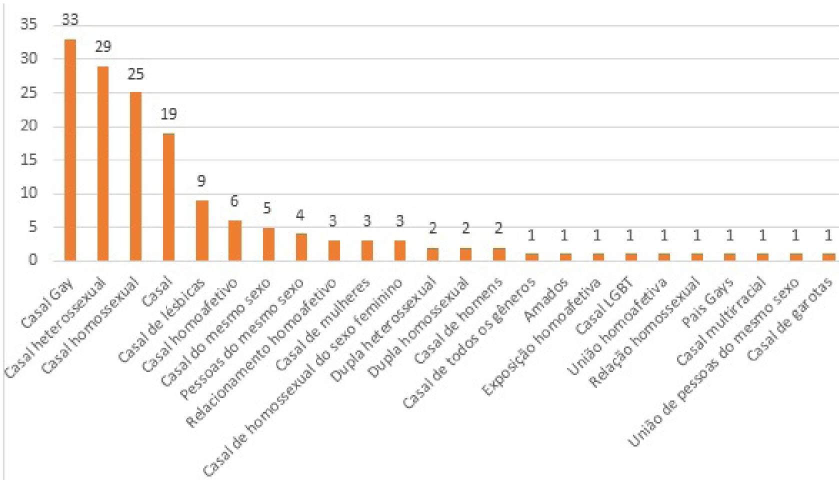


Source: elaborated by the author.

This was one of the counterpoints of this audiovisual production from O Boticário: the normativity was there, even when the subject was about diversity. As a hook for identities, it was coded the type of name to approach relationships/couples. The main verified were: 35 – Gay couple; 29 – Straight couple; 25 – Homosexual couple; 19 – Couple.

The following result resembles the identities one, since the news outlets adopted the mention of the advertisement as a campaign that showed gay couples, in a generalist manner, including all types of configurations of LGBTQ relationship in them. The terms "heterosexual couple" and "homosexual couple" had a high index of mentions, also due to the explanation of texts, saying that the advertisement showed "different types of couples, heterosexual and homosexual couples".

Image 8 - Graph: Couples



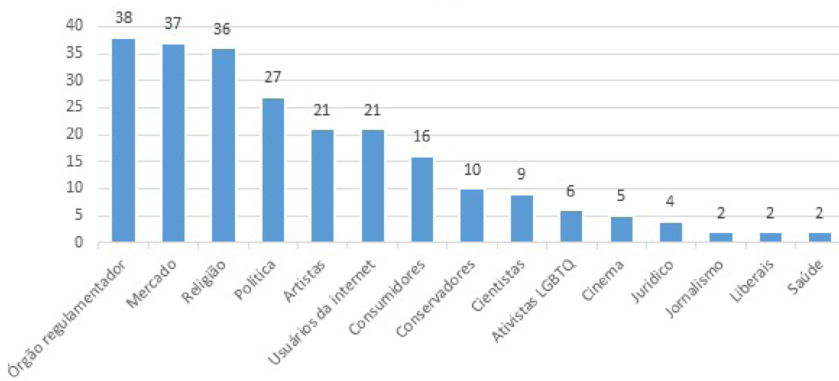
Source: created by the author.

From that, in amounts inferior to ten mentions, we also had: 9 mentions – couple of lesbians; 6 mentions – homoaffective couple; 5 mentions – same sex couple; 4 mentions – people with the same sex; 3 mentions – homoaffective relationship, couple of women, couple of homosexuals of the female gender; 2 mentions – heterosexual and homosexual duo, couple of men; 1 mention – couples of every gender, loved, homoaffective exposure, LGBT couple, homoaffective union, homosexual relation, gay parents, multi-racial couple, same sex union, couple of girls. It is important to highlight the differentiation made in some mentions, such as "duo", "relationship", "union", "loved", "exposure", given the peculiarities of each one of them, show, still, the challenge of journalism and society in naming LGBTQ relationships.

Furthermore, we counted which were the actors evoked in these texts for us to understand who were more present in the event, classifying them into big groups. Per quantitative order of biggest mention: 38 – Self-regulating institution; 37 – Market; 36 – Religion; 27 – Politics; 21 – Artists; 21 – Internet users; 16 – Consumers; 10 – Conservatists;

9 – Scientists; 6 – LGBTQ Activists; 5 – Cinema; 4 – Law; 2 – Journalism; Liberals and Health.

Image 9 - Graph. Actors present in texts

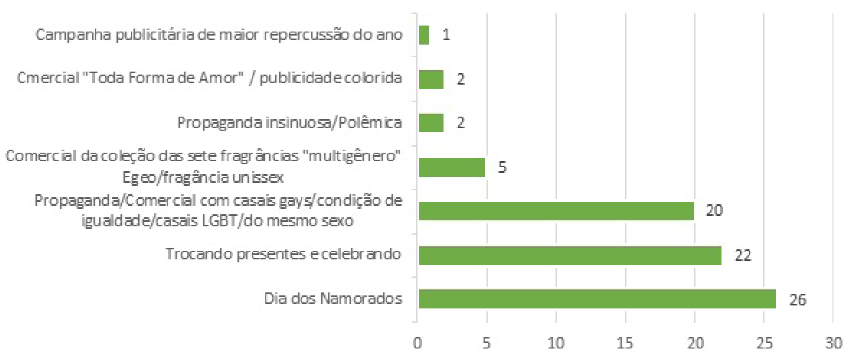


Source: created by the author.

The self-regulating institution of advertisement in Brazil was an actor with a considerable presence in this sample, either due to the lawsuit opened in Conar to judge the ad "Couples", or for other ads. Brands, businessmen and other representatives of the market also were commonly present in the texts, approaching the discussions on the repositioning of the brands. In general, the market was a type of actor already evoked by the own event, considering it emerged from the company O Boticário. Religion was a part in many texts, mainly due to the direct entry of minister Silas Malafaia in the subject, the event March for Jesus, as well as other religious figures that were directly or indirectly mentioned. The political actors have also participated. Moreover, these two – religion and politics – are intertwined in some moments, either due to secondary controversial themes, which evoked these actors, but also due to some people that are in the border of these areas. Marco Feliciano is a minister and a deputy. The definition of in which category he would be qualified was defined from what the outlet named him: if he were considered a deputy, he got into the amount for politics, for instance. This high result of politics and religion is also justified by the own counter-sense, performed in the context of the last years of our country: a group of evangelicals and conservatists in politics, which impede the advance of laws for LGBTQ issues, as well as the constant contrary opinion to any action geared towards sexual diversity.

Many artists were also evoked in these textualities, either for interpreting some advertisement or telenovela, or for taking a stand in relation to the O Boticário controversy. Internet users, of online social networks, of Reclame Aqui and others, were brought into these discussions, with the use of their reports/publications. As the ones that were classified as "consumers", which appeared somehow contrary or in favor to the advertisement. With ten apparitions or less, we had the conservatists, almost always mentioned in a generalized form, some professors, researchers and scientists, LGBTQ activists, people or situations in cinema, law, even journalism, liberals and health. We also established, as focus of investigation, the form how the ad "Casais" was considered in the examined texts, checking possible adjectives/framings that were used.

Image 10 - Graph. Naming the ad.



Source: created by the author

The mention as a "Valentine's Day" ad (26) was the main one, ranking it as a seasonal campaign, geared towards the day which celebrates love relationships. Then, we also classified as an advertisement that presented people "exchanged gifts and celebrated" (22), reducing the context in a more simplified manner, considering it as a time to give and receive gifts and to celebrate Valentine's day.

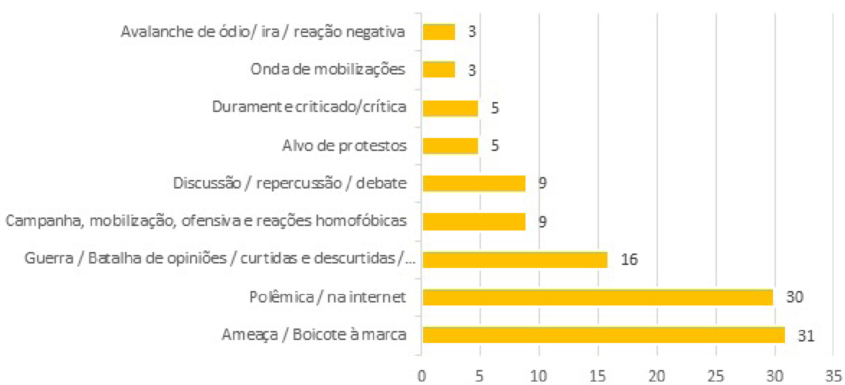
The advertisement was also called as a commercial that showed "gay/ LGBT couples", "couples in condition of equality", and "same-sex couples", (20) focusing in classifying it as an ad about sex diversity. Others considered it as an "advertisement about a seven-fragrance multi-gendered collection Egeo/Unisex fragrance" (5), making a reference that the product is indicated to all people, regardless of sex, something that could be more problematized in these texts, but became forgotten in the midst of the boycott. The ad was also considered a "controversial/ insinuating advertisement" (2), referring to the exposure of homoaffective couples, but at the same time, making a value judgement with the term "insinuating". There were texts that talked about the issue of love/affection and sexual diversity, while calling the ad "'every type of love'/'colorful advertisement'" (2). Finally, in one of the texts it was considered the "advertisement campaign with the biggest representation in the year" (1) – of 2015, showing the magnitude of the event.

The second nomination verified in this analysis was about the event. The results show that the occurrence that emerged from the advertisement "Couples" was approached, mainly as a threat/boycott (31), controversy/controversy on the internet (30), virtual war/battle of opinions/likes and (dis)likes (16), campaign, mobilization, homophobic offense and reactions (9), discussion/repercussion/debate (9), target of protests (5), harshly criticized/critic (5), wave of mobilization (3), and avalanche of hate/rage/negative reaction (3).

The threat of boycott or boycott to the brand was used since July 1st, 2015, with the first news classifying, mainly, the manifestation on online social media. It gave strength to the term when the minister Silas Malafaia, perceiving the great space created by other internet users, calls religious people to boycott O Boticário with the justification that the brand wanted to make a campaign in favor of "homosexualism" and against "the Brazilian family". This term was dragged throughout all the event, as well as calling the event a "controversy" or specifically an "internet controversy", which was also used to classify the occurrence around the ad still in their first mentions. That leads us to reflect on its symbolic space in which the controversy was delimitated. "on the internet", explaining the event as something essentially online.

Other group of important terms for this analysis was the one who called the event as a war (and some variations of that word) between "likes" and "dislikes", in the virtual field, making a direct reference to the movement to raise likes and dislikes in the ad on YouTube. It is not fortuitous that it was considered a battle, because there were really soldiers on both sides, promoting ideologic attacks and counter-attacks, in the fight for the supremacy of interests.

Image 11 - Graph: Name of the event



Source: created by the author.

We should highlight the nomination of these acts as homophobic actions, classified like that, mainly, by texts on Folha, but with at least one mention on G1 and on Terra, framing it as an act of disgust towards LGBTQ individuals. The others, with less quantity, but also expressive in distinct scenarios, were the mentions calling the event a "discussion", that were "a target of protests", "harshly criticized", through a "wave of mobilizations", and an "avalanche of hate".

Final Considerations

The mapping performed by the analysis of content had the following main results: the sample is essentially composed by news (59%), with identified authors (54%), in a secondary approach (51%), coming from the city of São Paulo (51%), with a neutral position (60%) and produced by the outlets themselves (89%). In summary, it had as main thematic group the controversy and boycott around the ad (125 mentions) with the most frequent apparition of the "gay" identity (38 mentions) and the affectionate configuration "gay couple" (33 mentions), among the social actors, which most stood out in the sample was Conar - self-regulating institution of propaganda in Brazil (38 mentions); the ad was mainly called as a "Valentine's day ad" (26 mentions) and the event as a "threat/threat to boycott the brand" (31 mentions). About the voices, they were direct (179); and both, direct and indirect, came from mainly the "company" group (48 and 26, respectively). It is noted, then, that the construction of the journalistic event on the social event around the ad "Casais" was surrounded by problematic fields, being the clearest ones: consumption, citizenship, religion and politics, these two last ones, in some moments, intimately related.

From that, we can get a glimpse of the event of the controversy around the ad can be considered, based on our results, an agglomeration of other micro and macro events at the time, creating a type of configuration that was not experienced before. Not necessarily unheard of, but new in its origin and consequences, enabling an essence of novelty and announcing new times. In other words, it enabled to open/express new moments of polarization in society, in which opinions became more evident, being in favor of or against same-sex relationships, for instance. Therefore, it is possible to understand that the event above also gained this format thanks to the journalistic coverage itself, once it gave an outline, concept, history and meaning. The news dimension proposes more robust color and traces to the social dynamics established daily and, in this case, it wasn't different, the movement existed on and offline, but it gained a status of notoriety when it was propelled by the journalistic content.

Another relevant point is the classification of "likes" and "dislikes" of the video of the ad "Casais" from O Boticário on YouTube, as a thermometer of public opinion. News brought this information as if it was revealing of a referendum for the appearance or not of same-sex couples in ads, or the existence or not of LGBTQ identities in Brazil. It wasn't about that. The likes can be a factor to be considered with relevance in normal situations, but not in a case like that, in which happened a movement of boycott on one side and a counter-resistance on the other. This tug-of-war of likes only favored the brand advertiser, that raised the views on the video, regardless of the side the likes were directed towards. As mentioned, these opinions of online social media cannot be considered the current Greek "Agora", in which there, the public opinion, is condensed and can be used without further explanation. The number of likes, in itself, says nothing, but it could be contextualized and founded so it said, as a factor of detailing of social opinion included in this debate.

The event "Casais de O Boticário" was a possibility of perceiving that while we strengthened actions geared towards love, equality and diversity, there are opposite forces that try to diminish that possibility of re-signification in the society, through hate speech. At the time of the ad, made for Valentine's Day, moment that should be focused on love, hate took the stage and, at the same time, gave more visibility in the news to the event, stealing part of these spaces to expose the conservatism translated into homophobic practices. In this sense, "gay" became an aggregating element that cannot exist in society, amalgamating, there, the desire of boycott and the attempt of creating a common enemy, with the uprising of the flag against "sex education" and "ideology of gender", common terms in the speech of social agents that want to de-construct activist practices.

From that, the posture of journalistic producers became clear: the priority was not to clarify and discuss the theme, but to inform facts, one by one, in a chain and superposition of situations that do not explain but complicate. The stronger example of this issue is when, recurrently, was used the term “homosexualism” on behalf of the people against the ad, specially Malafaia himself; however, journalism did not take the opportunity to revive the collective memory with facts referring to this term, and what it means, making, in this case, an omission (which is, in itself, an action of “not doing”).

What made the ad “Casais” generate a controversy, which conducted the theme to the journalistic symbolic space, was a set of factors previously alluded in this research; however, two main points can be highlighted: the appearance of homosexual couples in a presumed “equality” to heterosexual ones and the timeslot of broadcasting the ad on TV. These two characteristics, in addition to the social and political moment at the time, resulted in the existence of a movement against O Boticário.

These journalisms visualized in this article exposed a dangerous scenario of our current reality: the attribution of public opinion exclusively to some posts on online social media, summarizing the discussions of society in a few internet users and their perceptions, either by the need for the agile post of news or for the lack of commitment of seeking sources and characters that are pertinent to the subject, allowing the “loudest” or “ugliest” to take the space of the others, serving as a place to expose extremes and caricatures of society. All of them put, apparently, in the same level before the news: opinions and official speeches mixed without the proper highlight for the position of each one. These issues expose an inefficiency of journalism when treating about these subjects, either because of a wrong elaboration or something made intentionally (consciously or unconsciously) for the maintenance of status quo or to avoid that the boycott is made towards media, instead of advertisement. All of that was passible of analysis even through an apparently “simple” advertisement piece, due to their elements of production, but complex, thanks to the amount of problematic fields that they got to act, configure and emerge.

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Date of submission: 19/10/2019
Date of acceptance: 21/04/2020

A R T I G O

COMUN. MÍDIA CONSUMO, SÃO PAULO, V. 17, N. 49, P. 294-319, MAI./AGO. 2020
DOI 10.18568/CMC.V17I49.2152

Mercado de afetos no Japão: um estudo sobre Gatebox e o convívio amoroso com personagens

Affective market in Japan: a study on Gatebox and loving relationships with characters

Beatriz Yumi Aoki[1]
Christine Greiner[2]

Resumo: *Este artigo tem como objetivo refletir sobre uma tendência recente de mercado cuja oferta de produtos busca estimular relações afetivas. O exemplo analisado é o Gatebox, que proporciona ao consumidor a experiência de morar com sua personagem favorita. Há novas formas de consumo e interação que emergem deste contexto, especialmente em países onde as companhias virtuais já são consideravelmente difundidas, como é o caso do Japão. A fundamentação teórica reúne autores como Takeyama (2005); Kurotani (2014); Illouz (2011); Giard (2016); Azuma (2009); Barral (2000); e a pesquisa do filósofo Brian Massumi (2015), sobretudo no âmbito da filosofia e da economia. A metodologia de pesquisa parte de uma ampla revisão bibliográfica reunindo autores japoneses e ocidentais, desdobrando-se em pesquisas de campo no Japão*[3]*, realizadas pelas autoras nos últimos cinco anos, incluindo visita a centros de pesquisa, laboratórios, sex shops e feiras. O resultado é um panorama preliminar do estado da arte do fenômeno Gatebox e da cultura otaku no Japão e um levantamento de questões que analisam as relações afetivas transdimensionais entre seres humanos e personagens, assim como o impacto crescente destas relações em redes específicas de consumo no Japão e em países ocidentais.*

Palavras-have: *consumo; mercado de afetos; Gatebox.*

Abstract: *This article aims to reflect on a recent market trend whose products seek to stimulate affective relationships. The analyzed example is Gatebox, which provides consumers with the experience of living with their favorite character. There are new forms of consumption and interaction that emerge from this context,*

especially in countries where virtual companies are considerably widespread, as it is in Japan. The theoretical basis brings together authors such as Takeyama (2005); Kurotani (2014); Illouz (2011); Giard (2016), Azuma (2009), Barral (2000); and the research of the philosopher Brian Massumi (2015), especially on the scope of philosophy and economics. The research methodology is based on a wide bibliographic review involving Japanese and Western authors, unfolding in a field research in Japan, carried out in the last five years, including visits to laboratories, sex shops and expositions. The result is a preliminary overview of the state of the art of the Gatebox phenomenon and otaku culture in Japan and on first reflections on the transdimensional affective relationships between human beings and characters, as well as the growing impact of these relationships on specific consumer networks in Japan and in Western countries.

Keywords*: consumption; affective market; Gatebox.*

Introduction

In the Japanese affective market, you can find everything. The wide array of products and services comprises host/hostess clubs, bars in which men or women are received by clients of the opposite gender, who accompany and entertain them, most of the time without sexual purposes, according to a study by Takeyama (2005). There are also establishments where it is possible to pick among a menu of services and acquire a romantic experience paid by the duration of time, being offered options such as running fingers through one's hair, hugs and sleeping with an escort. Alternatives that do not necessarily involve human contact, such as sex dolls, are among the most popular options among customers.

With technological development, an array of products and services are also potentialized, comprising videogames, apps and a growing market for company robots in different formats: humanoid, whose structure is close to a human body; animals, such as dogs, penguins or seals; or character holograms, as it is the case, precisely, of Gatebox. Beyond the functionality, already offered by virtual assistants with artificial intelligence, such as Google Assistant and Alexa, which make easier the realization of everyday tasks, Gatebox enables the experience of living with the hologram of a character, who interacts through a system of artificial intelligence, with a similar logic to the film *Her* (2013) by Spike Jonze, in which the main character Theodore develops a relationship with Samantha, a computer operational system.

Among the studies performed around this theme, the one who currently stands out is the project EMTECH (Emotional Machines: *The Technological Transformation of Intimacy in Japan)* from the Free University of Berlin, which proposes to analyze the relationship between humans and machines in Japan and understand how affective bonds are created between humans and machines, as well as the implications of these interactions in the Japanese society. As researcher for the program, the French author Agnès Giard, which had a wide research on erotic culture and Japanese sexual dolls4, raises questions simulation games about love relationships. In what refers to the Japanese robotic scenario, authors such as Junji Hotta (2008), Shin Nakayama (2006), Yuji Sone (2017) and Jennifer Robertson (2018) have fed the state of the art of the discussion, presenting historic landscapes and developing important discussions, especially about robots built with the purpose of social interaction. There are, still, many studies about the otaku culture, as we present next, since it presents the context where this new market of affection arises in Japan. Authors such as Hiroki Azuma (2009), Étienne Barral (2000), Thomas LaMarre (2010) and Patrick Galbraith (2010) talk about the arrival of the otaku and their relationship with different products of fictional characters, from comic book characters to pop singers.

The objective of this article is, therefore, reflect on what it seems to be, in fact, a market tendency, whose offer is to stimulate affectionate relationships, not only from the subjective point of view, but also from the point of view of consumption. When analyzing the function of Gatebox in Japan and their communicational strategies, we seek to contribute with the state of art in this rising market.

Otaku culture and consumption in Japan

The discussion related to the core of the Gatebox phenomenon – which refers precisely to the consumption of affection – have been object of study from authors outside Japan such as Illouz (2011). According to this author, our current context is characterized as the time of affection capitalism. "a culture where affectionate and economic discourses and practices shape one another" (p. 8), which produces a "large and broad movement in which affection becomes an essential aspect of an

4 Giard publishes extensively since 2004 books and academic articles about themes related to sex dolls, ghosts, bizarre sex, sexual objects and robots in Japan. Since 2015, she has participated in expositions such as *Persona, étrangement humain* (Strangely human Persona, Quai Branly Museum), *Miroirs du désir* (Mirrors of desire, Guimet Museum) and Les *Sciences de l'amour* (The sciences of love, Palais de la Découverte). From 2006 to 2012, she collaborated with different contemporary artists (Tadanori Yokoo, Makoto Aida, Toshio Saeki etc.).

economic behavior, and in which the affective life – especially in middle-class – follows the logic of economic and exchange relations" (p. 8).

Illouz (2011) has analyzed dating websites on the internet, thinking about how, by following the logic of consumer culture, technology ends up increasing the specification and refinement of the search for a sexual/romantic partner.

Even though this phenomenon takes place in many parts of the world, there seems to have a type of radicalization in the context of Japanese culture, in which a substantial part of relationships and dates happen between human beings and inanimate beings (characters, holograms, ghosts, robots, dolls, and so forth). To analyze specifically Gatebox (meetings with characters), it is important first and foremost to present the context in which these meetings are inserted, in other words, otaku culture.

Otaku (お宅) is a term in the Japanese language which literally means "*your home*", mainly used in treatment language, when you have the goal of showing respect or distance. The reading of the ideogram 宅 means house, residence. The first character (お) indicates a formal form of treatment.

This expression was adopted to designate the people adept of an emerging subculture5 in the 1970's (AZUMA, 2009), precisely for comprising in its meaning their two main characteristics: (a) the desire for distancing oneself from other people; and (b) the search for seclusion in their own spaces (their homes, bedrooms, private spaces), "choosing to be with the most reliable group of characters in comic books, cartoons or inaccessible celebrities in the screen instead of the company of humans, that do not make any effort to understand them." (BARRAL, 2000, p. 22).

It is understood that otaku culture, despite being frequently associated to a culture of youth, understand as the main adepts the generation of Japanese people born in late 1950's, early 1960's, initial period of

5 In Japan, the word subculture acquires the sense of small segment of the market or a certain fan culture, unlike the understanding of the American cultural studies, which take the meaning of an underground culture. (STEINBERG, 2010).

reconstruction of post-war Japan, characterizing not young adults or teenagers in university or recently graduated, but adults in position of responsibility. In this sense, it is a subculture that is already rooted in Japanese society (AZUMA, 2009).

Historically, after the defeat in the Second World War, in 1945, Japan became a country expressively investing in the industry sector, seeking to rebuild their nation after the war and after North American attacks. Investments were located to heavy industry (metalworking and construction working).

With the economic growth between 1960's – with the beginning of the country's reconstruction – and 1980's – with the conquest of external markets –, Japan presented an improvement in the quality of life of their population and becomes one of the most consumer countries in the world. We see an evolution in big industries of appliances following the pace of change in the Japanese society as a whole. According to Barral (2000), the country went through, in one generation, from the statute of nation that fought for the first necessity to the super modernity, being recognized as a "consumption and entertainment society that reaches, thanks to a high-level technology, an opulence that gives each one of their members the illusion of governing the world by pressing one simple button (BARRAL, 2000, p. 33).

Therefore, the generation born around 1960's becomes the first one without the obsession for war memories and without the imaginary of restraint. In late 1970's, emerges the image of the *moratorium ningen* (モラトリアム人間) – expression that can be translated as moratorium people, popularized, at the time, by the psychiatrist Keigo Okonogi. These young people, supposedly without political awareness, start avoiding the arrival to the adult life, not showing any interest in entering the workforce. This youth can be characterized, yet, by their fragility facing a capitalist industrial society, where competitive relationships rule, as, for example, the SATs. It is understood that "many do not feel capable, or do not have the courage of integrating these social dynamics, and prefer to maintain the part of their childhood that remains inside of them" (BARRAL, 2000, p. 35)

Another relevant point would be the power of mass media and consumption society. In the end of 1960's, the Japanese lifestyle begins to have a great influence from the United States and their American way of life. With the development of capitalism, it becomes necessary to distinguish a relatively autonomous and individualistic middle-class. Even so, the system of mass production and consumption still catered for collective needs: both workers and consumers should form a group, a family (KOGAWA, 1984).

In the 1970's, in addition to the technological advancement in the production system, the exploitation of more segmented markets become more interesting for the development of consumption, considering that, in a large part of the houses, there already were basic necessity goods for the family. The market segmentation begins to seek for differentiation and diversification of a society homogenized by the imperial system (KOGAWA, 1984), considering the concern of the middle-class geared towards the family sphere. The efforts are concentrated in the well-being and future of their children and no longer to companies and employers.

In 1985, arrives to the media a new term used to describe that same youth without worries and struggles faced soon after the war. It is *shinjinrui* (新人類), "a term that implied that the behavior of young people was so different from previous generations that they could even be considered as a 'new human race'" (KINSELLA, 1998, p. 292), characterized by their increasingly particular and restricted interests, and not only resistant to the entry in society as adults, but also unaware to any issue that is not related to their hobbies. Miyanaga (1991) understands *shinjinrui* as the first generation of the post war period to become visible, even though young people with individualistic values already existed for quite some time.

Otaku arrives, then, as a new version of the old-fashioned and generalized concept of youth. Generally speaking, "it refers to those that are involved in forms of subcultures strongly attached to animes6, videogames, computers, science fiction, movies with special effects, anime action figures, and so forth" (AZUMA, 2009, p. 3). Being strongly related to the fascination to mass culture (IVY, 2010), we understand that the stereotype of otaku is related to:

> An intense intimacy with fan objects massively mediated; a highly developed judgement about details of animation; a lonely form of being, even if followed by absorptions of in virtual sociability (with forms of call and movement that evidence new forms of communication). (IVY, 2010, p. 4)

The first one to employ this sense to the word *otaku* was the essayist Akio Nakamori which, in 1983, published the article Otaku no Kenyu (おたく』の研究) in the magazine *Manga Burikko*, catering for the adult audience. In the essay, there was a story about the author and his visit to *Comiket* – a fair for independent magazines organized since 1975 in Japan – in which verifies, initially through the analysis of the audience found in the event, the arrival of a group of young people obsessed by elements of the virtual and fiction, as it is the case of mangas, animes, celebrities or videogames.

However, the expression received a negative tone in 1989, with the news of the murder of four girls by Tsutomu Miyazaki, 27 years old, characterized by the media at the time as a "typical otaku" (BARRAL, 2000, p. 28) – in a search to Miyazaki's house, police found a vast collection of mangas and video tapes with animes. This representation and connection made from the incident with the image of the otaku started the process through which its image began to acquire a negative connotation and a derogative tone in society (BARRAL, 2000).

In the beginning of 1990's, in response to media attacks after the incident, the term begins to be used and appropriated by the otakus

6 "Anime means animation in Japanese. It is the contracted word through which Japanese write animation, deriving from the version in a nipponic accent animeeshon. Therefore, for Japanese people, each and every animation is an anime. Outside Japan, however, this word has another meaning. Abroad, it was conventioned to call anime specifically the animation produced in Japan or with a set of specific characteristics that the Japanese people had developed in that area". (SATO, 2007, p. 31)

themselves, seeking its association to positive aspects. However, in March 1995, another event puts in conflict the image of the otaku. An attack in the Tokyo subway, releasing the lethal gas Sarin, leaving 12 people dead and over 5 thousand injured, is performed by the religious cult and terrorist group Aum Shinrikyo, which, with an apocalyptic world-view based on science fiction and on references of Japanese animation, is associated to otaku culture, accentuating their negative perception (BARRAL, 2000; GALBRAITH, 2010).

Despite of that, six months after the event, the release of the anime *Neon Genesis Evangelion* makes otaku culture gain media attention and popularity, renewing their image. In 1996, the cultural critic Toshio Okada, in the publication *Otakugaku Ny□mon* (オタク学 An introduction to Otaku studies), presents a new definition of the expression, treating the otaku as a new type of people "passible to cultural conditions of a highly consumerist society" (AZUMA, 2009, p. 5). In the same year, Okada offers, through this study, a course about Otaku in the University of Tokyo. At that time, many considered an insult this subject being studied in the most prestigious university in Japan (AOYAGI, 2005).

While in Japan great media outlets, such as the TV channel NHK and newspaper *Asahi Shimbun* banned the term, considering it derogatory, outside of the country it started to represent a new cultural movement. In the beginning of the 1990's, the word spread out throughout the United States in anime and sci-fi conventions, being a theme in magazines such as Wired and naming their own conventions, such as *Otakon*. In 1996, it begins to be even more known with the novel *Idoru* by William Gibson (GALBRAITH, 2010).

Thus, once the word began to be appropriated by the mass media – even with a negative connotation –, as well as by their adepts, it wasn't possible to replace it for any other term (with attempts of softening the term with the creation of the expression otakky or hobbyist, without success). As a strategy for valorization of the term, then, Japanese society and media started, later, associating it to every individual that has a quirk (it can be related to any theme, such as sports, music or health), seeking their banalization and dissociating it from previous incidents (BARRAL, 2000). It is important to point out, in this sense, the importance of media in the representation and perception of the world otaku, considering that both positive and negative images were intrinsically linked to the media discourse (GALBRAITH, 2010).

Between the years 2001 and 2002, the artistic movement *Superflat* by Takashi Murakami inspired in the aesthetic of mangas and animes has their first exposition in the United States, spreading the term otaku among critics and the mass media. Thus, in the 2000's, with the growth in popularity of Japanese pop culture, the own impact of the otaku culture surpasses the country's borders and begins to have a global reach: otakus begin to be recognized both as ultra-consumers and as a creative force in the content industry, being incorporated to the cool brand Japan7. In 2005, the Nomura Research Institute estimated that 1.72 million otakus spent, per year, approximately 411 billion yen, (about 3.5 billion dollars) with their hobbies, being considered, therefore "enthusiast consumers" (GALBRAITH, 2010, p. 218).

Currently, we understand otaku as a multitude of subjects and practices (LUNNING, 2010) or a new form of social existence (LAMARRE, 2010), a meaning in constant change (GALBRAITH, 2010). According to Lamarre (2010), in his Otaku studies, it is important not to limit ourselves to interview people that declare or identify themselves as otaku or classifying them according to behavior stereotypes generated and shared on media. Despite recognizing the relevance of these information, it is necessary, still, to perceive the emergency of new social relations and understand how our comprehension can interact with them.

Azula (2009) analyzes otaku as "considerably social in its own interactional form) (p. 92) - in other words, engaged in "diverse forms

7 The Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry from Japan had instituted the Secretary of Promotion of Creative Industry, officially named as Cool Japan, related to the term cool created by McGray (2002), which made reference to the rise of Japanese culture, "both regarding their forms of contemporary expression – fashion, j-pop, animes, games – exported to the whole world, and their more traditional facet, represented by kimonos, sumo wrestling and culinary traditions, among more antient cultural expressions". (ALBUQUERQUE; CORTEZ, 2015, p. 258)

of communication, such as online chats and forums, as well as in conventions and "offline meetings" in real life" (p. 92). To Condry (2004), otaku, in the Japanese scenario, points towards a new understanding of the relationship between consumer and society in general, representing an intersection between knowledge and passion, a commitment with their object of desire, evidencing a social life built from consumption goods.

In this sense, according to Lamarre (2010), the otaku phenomenon can be related to "the transformations of capitalism, to changes in the way we interact with and through merchandise, and to technological transformations, especially in communication and information technologies" (p. 364). For the author, there is, at least, three implications in the understanding of otaku: new types of images and image flows, related to the arrival of new technologies, new forms of relationship with these images, and the change of consumption relation.

It is precisely in this context of new forms of relationship that emerges the desire or affection directed to characters, represented by the expression *moe*. This begins to be used in the 1980's, referring, originally, to the "fictional desire for comic book, animation and game characters, or pop idols" (AZUMA, 2009, p. 47). According to Condry (2013), *moe* is, generally, an expression used for the affection directed towards characters, or, more specifically, "a reference to an internalized emotional response to something, generally without any hope of emotional reciprocity" (p. 187).

Despite having questions about the origin and the reason of using the term, in Condry (2013)'s interpretation, *moe* is the noun form of the word *moeru* (萌える), which means to blossom, to grow. The reference to the verb is given by the specific attraction to girls that are about to grow up and become young women (as it is the case of a big part of the characters in question), and for the desire to take care of them. There is, still, a wordplay with another verb *moeru* (燃える – with completely different ideograms and meanings), regarding the action to boil or burn, and can be related to an intense sexual desire.

In this sense, the otaku gets closer to the image of *bish□jo* (美少女), pretty girls represented in different media, such as animations and games, which not only symbolize the transformation of the female body into a technological artifact, but also refer to relationships based on ownership and control, visible in the attraction of otaku to computers (BLACK, 2012).

In the relationship of otaku with technological artifacts, we can observe that, since early 1980's – "a moment where online communities were the only form of computerized correspondence available" (AZUMA, 2009, p. 4) – until the present day, the basis of internet culture in Japan were built through them. According to Ito (2012), many of the main characteristics present in the digital age and in the network we currently live in – such as the decentralization of forms of production and participant media – were already clear in the beginning of otaku culture.

Barral (2000) considers the otaku the first generation of what he calls *Homo virtuens*, a virtual man fascinated "by the image of himself that is sent through a television or computer screen", and "doesn't know what to do with this redundant and distressing reality" (p. 21). Still according to the author, there would be a disgust to the idea of suffering. The otaku refuses to suffer and risk himself in a relationship with someone else, feeling more comfortable in the virtual universe created by him.

Even though Japan has a long history of relationships known as trans dimensional, that bring back ghost narratives present in literary works; in the recent context, an example that stands out is Gatebox, especially regarding its consumption potential, as analyzed in the following section.

Gatebox and new forms of relationship

Bearing in mind the presented context, we verify in Japan the existence of a wide market of affective products, services and experiences that contemplate not only interaction with other people, as the hosts/hostess clubs, bars in which the waiters/waitresses offer a couple hours of company and talk – the best and most popular escorts being ranked and awarded – for different purposes that range from company to events and dates to the replacement of family members. There are also options of non-human companies, such as sex dolls, videogame characters and virtual reality, in addition to robots with artificial intelligence created for domestic use.

In Japan, since 2008, there are registers of people interested in taking their relationship with characters to other levels. An example is Taichi Takashita, who, with the goal of officializing matrimony with the anime character Mikuru Asahina, organized an online petition seeking legal recognition of the wedding with a 2D character, gathering, in two months, about 3 thousand signatures (CONDRY, 2013).

In the next year, the first informal (non-legalized) wedding ceremony between a character and a human being took place. The user Sal9000 fell in love with Nene Anegasaki, a virtual girl from the game *Love Plus*, which simulates romance between the main character and the love interests, and made a ceremony between some friends, with live transmission on the internet. The game Love Plus was developed by Konami for Nintendo DS in 2009. In its narrative, the lead character (the gamer) meets three girls and can choose one of them to be in a relationship (WICOFF, 2013).

In 2017, the game development company Hibiki Works offered the Japanese audience the possibility of having a wedding ceremony in virtual reality with one of the characters of the game *Niizuma Lovely x Cation*. Those interested in the event could get enrolled during a period, and in June 30th, 2017, the grooms could gather in their virtual reality devices in a chapel and consolidated their marriages with their chosen ones. The ceremony was held by the company as a form of promotion of the game's release, which had as main point the relationship of the player with the characters.

Image 1 - Wedding ceremony in virtual reality promoted by the company Hibiki Works.

Source: Vocativ

As previously mentioned, it is important to point out in this scenario the *moe* aspect, about the affection related to characters. The company Vinclu, having in mind the Japanese market, releases in 2016 Gatebox's promotional campaign, announcing the robot that, equipped with artificial intelligence, presents functionalities for daily choirs, but has as the main goal to offer a lifestyle followed by the character designed for its interior. Composed by a glass cylinder connected to the user's internet and smartphone, the device projects the hologram of the tridimensional character Azuma Hikari internally.

Image 2 - Gatebox's structure.

Source: PCMag.com

Defined by the brand as "the first virtual domestic home which enables you to live with your favorite character", the device has the technology of projection and sensors as camera and microphone, detecting the face and movements of the user, in addition to connection via Bluetooth and infrared, through which it is possible to have interactions with other appliances and electronic devices, and an input for television or computer – which enables the transmission of the character to other screens. Released to pre-order between 2016 and 2017 with the initial price of 298 thousand yen, with official release in 2018, it is currently sold for 165 thousand yen, without additional taxes, being available for purchase in their official website and in online stores such as Amazon and Yahoo Shopping. Despite not having a physical store, it is possible to book a test drive, and, since October 2019, the product is found exposed in an electronic store. Up until the present moment, the units produced were only commercialized to Japan and the United States, having Japanese as the only language available.

The first character available by the brand, Azuma Hikari, is described as a "comforting bride", who can help her partner relax after a difficult day. On Gatebox's website, there is a section with their profile, composed by physical and personality traits. The character refers to the user as master, and the interaction can be through voice, as in a conversation, and through an app, which controls the device and enables the interaction with the character through a chat when you are out of the house. In addition to responding to the interactions, Hikari begins conversations and her system is developed and updated according to the exchange of content and experience with the user. According to each user's habits, Hikari knows her time to wake up and to go back home, also performing activities common to virtual assistants, such as event reminders, weather forecast, appliance control and speakers for music.

In 2018, Vinclu offered, in a determined time period, two new possibilities of company: the virtual singer Hatsune Miku and the character Ayase Aragaki, from the Japanese animation *Ore no Imouto ga Konna ni Kawaii Wake ga Nai*, whose devices had to be discontinued due to a system update. Despite Hikari being the only character available for purchase at the moment, it is possible for characters to design and view other characters in the internal part of the device, making their own creations, which can be shared with all the network of people that own a Gatebox, also allowing the inclusion of different genders – considering that, until now, only female characters were available.

The relationship with the characters were explored in its communication both through the official website and through video campaigns available on YouTube. The brand's official channel has over 6 million views and 20 thousand subscriptions, having 34 videos available, whose content varies from concept and promotional videos, recordings of events held in person, explanatory films, new releases and updates, and interviews with characters discussing issues related to the Gatebox universe. Generally, concept and promotional films bring the narrative of men which, living by themselves, have Hikari's company, which, if digitally synced with other devices, can perform simple tasks such as turning the light on, turning the vacuum cleaner on or turning the TV on and off. Until now, there is a series of three conceptual videos, all released in 2016, and two promotional ones, the first released in 2016 and the second released in 2018 – period in which the product had already been delivered to its first clients.

In the first conceptual video titled Care, a young man returns from his work to his house and interacts with Hikari, which in a certain moment of the video leaves the device and gets face to face with her user. The next morning, she wakes him up and gives him information about the weather, asking him to come home early. In the second video, Beside the narrative brings a man that, while working on a computer, counts with Hikari's support, motivating him to carry on, and making simple activities, such as turning on the lights when he is working and turning it off when he is sleeping. The last one of the series, Wait, has the goal to present Gatebox Chat, app developed so that the user can communicate with the character when he is out of the ouse. In this context, it is presented a young man interacting with Hikari through text messages while he is going to work and, later, in his office. Before coming back home, he asks her to clean the house, turning on the vacuum integrated to her system.

In the first promotional video, Okaeri (welcome back, in Japanese), it is presented a young man's routine that, since the morning, counts with the character to wake him up, talk about the weather and chat during the day through text messages in the app while he is out of the house. When she receives the warning that her companion is coming home, she turns on the apartment lights and receives him when he arrives. At the end of the day, he points out how good it is to come home knowing someone is there waiting for him. In a second video, named *Kanpai* (cheers, in Japanese) a man interacts with Hikari in the end of his workday through text messages. While he comes home, Hikari turns on the lights and prepares the mood. When he arrives, the character says they are completing their three-month anniversary of living together, and they celebrate the date with a dinner.

Despite presenting different functions and uses within the household environment, the main attribute promoted by the brand in its communication platforms is the possibility to live with the company of this character. In the product official website, the company highlights the desire of getting people closer to their favorite characters, describing as the reason for Gatebox development "not only the search for entertainment or convenience. We want the characters to be naturally inserted into our daily lives and accompanying us in our moments of relaxation".

The company's website brings, in addition to descriptive sections of the product, the company and the character Hikari, the possibilities to use in the work environment and information about pre-purchase experimentation. They also share explanatory content about the relationship of Japanese society with characters, which do not restrict to current days, having a wide history of relationship and interaction with beings of other dimensions. Through data collected by Character Databank, Japanese company of marketing and consultancy specialized in characters and licensing, Gatebox tells that, In Japan, 82.2% of the people have some type of product related to characters, and that these transmit feelings of vitality, calm and peace of mind.

Considering not only the relationship between Gatebox and their characters as also the Japanese history of relationship with characters, Vinclu performed, in 2017, an action through Gatebox's official website, to supply their characters the recognition of marrying a character, in addition to the benefits to the married couple, "as an additional value for the maintenance of the couple's life and a day off in the woman's birthday. The invitation was also extended to non-employees: if there was any interest, they could send, along with the wedding documents, the resumé to apply for an opening. The registration would also recognize same-sex and interspecies marriage, in the case of people married with characters with the same gender or non-human characters.

Image 3 - Gatebox official website with information for the officialization of marriage with characters.

Source: Gatebox

In the website, they released to all audience, forms for wedding registration in four different models, for printing and filling, as well as instructions for sending these documents. These forms, in addition to fields with personal information, there are questions related to the proposal, how the couple met and if the last name will be adopted by the virtual partner. Until now, there were over 3.7 thousand documents sent.

In November 2018, the Japanese Akihiko Kondo took part in a wedding ceremony with the virtual idol Hatsune Miku – one of the characters offered for company by Vinclu. Living since March of the same year in the company of Miku's holo-robot in Gatebox, Kondo officialized his union in a 40 people ceremony, costing around two million yen. Despite not having a legal basis, the wedding had a document expedited by Gatebox. In an interview, Kondo tells he had negative experiences with women in the past, and that he doesn't have any desire to get into a relationship with a person, pointing out that the character with whom she married cannot cheat on him, get older or die.

When we consider the presented context, it is important to observe the power relationships that emerge from these interactions, considering the choice of the user of living with character that, by definition, would not have the autonomy or conscience to generate confrontations, fall outs or separations. Such asymmetries are also analyzed in studies about products with similar purposes, as it is the case of sex dolls and robots. There is even a movement against the development of these technologies – such as the Campaign against sex robots, led by Kathleen Richardson, professor at the Montfort University, in England – saying that these initiatives promote women's objectification, once the female gender correspond to most representation in sex dolls and robots, as well as reinforces relationships of gender inequality and violence.

When analyzing the development of sex robots and the discourses published on the media and by the companies responsible for these articles in comparison to fictional narratives in films and TV series that explore the relationship between women robots and male humans, Hawkes and Lacey (2019) verified that there is an expectation in relation to robots as something "human enough so that their desire and affection are meaningful, but not aware enough to decide to leave their partner" (p. 7), "having the need for a company that say the right things to make them feel loved" (p. 11).

In order to understand this type of power relationship, Giard (2016) has been reflecting about the reason why love dolls are, in its majority, representations of women. When talking with some creators of dolls, the author points out the speech from the president of Orient Industry, one of the main manufacturers of Japanese *love dolls*, in which they would be an instrument to perfect a simulation, and they would be exclusively reserved to the male audience, because they cannot move. This affirmation would come from the conviction that, in a relationship, the man would be the active part, and, therefore, the woman would be the one to "suffer, offer themselves, open themselves, submit themselves and wait" (p. 238). As much prejudiced and fictional this businessman argument is, there is no doubt it is based in a "pattern of man-woman relationship that still seems to be common in the country where spouses are called *oku-san*, term used in an allusion to the place reserved to them: inside [the home]" (p. 238).

Giard's research (2016) widely discusses not only the current market, but also all the history of relationship. When he brings up voices of producers and users, he presents important perspectives for the understanding of these forms of relation. When we think about the Japanese context, an aspect that also stands out is the animist conception, the understanding that the spirits would be embodied in nature and that every entity, human and non-human, would be a spiritual essence, coming from religious and philosophical doctrines of Buddhism and Taoism.

When bringing the speech of a few of the creators of love dolls, the author compares dolls to a type of vehicle. Just like a car, the doll would be a means of transportation, enabling their users the movement, the change to another location. This relation would be "reinforced by the idea that the doll has in its center an empty space, in form of a cabin, in which is possible to shelter a fragment of the anatomy that is designed to accommodate a cavernous body" (GIARD, 2016 p. 218). In this same sense, the doll would transmit "an imaginary linked to the transmission of life, imaginary rooted in the otaku culture, born out of the ruins of the post-war era" (GIARD, 2016 p. 218).

Thinking about these forms of relationship, Takeyama (2005) suggests that, although these alternative forms of relationship based in a bond of consumption are frequently seen as a form of entertainment or escapism, this type of perspective ignores the fact that this activity is not reduced to acquiring goods. The consumption practice – and this is, without a doubt, a well stablished consumption practice – boosts the creation of new markets and leads to the cultural production of new meanings and the transformation of social values (MIYADAI, 1994 *in* TAKEYAMA, 2005).

Final considerations

More than a conclusion or an objective diagnostic about the growing impact of consumption of affection, this article seeks to raise some questions that can collaborate with the contemporary debate. Throughout the research we observed that in the current scenario – marked by the economy of affection – love relationships follow, often, the logic of commercial relationships and cost-benefit patterns (ILLOUZ, 2011). Therefore, a market arises, having as goal the commercialization of affection, which, in the specific context of Japan, reflects, and at the same time, feeds, a demographic situation marked by the increasingly smaller number of marriages and relationships and the consequent lower birth rate, which in 2016 presented their lowest index since 1899 – year that the statistics began to be collected.

However, the theme of affection also can be approached under other perspectives. The philosopher Brian Massumi (2015), for example, has proposed a philosophy of affection which, in turn, would have an increasingly more significant impact in the economic sector and in the lifestyles. According to this author, it isn't about merely satisfaction, in other words, consuming to fill an individual desire. Beside this tendency already widely debated, there would be a network of affection and intensities that can be conceived as something he calls dividualism coin, not individualism, pointing towards a possible opening to the other no longer restricted to a Narcissistic conduct, as it strengths the aesthetic dimension of relations.

We would like to suggest that it can also be an important clue to think about the emerging market of affections in Japan. In this case, it isn't necessarily about only filling the needs of lonely people, as it has been highlighted to some authors, such as Illouz (2011). But it can also be about a process of collective rehabilitation or a dividualist micropolitics, as proposed by Massumi (2015), which even being introduced in one of the biggest centers of consumption in the world, would shelter a logic of anti-narcissistic and anti-western approximation8, with the ability to generate new forms of life.

At the same time in which the logic of capitalism of affection rules, it is possible to raise questions that complexify the debate, as for example: in what way in this dystopian scenario, in which apparently everything that matters is the commercialization and pricing of all instances of life, can emerge a network of affections that makes us rethink the notions of value through the micropolitics of dividualism? Would this be a starting point to question the sovereignty of the economy in all spheres of life and analyze consumption beyond the relationships between consumer and what is consumed, opening paths to new transindividual networks of affections?

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8 The notion of collective in Japan, as in other non-western cultures, is fundamental for the cultural constitution. The notion of self is, first of all, collective, either in contexts of work or family. The well being of the group comes before individual needs. The seminar proposed by the professor Emmanuel Lozerand in Paris, called *Drôles d'Individus, de la singularité individuelle dans le Reste-du-monde*, took this discussion further and in 2014 was published by the publishing house Klincksiek.

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Date of submission: 06/10/2019
Date of acceptance: 31/05/2020

COMUN. MÍDIA CONSUMO, SÃO PAULO, V. 17, N. 49, P. 320-341, MAI./AGO. 2020
DOI 10.18568/CMC.V17I49.2019

Do jornalismo esportivo ao infotretenimento: o caso do contrato entre Neymar Jr. e Globo como paradigma

From sports journalism to infotainment: the case of the contract between Neymar Jr. and Globo as a paradigm

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Resumo: *Este artigo parte do desenvolvimento teórico da Economia Política da Comunicação voltada ao Jornalismo para analisar as mudanças na cobertura esportiva midiática. Analisa-se as mudanças no jornalismo esportivo do Grupo Globo, indo das questões estruturais neste setor no conglomerado ao contrato com Neymar Júnior, vigente nos anos de 2014 e 2015. Dada a necessidade de fonte secundária não científica sobre o observável, além da revisão teórica, utilizamos o método de pesquisa documental para resgatar matérias jornalísticas que tratam das mudanças no grupo comunicacional e do contrato com o jogador de futebol. Assim, conta-se o que ocorreu, possibilitando a análise a partir do marco teórico escolhido. O fato analisado representa o ápice da transição do jornalismo tradicional para o infotretenimento na cobertura esportiva, motivado por questões relacionadas à reestruturação do sistema capitalista.*

Palavras-chave: *Grupo Globo; Neymar Júnior; cobertura esportiva; entretenimento; economia política da comunicação.*

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Abstract: *This paper is based on the theoretical development of a Political Economy of Communication focused on journalism studies to analyze the changes in sports media coverage. The object is the changes in sports journalism of Grupo Globo, from the structural issues of the sector in the conglomerate to the contract with Neymar Júnior, in force in 2014 and 2015. Given the need for a non-scientific secondary source on the observable, in addition to the theoretical review, we used the documentary research method to rescue journalistic articles that deal with changes in the communication group and the contract with the football player. Thus, it is told what happened, enabling the analysis from the chosen theoretical framework. The analyzed fact represents the culmination of the transition from traditional journalism to infotainment in sports coverage, motivated by issues related to the restructuring of the capitalist system.*

Keywords: *Grupo Globo; Neymar Junior; sports coverage; entertainment; political economy of communication*

Introduction

The process of sport being treated as media entertainment is linked to the new step of commercialization experienced in this activity in the 1990, with the requalification of stadiums in England and the demands to perform sports mega-events. In addition to that, there is the interference of the American model of approximating the sports coverage to spectacularization, having in mind that 1994 FIFA World Cup and 1996 Summer Olympics took place in the United States.

In the Brazilian case, the sports coverage always gave more attention to soccer than other sports, following predominantly the cannon of journalistic practice. However, in the case of Grupo Globo, we identified that there is a change from 2009 onwards, moment we will present throughout this article.

The goal of this text is to describe and discuss this process that takes the conglomerate to treat sports coverage as entertainment, making the informative aspect something secondary, which had as a peak, in our analysis, the contract Grupo Globo had with Neymar Júnior, from 2014 to 2015. We understand that the treatment for a possible source as commercial partner represents the peak of infotainment at the time, a legacy that sports mega-events helped build, but that goes beyond the execution of 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil.

In order to do that, we will come from the methodologic-theoretical axis of Political Economy of Communications to understand how the business models end up impacting the journalistic work and, consequently, the criteria of noticeability. Therefore, this is a qualitative investigation, which mobilizes a bibliographic research from the discussion of a Political Economy on Journalism, as well as studies on the change in sports journalism and the constitution of Neymar as member of the star system[3] of the global production of cultural merchandise,

3 The construction of a *star system*, according to Morin (1989), was a strategy adopted in the first half of the 20th century by Hollywood cinema studios to raise revenue, which ended up copied in different countries. With the raise of reach of the cultural industry, movie stars gained company in the Olympus of other types of celebrities, such as musicians, adventurers and athletes, after the professionalization and mediatization of sport.

generating interest in the exclusive contract with the communicational group. We have also made a documental research on news websites such as *Folha de São Paulo* (SABINO; GARCIA, 2014; NETO, 2016), Globo.com (MARCOS, s/d) and *UOL* (GLOBO, 2015) to deal with the remodeling of the Sports sector on Globo in this century and the contract established with the soccer player.

In other to do that, we made a documental historic analysis, considering the news materials collected for this study as factual documents. Here we understand "documents" in a wide form, going from written materials and statistics until iconographic elements that still have not gone through any scientific treatment (GODOY, 1995). "These documents are used as sources of information, indication and clarification that bring their content to clarify certain issues and work as proof for others, according to the researcher's interest" (SÁ-SILVA; ALMEIDA; GIUNDANI, 2009, p. 5). Therefore, "everything that is a remain of the past, everything that works as testimony, is considered a document or a 'source'" (CELLARD, 2008, p. 296).

The documental analysis is justified for considering that the documents examined in the analysis better describe the process studied in this article due to the few scientific productions on the theme and the timely proximity with the event studied. As Cellard warns (2008, p. 295), many times the documents remain "as the only testimony of particular activities occurred in a recent past".

Journalism as field of scientific analysis

The news product is a product of the work of a group of professionals that act inside the newsroom, all considered journalists: photographers, graphic designers, editors, reporters, etc., in addition to the support staff (in case of drivers and graphics for the press journalism), among others. Journalism theories that deal with the production of news, known in the theoretic framework of newsmaking, seek to answer the question "why news are the way they are?" (TRAQUINA, 2004) through an analysis of the so-called "productive routines", which are nothing more than work routines.

Newsmaking intellectuals observed that journalists need to produce collectively a newscast in a determined space of time, so they are always concerned with the deadline. These theories were designed at the time where the internet was restricted to a few aficionados, academics and militaries, and, therefore, their proponents did not imagine that the technology would comprise in such a way the relationship between space and time, that the deadline would be drastically reduced.

To beat the deadline challenge, journalistic companies establish a series of routines and a set of places to be covered, which Tuchman (1978) calls a network of facticity. These social places are the ones concerned by institutions capable of creating facts with official legitimacy, which would make the news credible. As a consequence, the news field would end up reproducing the discourse of official spaces of power: police stations, legal field, parliaments, academia, etc.

Journalists would be, thus, within a structure that would make them end up reproducing the discourse of *status quo*. In addition to routines, the establishment of professional conducts and socialization within the newsroom would also end up influencing the production of news, since they would help shape the criteria of noticeability and the behavior about the sources.

It is undeniable the analytical value and the explanatory value of journalism theories on the forces that shape the newscast. However, the incorporation of ideology of professionalism as a category of analysis of these theories if, on one hand, shows how the journalist can use norms of conduct to defend himself from undue pressures from their superiors; on the other, erases them as an intellectual worker, whose role is to perform the mediation between market and consumers, the function of advertisement of information; and between State and citizens, the advertisement function (BOLAÑO, 2000).

EPC, through Marxist categories such as work and subsunction, can cast a light on blind spots of the theory of journalism. As Lopes said (2016, p. 12):

> The approximation of both fields, under the aegis of a Marxist theory of communication would, if based in the epistemological dimension of conflict, allow the necessary conceptual and methodological revision capable not only to supply analytical instruments closer to an empirical reality and capable of contributing to social change, but also of better positioning them in front of epistemological fights in the field.

The journalist as an intellectual worker have always had their work subsumed to capital, despite the subsunction itself find clear limits in the news work. Historically, subsunction begins in the moment where the artisan becomes a salary worker within the manufacture. There is an abrupt disqualification of this worker, that no longer dominates all the process of production, only a part of that. It is what Marx (2013) calls formal subsunction to capital, because there is still the need of a big amount of live work within the manufacture. The advent of machinery, transforming the worker in a mere machine operator, marks the passage of formal subsunction to real subsunction of work to capital, because there is the massive substitution of live work for dead work, making live work superfluous.

The intellectual work presents clear limits to the subsunction due to the difficulty in objectivating the subjective element of this type of work, as pointed out by Bolaño (2002). The journalist, for instance, make different choices in his work. Chooses the angle of the news, the sources that will be interviewed (beyond those pointed out by theme proposers and editors), the questions that will be made in interviews, what to photograph during the stories, etc. Of course, this freedom is not complete. The editorial line, the socialization within the newsroom and professionalism work as incomplete forms of control.

Beginning in 1970, a new regimen of accumulation, that would come to replace Fordism/Keynesianism, comes in: the mode of flexible accumulation. Until that moment, there was a pact of classes between bourgeoisie and proletariat mediated by the state, also responsible for regulating the action of capitals, impeding systemic crises. Due to the crisis of discontent between minorities and workers and the depletion of the system leading to stagflation4, the circulation of capitals is gradually unregulated, as well as regulations between work and capital (HARVEY, 2012).

Journalists began feeling the consequences of this new state of things with the arrival of information technology in the newsroom: it is the phase of flexible journalism. The software for text editing and photo treatment enabled the elimination of work vacancies. This easiness in decreasing jobs due to the deregulation in the capital/work relationship and the entry of new technologies is what Rosso (2017) calls numeric flexibility, which leads to functional flexibility. Thus, journalists now need to have the capacity of filling more than one function. Such work organization increases the extraction of what Marx (2013) called relative surplus value.

The time of work necessary for the journalist to produce enough for his reproduction decreases, raising his surplus-work, since his work hours is retracted. The professional is overloaded with more texts and themes, making it difficult to produce news that come from the singularity of facts to treat the particular and the universal (GENRO, 1987). The arrival of the internet in 1990 is going to reinforce this frame of flexibilization and precarization of the journalist's work. The limits to subsumption decrease, but not cease to exist.

The convergence of languages ends up demanding the journalist to produce more news for different outlets, in addition to decreasing the time of verification, with generates news fixed to the pure singularity of the fact. The audience of articles becomes monitored in real-time, impacting in the competition for advertisement funds. *Websites* such as Google and Facebook become companies capable of selling directed

4 Nunes (2015, p. 6) says that after the oil crisis created stagflation, term that refers to the moment in which monopoly capitalism got to "elevated and growing taxes of inflation coexist with growth taxes of [gross domestic] product next to zero or even negative (followed by elevated unemployment rates).

advertisement with a high degree of precision through the analysis of a great part of data collected from user interactions during the navigation.

Such method is much more precise than the organization of the programming grid based in the monitoring of the audience per household sample. Thus, the instantaneity and the tactics of commercialization of news, emerged with the development of the internet, ends up invading other media that concur with social media and news websites for publicity. The decline of value of publicity caused by the raise of offer in the internet ends up creating the necessity that these companies produce more with less.

The first cost cuts were verified in the workforce, with the raise of the relative surplus value through the raise of productivity. Then, there were cost cuts with the dislocation of professionals, who increasingly work inside the newsroom. This has a direct reflex in the sports coverage, in which there is a decrease in going to the stadiums. These factors contribute to change in the criteria of noticeability and for the decrease in quality of coverage. Approximates, then, the Science of Communication in the discussion about the category of "info-entertainment" or "infotainment".

Oselame and Finger (2013, p. 64) point that the infotainment practiced in journalism, especially sports journalism, "redimensions classical values of the profession, such as public interest, objectivity, independence, legitimacy and, mainly, a fundamental prerogative of the role of the journalist: credibility", in exchange of profit that the news begins to have as a bigger focus in a version closer to spectacle. The journalist stops exercising the function, altering their social role of mediator of what is produced, to be an artist, not necessarily having the commitment with the truth of the facts.

The authors treat still of two consequences of this standard: the proliferation of an excessive humor and limitation of creativity. The attempting of making someone laugh often occurs with a doubtful humor, with poor texts and contents chosen by a "coverage of superfluous events", generating a "consequent devaluation of the news" (OSELAME; FINGER, 2013, p. 70-71).

Following this new standard of news creation, which the researchers call as "engraçadismo", what is produced needs to meet a certain formula: "A play on words inside the text, an effect of editing, and, if possible, a theme that is not restricted to sports news so it can, thus, also please those who only want to spend some time watching TV" (OSELAME; FINGER, 2013, p. 71).

Therefore, the constant pressure for audience related to the need to decrease the shortage of verification ended up generating news about the athlete's private lives, within a practice called "click-hunting", with a low amount of informative content, whose goal is to inflate the audience of the news outlet (FRANGE, 2016). The search for audience and, consequently, for advertisement income, ended up making sport news websites publish "that material that were only published by gossip or celebrity news" (FRANGE, 2016, p. 118)

Globo responded to these transformations through internal changes in the company to the organization of rights of transmission, in the name of the department responsible for the sports coverage and in the way to present the content, as we will see next.

Changes in sport at Grupo Globo

Soccer is a subject that is a part of the news in Brazil since the 1910's, gaining strength specially in the 1930's decade, with the professionalization of this sport and the radio5. The development of the sports area at Grupo Globo is present since their treatment to press, initial media of the conglomerate, following next to radio stations and television

5 The first government of Getúlio Vargas (1930-1945), period known as a dictatorship of the New State, used football and radio transmission as a form to nationally integrate and for political propaganda. In 1931, published the decree establishing the comercial model of radiophonic transmission. Two years later, he included in the labor laws that playing football could be a profession, making it na oficial profession with generation of income. Vargas would speak to the population in open speeches at Estádio de São Januário, in Rio de Janeiro, with broadcast at Rádio Nacional, a state radio (SANTOS, 2013).

channels, where it is established, with internet products and mobile media benefiting from this historic construction.

The concern in transmitting it for open TV, given the initial characteristics of this media, passes the pool of channels in the 1970's Mexico FIFA World Cup, until getting exclusivity to Rede Globo in the transmission of 1982's Spain FIFA World Cup and Copa União in 1987, considered as the Brazilian Championship of that year. In addition, sports programs are present in this channel since 1966, less than a year after the inauguration of the first concession of the network. Still, according to Santos (2013), the first pack of transmission offered to the advertisement market, with the amount of matches per year, will only happen in 1990 and the definition of fixed days and schedules in the programming of Rede Globo only occurs in 2001.

Since the 1970's, sports journalism of the channel was a part of Central Globo de Jornalismo. Grupo Globo creates, in the 1990's, a specific division to treat the acquisition of rights of sports transmission, Globo Esportes. When the channel loses the rights for transmitting Olympic competitions from 2008 to 2014 to Rede Record, a series of changes happen in this area, which generate reflexes in the organization structure and coincides with changes in the form of coverage.

About the coverage structure of sports events, in 2009, Rede Globo created the sector Central Globo de Esportes, linked to the Direção Geral de Jornalismo e Esporte (DGJE), which was also under Central Globo de Jornalismo, delimiting, therefore, a different between both areas.

Globo Esportes would be the lead role two years after the implosion of Clube dos 13, association that represented the clubs with a biggest amount of supporters in the country, responsible for negotiation the rights of transmission of the Brazilian Soccer Championship, facing the threat of losing these rights to Record.

In 2015, their director, Marcelo Campos Pinto, was one of the names that showed up in the midst of a big FBI operation on corruption in soccer, through sales contracts of rights of transmission of sports events, which forced a new alteration. The sector would be now led by Pedro Garcia, the director of channels and sports products of Globosat, with the teams of Rede Globo and Globosat acting in conjunction for the negotiation of rights. The area, autonomous until then, became subordinate to Sports Rights Committee, formed by Carlos Henrique Schroder (Rede Globo's CEO), Alberto Pecegueiro (Globosat's CEO) and Jorge Nóbrega (member of the Administrative Board of Grupo Globo) (GLOBO, 2015).

About the content, in 2007, Rede Globo made the option of broadcasting Globo Esporte – daily sports program with 30 minutes of duration – for all the network from Rio de Janeiro. In addition to reproducing the centralized transmission of their television news, they put a bench in the studio, with the presentation of Tino Marcos and Glenda Kozlowski. Yet, Marcos (2018) already indicated a change in language.

> Our way to do it walked towards more conversational and colloquial texts. More and more, the window of entertainment is expanding its space. The window of journalism is still there, but in sport, people now have this perception that the entertainment is also a very correct way of working in sports news.

In 2009, the de-centralization of *Globo Esporte's* transmission returned. It is in this process that Tiago Leifert appears as a presenter and editor of *Globo Esporte São Paulo*. With journalistic training made in the United States, where the profession is more technical and sports are closer to spectacle in the media coverage, there are "changes in the technical/aesthetic standard of sports news of the channel, with a bigger presence of humor and other forms of narrating stories, beyond the telejournalistic standards built by Rede Globo de Televisão" (SANTOS, 2013, p. 147)

The primary product for this alteration was the show *Central da Copa*, which would occur after the matches of 2010 South Africa FIFA World Cup or during *Jornal da Globo*. It was repeated in Copa América and in two FIFA megaevents that took place in Brazil, in 2013 and 2014. The show had the participation of an audience to comment on the matches, with the presence of some of the names of the sports coverage of the channel as guests.

In a comparative analysis of the versions from Rio Grande do Sul and São Paulo of *Globo Esporte*, television sports coverage would begin to be considered as infotainment, because:

> When privileging *omnibus* facts, the show puts sports news in the background and assumes the posture that it is more important to create laughter, entertain and let loose than actually informing. This is the *engraçadismo* phenomenon: the essential role of the journalist is no longer selecting, treating and presenting news in a package that is both attractive and informative, but, before that, is to entertain the audience. Privileging the joke in opposition to the information, the journalist becomes a type of humorist. Therefore, news isn't just harmed, but, often, is no longer there (OSELAME; FINGER, 2013, p. 67, *highlighted by the authors*).

Leifert eventually started working in the entertainment area of the conglomerate in July 2015, but there was a new structural alteration in sports in October 2016. Grupo Globo created an independent area of journalism to take care of the production of sports content at Rede Globo de Televisão, at Globosat, at Globoesporte.com and at Sportv.com, gathered under the command of Roberto Marinho Neto. This decision resulted into the dismissal of 40 journalists in the next year, including the director of Central Globo de Esportes, Renato Ribeiro, with Marinho Neto being his replacement (NETO, 2016).

The news department also became "responsible for the acquisition of sports rights, market research and multiplatform solutions" (NETO, 2016), an event that reinforces what we point out in the previous excerpt on the challenges for journalism nowadays.

Grupo Globo's contract with Neymar

When dealing with sports journalism, it is necessary to understand that press access to players has changed in the last two decades, with a bigger control of press offices. It is also an element to be considered for the search of new paths for an informative coverage.

Globo Esportes began using the fact to acquire exclusivity to the rights of transmission to demand priorities in sports coverage. Santos (2013), for example, tells that Marcelo Campos Pinto started sending emails to soccer teams in the second semester of 2012 so that the media of the conglomerate would have easy access in the daily coverage of Brazilian teams.

Therefore, the staff of Esporte Espetacular covered the backstage of the final matches in the Brazilian Championship of that year of the champion Corinthians and the downgraded Palmeiras. The same happened in relation to the Brazilian Confederation of Soccer (CBF) about the coverage of the Brazilian team, as a case during the 2014 Brazil FIFA World Cup.

Even before the championship started, the coach Luiz Felipe Scolari gave an exclusive interview to Jornal Nacional in the same day the team for the World Cup was announced. About the world cup, Lisboa (2014, p. 5) describes that there was control of the offer of CBF's material for journalists, who faced a series of restriction, with the exception of Grupo Globo.

> To do that, in addition to conditioning to a previous accreditation to the release for press coverage of the Brazilian team during the World Cup, the organization controlled all the contacts of journalists with soccer players. Most of the time, the interview opportunity that journalists had were press conferences, which had all their rules established by CBF. [...]. In addition to that, CBF would offer journalists through a YouTube channel, videos showing a little bit of the backstage of the preparation of athletes, and through their websites and social media profiles, other information that ended up guiding the news on the Brazilian soccer team. The only outlet that seemed to have more freedom in its coverage of the national team was TV Globo, which had a history of good relation with CBF and, in addition, was the holder, in Brazil, of the broadcasting rights for 2014 World Cup.

Rocco Júnior (2015) defends that this relation harmed the preparation of the Brazilian team, with different actions that disrupted training sessions, case of the arrival with helicopter by Luciano Huck in the lawn during the training to record a segment of his show. The author says that: "The channel acted freely in the facilities of the CBF's Training Center doing, with total autonomy, the actions that interested them, Rede Globo, without any concern with the trainings and focus of the Brazilian athletes to such an important competition" (ROCCO JÚNIOR, 2015, p. 166)

This imposition of the group to privilege the access to sports news sources exists especially as a commercial partner of events organizers. "Due to the involvement of television channels, not only in the transmission of sports events as in their own promotion, it becomes hard to distinguish the borders between journalism and the valorization of spectacle" (OSELAME; FINGER, 2013, p. 65). It is through this premise that we want to analyze the contract between Neymar and Grupo Globo, granting privileges in the access of the player Neymar Júnior in 2014 and 2015.

According to Sabino and Garcia (2018), the channel defended that the contract would "refer to special participations of Neymar in shows and campaigns of the channel, as well as the use of audiovisual content produced by the player" Until January 2019, the player's official website (neymaroficial.com) remained in the Globo.com platform.

Still according to journalists, Neymar attended different shows from Rede Globo in the period before the World Cup. *Domingão do Faustão* (in May); *Esporte Espetacular* (in May, with an exclusive interview); *Caldeirão do Huck* (in his house in Barcelona, just before the Cup); *Fantástico* (interview in July). Later, the appearances became less frequent: *Domingão do Faustão* (in two tributes to friends); *Esporte Espetacular* (in December, in Barcelona) *Globo Esporte* (in a segment recorded in Praia Grande - SP); and in the telenovela *A Regra do Jogo* (SABINO; GARCIA 2018)

It is important to understand that Neymar was the main Brazilian player in the Cup, having invitations from different brands, with the biggest amount of appearances in advertisement in Brazil. As affirmed by

Silva (2017, p. 3, our translation), when talking about the first interview he gave to *Esporte Espetacular*:

> "This initiative of the news story aims at increasing ratings during the World Cup, broadcast by Rede Globo, Brazilian television network. The exaltation of Neymar is a narrative strategy of the sports agenda so as to personify the exhibit game and, later, the 2014 World Cup. Neymar is invoked as the star of the national team, the one who could give the Brazilian people the world champions title – images show the player singing the national anthem, scoring a goal and passing, cheering".

Helal, Lisboa and Mostaro (2015) highlight the report about Neymar's life in *Jornal Nacional*, which closed the series about all the players called for the World Cup. In this case, in addition to being the last one, which gives a special attention, it had 9 minutes, 3 minutes more than the average duration of news on other Brazilian athletes.

In turn, Oliveira, Rodrigues and Araújo (2015, p. 16), when analyzing the news broadcasted by Globoesporte.com a month before the beginning of the World Cup, they observe there was not any negative information about the player in the period observed. On the contrary, they "glorified the position of Neymar as a big idol in Brazil and possible hero in the conquest of the world hexa championship".

The contract announcement put in question Grupo Globo's journalistic coverage because, precisely in 2016, with the conclusion of contract, some commenters and narrators began to criticize Neymar. For instance, the coverage of men's soccer in 2016 Olympic Games, with the player avoiding to give interviews in certain moments of the tournament; the 2018's controversy with Walter Casagrande Júnior, who called the player a brat, receiving an answer from Neymar's father through social media; and the coverage of the conglomerate at 2018 Brazil FIFA World Cup, which also criticized Neymar of overreacting when he suffered penalties.

But it is also important to remember that, at least in 2014 Brazil Fifa World Cup, with the poor performance played by the national team in a good part of the tournament, Neymar was one of the few that stood out.

In addition, the athlete was absent in the 7x1 defeat for Germany in the semifinals, because he suffered an injury in the previous match.

Lisboa (2014, p. 9) says, even, that the player was chosen by CBF after the 7x1 match to give a press conference, as a way to calm the environment of criticism and pressure by the journalists making the coverage of the national team.

> After two days of very tense interviews, filled with direct pressure to the members of the national team after the biggest defeat in the history of the Brazilian team, what prevailed in Neymar's interview was a sense of cordiality in relation to the interviewee.
> This cordiality was evidenced in the manifestations of care made by journalists and had the climax in the enthusiastic round of applause directed to Neymar at the end of the interview.

The interest for celebrities is a phenomenon proper to mass culture, according to Morin (1977), according to whom celebrities form a Modern Olympus. Thus, "olympians are superhuman in the role they play, humans in the existence they lead" (MORIN, 1977, p. 106). The author considers that "the mass press, at the same time that it gives these Olympians a mythological role, dives into their private lives in order to extract in them the substance that allows identification", (MORIN, 1977, p. 106-7). This identification and insertion in the collective imaginary end up making the audience follow every step of these individuals.

On the other hand, the attention these Olympians galvanize makes them extremely attractive to the advertisement industry. Olympians sign huge contracts with brands of sports materials, food supplements and anything else they can sell. However, they need to stand out not only for their sports feats, in an athlete's case, but also for their lives outside of the field so they can get in the collective imaginary. "The star is a full merchandise: there isn't a centimeter of their body, a fiber of their soul or a memory of their lives that cannot be released into the market" (MORIN, 1979, p. 76). Therefore, their daily lives, including achievements, joy, sadness and love relationships, must be faced as a merchandise.

Therefore, these celebrities need to constantly create pseudoevents that are manufactured, not spontaneous, uniquely built to be divulged by the media (BOORSTIN, 1961). Part of the daily life of Olympians works for potentializing the audience's attention. Social network websites, such as Instagram, Facebook and Twitter, in conjunction with changes in journalism contributed so that these athletes fabricate small pseudoevents throughout the day, which were replicated by journalistic websites in their desperate search for audience.

The contract between Neymar and Globo seems unusual but follows a logic process within the constitution of what we call flexible journalism, in which the borders between entertainment and journalism are increasingly blurred, even in more traditional areas of journalism such as politics (BRANTS, 1998). However, Globo, with this contract, elevates this tendency to an unimaginable level, transforming a player, a valuable source for their journalists, into a part of their star system. An arrangement in which the commercial logics end up shaking the foundations of journalism while breaking taboos in the relationship between sources and journalists. At the same time in which it benefits them in comparison to their competition for having access to the idol of this moment, which, as affirmed by Brito and Rego (2019, p. 9), his presence or absence "in a determined event broadcasted in media would affect the content of the message and the form in which it is received by the audience".

It is necessary to consider that the television broadcasting of big sports events such as the World Cup and the Olympics walked hand in hand with the professionalization of athletes and the arrival of the sports marketing, as pointed out by Smit (2007). In the 1970's, companies of sports goods such as Puma and Adidas competed for exclusivity contracts in the use of sports goods with athletes such as Pelé, Beckenbauer and Cruyff. However, these athletes were a part of the sports' Olympus, covered by different media, and they weren't a part of the star system of conglomerates of the Cultural Industry.

Throughout its history, Globo used the tactics of star system to raise their audience in telenovelas and other shows of their schedule, but the incorporation of an Olympian of the sports world to their constellation of stars creates conflicts of interests between the parts of entertainment and journalism of the channel.

As observed by Gans (1980), the relationship between sources and journalist is seen as a tug of war in which frequently both parties have different interests. The journalist wants to extract information of public interest while the sources want to promote facts of their interest. The contract between Globo and Neymar is the commercial accommodation between the interest of them both, which would only be explained by the strategies of adaptation of the group to a new reality in the market. In this contract, there isn't any care for the public interest.

Final considerations

Throughout this article, we sought to demonstrate, both in the point of view of the theoretical discussion and using the example of Grupo Globo, the historic alteration in the principles of journalism, especially in the case of sports coverage, which begins to fit into the concept of "infotainment".

More than a legacy exclusive of the cycle of sports megaevents that took place in Brazil from 2007 to 2016, two performed by FIFA (2013 Confederations Cup and 2014 World Cup), the changes in the soccer coverage by the main communicational conglomerate in the country represent a process developed throughout two decades of the 21st century. As we sought to demonstrate, the alterations in the standard of transmission follow other structural transformations in the communicational conglomerate, letting clear the importance of guaranteeing the exhibition of the main soccer tournaments and the priority given to entertainment in terms of content.

In this process, Neymar's case represents the climax of problems that arrive in cases where sources become commercial partners, susceptible to pressures for benefits in the journalistic coverage. At the same time, these sources can get a better "defense" by the media, where criticism cannot occur. After all, the best the player is, more opportunities of exclusive content for the media of the company. It is not a coincidence that contracts of this type are treated with confidentiality.

The studies of the Political Economy of Communication enable the analysis of the historic process of development of market appropriation of communication and culture through the mode of capitalist production, where they include both the cultural work of the journalist on soccer and the possibility of wealth accumulation. Disconnecting the analysis to these factors is to stop presenting fundamental appointments for change observed in our study.

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Date of submission: 26/04/2019
Date of acceptance: 06/03/2020

COMUN. MÍDIA CONSUMO, SÃO PAULO, V. 17, N. 49, P. 342-364, MAI./AGO. 2020
DOI 10.18568/CMC.V17I49.2084

Controle e valorização da liberdade de expressão no mundo do trabalho

Control and enhancement of freedom of expression in the world of work[1]

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Resumo: *Neste artigo, apresentamos resultados de pesquisa realizada com trabalhadores de sete organizações, com objetivo de identificar como a liberdade de expressão é significada e vivenciada em ambientes de trabalho. Nesse sentido, utilizaremos como aportes teóricos o binômio comunicação e trabalho, e os estudos ergológicos. Os dados foram coletados por meio de questionários e mostram que as organizações conferem parâmetros para a liberdade de expressão. O direito à liberdade de expressão é reconhecido e valorizado, porém os limites se inserem em contextos nos quais os trabalhadores têm pouca margem para estabelecê-los. As preocupações com danos à empresa e a manutenção da boa convivência são as principais razões apontadas para a necessidade de limites. Possíveis riscos à segurança e danos à imagem tanto de trabalhadores quanto das organizações se difundem como consequências de uma expressão livre.*

Palavras-chave: *Liberdade de expressão; comunicação e trabalho; direitos humanos.*

Abstract: *In this article, we present results of research carried out with workers from seven organizations, aiming to identify how freedom of expression is signified*

1 A version of this text was presented at Comunicom 2018 in the WG Communication, Entrepreneurial Culture and Work: consumption, narratives and discourses.

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and experienced in work environments. In this sense, we use as theoretical contributions the binomial communication and work and ergological studies. The data were collected through questionnaires and showed that the organizations confer parameters for freedom of expression. The right to freedom of expression is recognized and valued, but the limits are embedded in contexts in which workers have little scope to establish them. Concerns about damage to the company and the maintenance of good living together are the main reasons for the need of limits. Possible security risks and damage to the image of both workers and organizations spread as a consequence of a free expression.

Keywords: *Freedom of expression; communication and work; human rights.*

Introduction

Researches on freedom of expression pay tribute to a long tradition of reflection performed under the dominions of philosophy and legal studies, that end up establishing the parameters for the fixation of this right in the legal order and for the judgement of conflicts coming from the collision of fundamental rights in societies defined by the model of liberal democracy (FARIAS, 2008; MELLO, 2015; GIRARD, 2016), principle to be valued in liberal democratic societies, inserting themselves in a discursive memory that takes back the conquests of European modernity. In the Brazilian case, given the difficulty of consolidating the democratic ideology, researches about freedom of expression are also marked by the reflection on censorship (CARNEIRO, 2002; COSTA, 2013; GOMES, 2010; KUSHNIR, 2004) and focus in the observation of the public sphere, especially cultural practices such as arts and communications. However, other sectors of social life, for instance, the world of work and their relations of communication, are erased from this reflection.

This scenario motivated us to create an empirical study of exploratory character with the goal of analyzing how freedom of expression is experienced and signified in the world of work, more precisely in organizational environments, marked by the control of activities, rules, norms and processes. In sum, we seek to understand the meanings and practices of freedom of expression in the tense relationship between individuals and organizations, which have as background the relationship between capital/work, in a contradictory context of development of productive regimens in which predominate the rationalization and competition (ANTUNES, 2011, 2018; HARVEY, 2008) at the same time they value autonomy, flexibility and freedom (BOLTANSKI; CHIAPELLO, 2009; LINHART, 2007). Therefore, we question ourselves about the factors that determine the experience of freedom of expression in work contexts, considered as spaces of cultural mediation and that relations of communication can be established. In this article, we discussed, based on the binomial communication and work (FIGARO, 2009) and ergologic studies (SCHWARTZ, 2000), results obtained through a questionnaire answered by 365 workers from seven organizations[4] who composed the quantitative stage of our research, whose theoretical background and methodology used are described in the next section. This research was finalized in 2018 and the results have been shared in events and scientific articles (PACHI FILHO, 2017; 2018). In this article, we highlighted aspects relative to the predominant definition of freedom of expression, regulation of conduct and spaces of expression.

Communication and work

The productive restructuration, which characterizes capitalism since the last decades of the previous century, has imposed significant changes in the insertion of workers in the structure of production and substantially changed the form of being, both in the material and subjective point of view of this group, according to Antunes (2009; 2011) and Linhart (2000; 2007). The creation of new productive models, essential for the maintenance of capitalism, should approximate the wishes for bigger flexibility and freedom, chanted in revolutions of workers and students in Europe in the 1960's, as informed by Boltanski and Chiapelo (2009). Personality aspects, cognitive and emotional capabilities become the focus of attention of managers in a context in which experience and qualification lose ground (LINHART, 2007). A model emerges, privileging individualization and waving at the possibility of a realization of subjective potentialities. In this new scenario, they seek to put the worker, as individual, in the center of the productive process. To Linhart (2007), however, the individualization progresses in great strides and in the same rhythm of the contradictions derived from productive logics.

With these changes, that are not constituted in a new model of organization of society, the worker continues to be subordinated to the productive system and to the business universe. As a result of the logic of capital, such as approached by Antunes (2011, p. 47), we have visible

4 Companies of the following sectors took part in this research: Electric, Advertisement, Human Resources, Transportation, Information Technology, Teaching Organization and Organization of Education, Culture and Leisure.

effects on how the expansion of the structural unemployment, the reduction of industrial and factory work, a raise of the sub-proletariat and precarious work.

Another consequence of this process was the expansion of the part of work related to language, as explained by Boutet (2016). Communication takes on a decisive role for the new symbolic management demanded in organizational contexts. Therefore, it is necessary to think about the articulations between language, communicational practices and places of mediation of discourses present in society, among them the world of work, where also occurs the reprocessing of values (SCHWARTZ, 2000) that sediment society and feed social discourse.

Lacoste (2001) explains that communication at work remains hidden due to the development of business communication, which invests in techniques, discourses, professionalization and contributes to keep in the shadow an older and essential reality, attached to the processes of work. This author affirms that the visions about work developed in the organizations remain dominated by the obsession for technology, automation and the organizational rationalization. In this context, the idea of communication is disturbing is hard to grasp by the practices that rule the corporate world.

When formulating the binomial communication and work, Figaro (2009) promotes the dislocation of communication from the universe of management for the world of work, gesture that allows thinking of it through the varied and non-standard relations of meaning and/or uniform according to the intention of management of this communication. The world of work, according to Figaro's definition (2008a), is a wide category crossed by discourses, values, varied ideologies and different social groups.

The activity of work, explains Figaro (2009) based in Schwartz (2000), allows the subject to create something in benefit to themselves and others through consolidated prescriptions and their personal experience (knowledge invested). The work, in the conception proposed by Schwartz, is the space where the norms are faced with the subjectivity of the worker. What happens is a constant exchange between formal knowledge and those originated in the practice of workers (SCHWARTZ; DURRIVE, 2010). Therefore, workers make use of their history, their values and use them to execute activities, constantly reinventing the norms prescribed to them. Because of that, Schwartz (2000) forges the concept of body-self to comprise the different experiences and temporalities present in the work activity. The body-self articulates personal, social and cultural history. In the work activity, it is impossible not to make choices according to values, which opens a path for a discussion around freedom – among them, freedom of expression – which enable the choices of body-self (SCHWARTZ; DURRIVE 2010 p. 71). In the ergologic perspective, one must understand that the subject makes use of self for himself in a game with the use that others make of the subject, processes named "dramatics of use of self by oneself and others" (SCHWARTZ; DURRIVE 2010, p. 71).

According to Figaro (2008a), the communication in the world of work happens in the interactions necessary to the work activity and the needs of management of self by oneself and of self by others. It is the category of analysis that reveals reactions and interactions given between subjectivities, a constitutive condition of being human. Therefore, in Figaro's perspective, work and communication are central in the constitution of social relations, which includes productive processes. The work activity, which depends on human action, is articulated by the activity of communication, in the social work that characterizes the own species. In this sense, work is treated as a space of mediation[5].

Methodology

The absence of data and studies on the relationship between freedom of expression and the variables present in the world of work motivated us to develop in an empirical and exploratory study in the field of

5 The idea of mediation corresponds to a form of being in reality, that is social, psychological and cultural, that allows human beings to interpret the world through their historic-cultural insertion (BRAGA, 2012, p. 32).

Communication Sciences to understand the circulation of meanings on freedom of speech in organizational contexts, here understood as part of the world of work. The exploratory studies have as goal to prepare the terrain for later researchers or to approach themes that are not as researched, allowing the researcher to familiarize themselves with the issues involving the object of their studies (SAMPIERI; COLLADO; LUCIO, 2006). In the research as a whole, we have adopted Figaro's (2008a, 2008b, 2013) theoretical-methodological propositions. The methodologic outline proposed by this author, adapted to the complexity and interdisciplinarity needed in the objects of study in the field of Communication, includes quantitative and qualitative steps. In this article, we presented partial results obtained for the quantitative stage, which counted with data collection through a questionnaire with workers of seven organizations.

The questionnaire, with 74 questions, used for the collection of data of workers was split into ten blocks: personal information, knowledge on human rights and freedom of expression, regulation of conduct and freedom of expression, spaces of expression, access to media, monitoring and control of media, expression in media, political and union expression and individual expression. Marchesan and Ramos (2012) explain that the questionnaires are instruments developed to collect data that are not readily available and that cannot be obtained through observation. Their goal, as warned by Gil (1999, p. 128), is to get to know, through a fairly elevated number of questions, opinions, beliefs, feelings, interests and situations experienced.

When creating the questionnaire, we sought to apprehend the contemporary meaning of freedom of expression, how it is fixed in the social discourse, through legally established documents, such as the Brazilian Federal Constitution (1988), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), and documents of multilateral institutions, for instance, the Organization of American States (2015), the International Labor Organization (2013), and the United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture (2016). We also sought to explore the meanings established for freedom of expression in the field of administration, including, as demonstrated by França (2010), questions related to quality of life and participant management, and in documents and business organizations such as Ethos Institute of Business and Social Responsibility (2011). We also adopted the categories proposed by Barry (2007) about freedom of expression in the workplace, comprising freedom of belief, speech, divulgation and association.

In basically qualitative researches, such as the one we performed, the sample is defined as an unit of analysis or a group of people, contexts, events, facts, communities, about which data will be collected without the need of universe or population representation (SAMPIERI; COLLADO; LUCIO, p. 251-252). In this research, we constituted non--probability samples of companies and workers. Therefore, according to Sampieri, Collado and Lúcio (2006, p. 271), the choice of individuals for the composition of non-probability samples depends on the researcher and their advantage for the qualitative studies resides in the fact that they are useful for research templates that do not require representation of elements.

The formation of the first sample, constituted by organizations, was determined by judging, adequate process to choose typical and representative elements in a small number. We wanted to select organizations with a public commitment with human rights. We chose this profile for having adhesion to a business discourse that focuses on citizenship and for supposedly being more permeable to the different meanings of freedom of expression. Out of the 43 companies contacted, 7 agreed participating on the research, through having confidentiality of their data, names, products and identity of their workers. The second sample was composed by workers of these companies. Because we do not have the intention of statistic inference in this moment of research and given the exploratory profile of study, we do not stablish criteria for the selection of respondents. In total, 365 workers answered the questionnaire applied in each one of the seven participating organizations of the research, in 2016 and 2017, numbers considered sufficient to identify standards and trends and to have a general dimension about the themes we approached.

Data were organized into a single base with the use of electronic sheets. Then, the variables were coded and the data was imported into the software Statistical Package for Social Science for Windows (SPSS version 18)[6] with the intent of having a descriptive statistical analysis, an instrument that allows the elaboration of frequency tables and the understanding of regularities and trends that can be observed in big amounts of data (COOPER; SCHINDLER, 2011).

Right of expression

Freedom of expression[7] understood as a right to express oneself without discomfort, according to the standards established by law and respecting other rights, is the most adequate definition for this value, according to 62.5% of the respondents (Image 1). Other 24.1% believe that freedom of expression is the right to express oneself without discomfort, respecting the boundaries establishes by laws and institutions, such as companies. Only 13.4% believe that freedom of expression is the right to express oneself without discomfort or boundaries. Nowadays, the debate on these meanings, about expressive behaviors and the coexistence of freedom of expression with other fundamental freedoms and other social interests have been a target of concern of philosophers and lawyers, as demonstrated by Ramond (2016) and by society itself, as we found out on our research. The philosophical and legal delimitation, whose common denominator, according to Girard (2016), can be defined as the right to express oneself without suffering arbitrary interference is

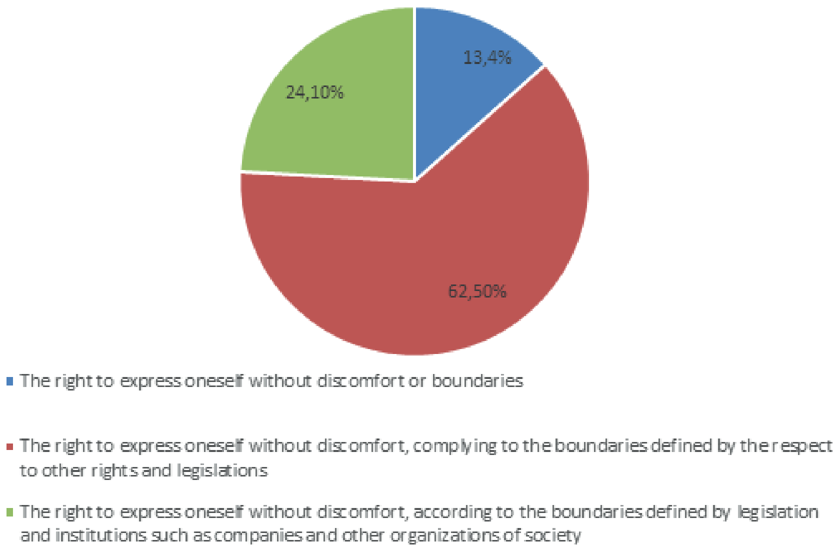
6 The Statistical Package for Social Science for Windows (SPSS) is a software for statistical analysis of data, which enables the realization of complex calculation and the visualization of results in a simple and self-explanatory manner. This software makes a complete initial descriptive analysis of the answers obtained and also of the internal consistency of the questionnaire.

7 In this topic, the analyses were made based on the answers to the following multiple-choice propositions: “Freedom of choice can be defined as” and “Limits to freedom of expression can be defined as”.

insufficient to delimitate forms of expression and the criteria to establish arbitrary acts.

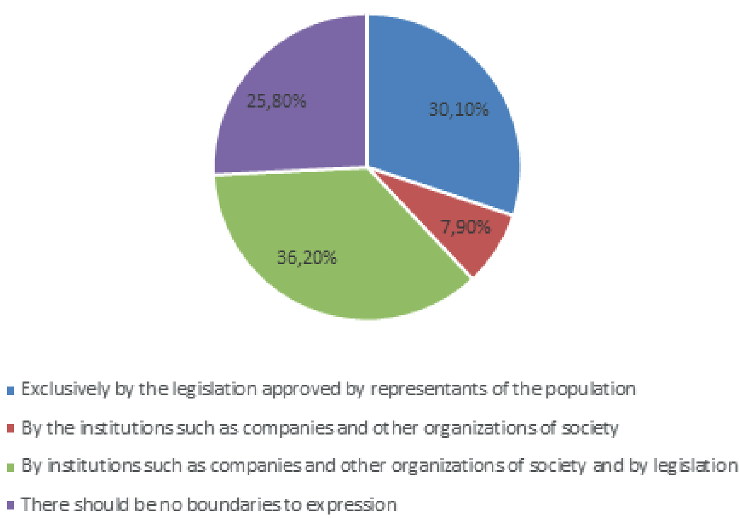
In our research, we could see that law is a dominant parameter for the definition of freedom of expression among workers, however, we cannot disregard the role of institutions, especially concerning the boundaries to this value. When we consider who should establish boundaries for freedom of expression, we see that not only legislation, but institutions have a role admitted as relevant (Image 2). Institutions such as companies and organizations in society and legislation are considered as instances charged of limiting freedom of expression to 36.2% of the respondents. The other 30.1% believe that is the role only for the representatives of the population to establish, through laws, the boundaries to freedom of expression. A significant part (25.8%) believe that it should not exist boundaries to expression. The final 7.9% believe that this is up to institutions of society to establish such boundaries. We can observe that institutions compete with law in the task of limiting freedom of expression, not having a consensus of the exclusive source to that boundaries are established by legal and political action. There is a tendency on behalf of workers to accepting limiting norms of institutional origin, that cannot be undervalued and a distance of the field of politics and rights as primary definers of boundaries for expression. In this aspect, meanings and boundaries for the freedom of expression can also be focused and variable according to the institutional practices, either determined by superior instances or open to worker's participation.

Image 1 - Definition of freedom of expression.



Source Created by the authors.

Image 2 - Definition of boundaries for expression.



Source: Created by the authors.

Regulation of expression

The boundaries for expression in organizations[8] (Image 3), to which participants of the research work, are, in the most part, defined in an informal manner, as attested by 35.6% of the respondents. Other 26.8% recognize these boundaries are defined in company documents. 18.2% say they do not have limits for expression, and 19.4%, in addition to saying they do not have limits, they feel free to express opinions, criticism and feelings. In summary, most of them recognize the existence of boundaries. From those who recognize the existence of boundaries (62.4 of the sample), 50.4%, however, said they do not know how they are established and other 49.6% said they know how the boundaries are established. We can perceive that the validity of informality does not stop boundaries to be recognized and integrated to work routines. An expressive part of the respondents does not recognize how such boundaries are constituted, which lead us to believe these rules tend to be formulated externally to the groups of work.

The ones who said to know the limits for expression (55.2%) said that the boundaries are established in codes of ethics and committees within the organization. Other 21% said that the boundaries are directly delimited by bosses and 16.4% said the company set boundaries for expression through communication letters. Only 7.4% said the limits are established in open discussions with the participation of employees (Image 4). Therefore, we can observe that among the workers that recognize boundaries there is not the perception of participation of their establishment, being a responsibility of the organization to define them, even if they use mechanisms such as ethics codes and committees. The definition of boundaries through hierarchic superiors or communication letters, whose origin are the instances of direction, is also significant and shows that the boundary of expression, when recognized by workers, occurs in spheres of power that are not accessible to their participation.

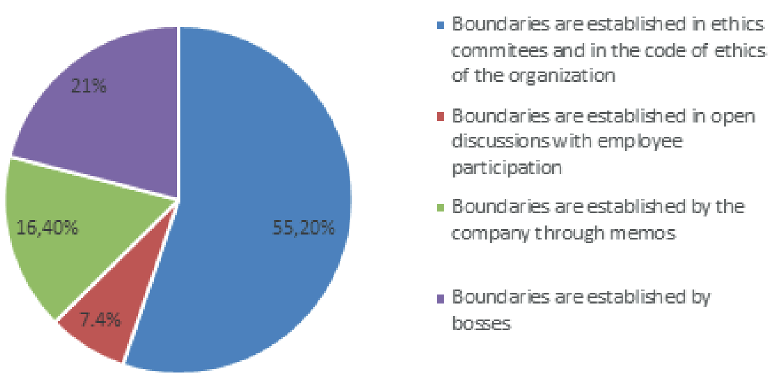
8 Analyses created based on answers to the question “In the company where you work, is there boundaries to expression? Do you know how these boundaries are established? Boundaries harm free expression? Do these boundaries harm the work to be done? Are they necessary?”.

Therefore, the expression of workers seems subject and conditioned to norms of institutional order, which affect communication and circulation of meanings about freedom of expression itself.

Image 3 - Boundaries for expression in the organization.

Source: Created by the author.

Image 4 - How boundaries are established.



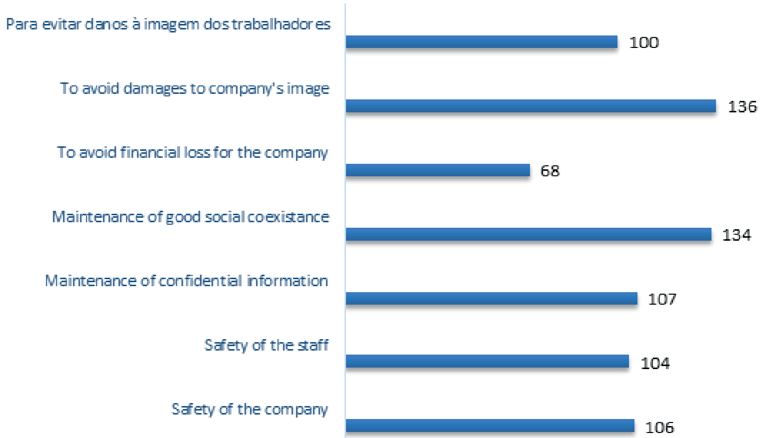
Source: Created by the authors.

Still, 62.4% consider that the boundaries do not harm worker's expression and 37.6% said there is harm. About the work activity, 78% consider that the boundaries established do not harm them and other 22% see harm for their work execution. Two hypotheses can be formulated from these data: the limits do not generate real nuisance or were admitted as part of the work process of the ones performing it. In addition to that, 75.9% consider necessary the boundaries to freedom of expression and 24.1% believe these limits are not necessary. Thus, there is a big agreement of workers to the boundaries that were established, becoming, therefore, part of their experience in the work environment. Crystallizing the idea that the boundaries established by the organization are necessary so that work can be done.

In a multiple answer question[9], we sought to investigate the reasons why boundaries are considered necessary for those who agree with their existence (Image 5). To avoid damage to the image of the organization and maintaining a good work environment was the alternatives that had the biggest amount of answers, followed by items such as the maintenance of confidential information and worker's safety. Free expression, in the view of the respondents that consider these boundaries necessary, is configurated as a threat first for the company, which could suffer damage in their image and compromise their safety. In the background, workers could also have a threat in their safety and image. The sociability could also be harmed, and the boundaries adopted by the institution would work to preserve work relationships. Therefore, we perceive the centrality of the organization about the need for limiting expression, which becomes a risk to be considered, fact that has a significant agreement among the respondents of the research.

9 We consider here the total of answers obtained in each item of the answer to the question "Why do you consider these boundaries necessary?" in the set of companies and organizations researched. The same procedure was adopted for the data presented in Images 6, 7 and 8.

Image 5 - Why are boundaries necessary?



Source: Created by the authors.

Spaces of expression

A not so expressive part (21.4%) of the respondents says to participate of management committees in the organizations researched[10]. The majority (78.6%) keeps a distance in the participation of these committees. Periodic meetings, ombudsman and internal commissions are the most popular channels for worker's expression (Image 6). In this scenario, 67.15% consider the channels available for worker's manifestation, such as ombudsman, channels for complaints, internal meetings and commissions, enough to guarantee freedom of expression. Other 32.85%, in turn, consider these channels insufficient. The majority (80.8%) of the workers feel motivated to give suggestions to improve practices and work conditions, which does not occur in the view of 19.2% of participants of the research. The stimulus to expression with the intention of contribution for the improvement of work processes is one of the characteristics

10 Analyses made based on the answers to the questions: "Do you participate in management committees in the company? Does the company keep channels of expression? Are the channels available enough to guarantee freedom of expression? Do you feel motivated and free to give suggestions to improve work practices and conditions?".

of modern management inspired in the Toyotist model, in which the worker's expression is motivated in a way to involve with the business project and be responsible to the compliance of the established goals. Such spaces are thought to capture worker's expression in benefit of the organization and to decrease the risk derived from conflicts inherent to the capital/work relation (ANTUNES, 2011; LINHART, 2007).

Image 6 - Channels for expression.

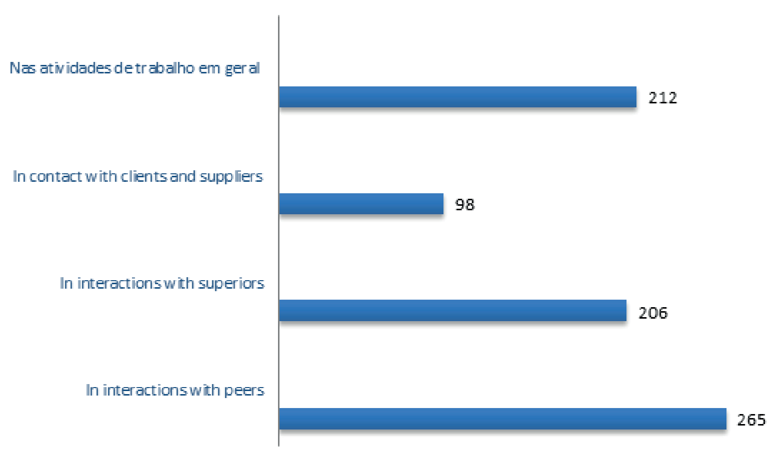
Source: Created by the authors

The situations considered freer (Image 7)[11] for the expression are the ones referred to the interaction with work peers, followed by the feeling of being free in work activities, analyzed in a general manner, and with the interaction with hierarchic superiors. The contact with clients and suppliers, people external to the organization, was the item that received the smallest number of answers. The interaction with work colleagues, in which informal bonds are more establish, guarantees a bigger freedom of expression. The interaction with superiors does not seem to impose boundaries to expression. We know that the modern management aims the proximity between leaders and leaded in the

11 Analysis performed based in the answer to the question: "In which situations do you consider your expression. Is free in the company where you work?" (More than one answer can be checked).

search of establish a relationship based on trust, in which conflicts are solved with dialogue (LINHART, 2007). It is necessary to understand that work groups have variable outlines, as Schwartz (2010b, p. 151) points out. In order to do that, the author formulates the concept of relatively pertinent collective entities. If the work environment are spaces where life is processes, the groups are dynamically constituted and are in a permanent transition. Their borders are defined by the work activity in certain moments, according to the bonds established by workers. It is in the groups where debates of social and political value take place, being reprocessed in the field of work activity. Therefore, what happens in the field of society, when referred to the global management of economic and political activities, produces effects in activities and means of work, where occur the reprocessing of the social debate. As a consequence, there is a connection between the values discussed in the social field and those reprocessed in work, in a way that one interferes on the other.

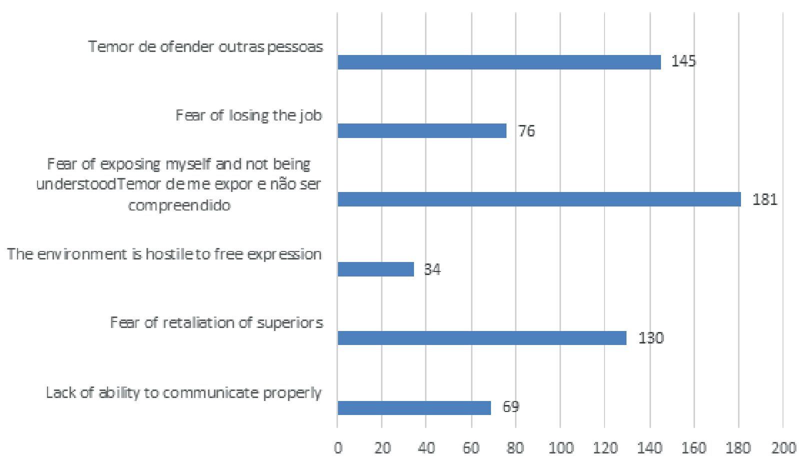
Image 7 - Situations in which expression is free.



Source: Created by the authors.

Generally, we sought to investigate the factors that impede free expression in the organization where the research participants work[12] (Image 8). In response to the question that can be signaled different alternatives, the fear of being exposed and misunderstood is the most popular alternative, followed by the fear of offending people, of suffering retaliation and losing the job. Lack of ability to communicate and hostility in the environment were less mentioned factors. A trace that stands out is the fear that the workers seem to have to express themselves, even if organizations give space for expression. We see that hostility to expression present in the environment wasn't a relevant factor, but one cannot disregard that the fear of retaliation of a superior and losing the job are aspects mentioned, which shows that there are issues in the functioning of organizations that can limit expression.

Image 8 - What constraints free expression.



Final considerations

Concerning workers, the responses obtained point towards an experience to be determined in the work environment and by the organization.

12 Analysis made based on the answers to the question "In your view, what stops your free expression. In the company where you work? (More than one answer can be checked)."

For most of the interviewees, freedom of expression is the right to express themselves without discomfort, according to standards established by law and by the respect to other rights. Therefore, we perceive that freedom of expression is assured by law and its boundaries must be considered only in relation to law and other rights. However, if the question was directed to investigate who should establish boundaries for freedom of expression, we can observe that there is a significant tendency of admitting that other institutions also do it. In this aspect, the acceptance of boundaries, not originated in the political and legal sphere, finds support in the vision of workers, also considering that the minority believes that there should not be boundaries to expression. The prescriptions related to freedom of expression have, consequently, relevance for the relations of communication in the work as rules and boundaries are set in organizations and not only in law, affecting the management that workers do of themselves.

Even if organization seek to formally establish boundaries for expression and use instruments such as codes of conduct and ethics committees, a part of the respondents says that boundaries are set informally. The recognition of the existence of documents that fix boundaries to expression is not, therefore, generalized. It is also possible to say that half of the total of respondents that recognize the existence of boundaries to expression does not know how the boundaries are set, which could indicate that workers' participation in the debate and reflection of freedom of expression is not an existent practice, sufficiently diffused and/or known. Thus, the parameter for freedom of expression is given by the organization, in other words, workers know the restrictions to which they are submitted.

Most workers who identify the formal existence of boundaries to expression say they are defined in codes and ethics committees. Hierarchic superiors and memos are also recognized as sources for the fixation of boundaries to expression. Few workers seem to have discussions on the work groups for discussion on boundaries of expression, which corroborates in our hypothesis that institutions define boundaries in hierarchic instances and seek to impose them as workers as a norm of conduct to be followed. In this scenario, most of the workers do not seem to bother with boundaries and say that they do not harm performance in work activities. In addition to that, most of them also recognize these boundaries as necessary, a proof that there is acceptance and normalization of these boundaries in practice. The concerns with eventual damages to the company and the maintenance of good interaction are the main reasons pointed towards the need for boundaries. Risks to safety and damages to the image, both of workers and organizations, are diffused as possible negative consequences of a free expression.

Open spaces of expression in the organization for worker manifestation are deemed as sufficient for most of the respondents, which are also considered stimulated to give suggestions and contribute to the improvement of work, a fact that shows an efficient work of the apparatus of capture of expression set in the organizations. However, few of them take part in management committees. The freest situations for expression are those lived with co-workers or with hierarchic superiors, given that they signal for situations of interaction, informality and proximity. Human relations established in the work group seem to have a great load in the perception of freedom of expression. Even so, a fear related to expression remains, proof that there is an association between expression, fear and retaliation. If part of these fears can be interpreted in the psychologic level, there is no way to deny that the fear of retaliation point towards a system in which the valorization of expression lives in parallel with the formal or informal adoption of punishment that can focus on expression itself, limiting communication.

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Date of submission: 04/07/2019
Date of acceptance: 06/03/2020

COMUN. MÍDIA CONSUMO, SÃO PAULO, V. 17, N. 49, P. 365-385, MAI./AGO. 2020
DOI 10.18568/CMC.V17I49.2133

ARTIGO

Isomorfismo mimético no cinema brasileiro: o modelo norte-americano de governança e a frustração da indústria nacional

Mimetic isomorphism in Brazilian cinema: the US governance model and the frustration of the national film industry

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Ana Lúcia Vitale Torkomian[2]

Resumo: *A ideia da industrialização do cinema no Brasil passou a ser pauta constante a partir da década de 1920 tanto de críticos quanto de realizadores. As discussões acerca do que deveria ser feito e o que seria o cinema brasileiro por excelência sempre encontravam o modelo norte-americano como referência. A tentativa de seguir tal modelo, no entanto, não abriu espaço para a adoção de outras lógicas e estruturas de governança que existiam, mas não eram valorizadas pelo meio. A partir das teorias institucionais e das diferentes estruturas de governança das organizações, propõem-se examinar as tentativas de industrialização do cinema brasileiro entre os anos 1920 e 1960, identificando as práticas de legitimação do cinema nacional diante de um pensamento artístico do que seria qualidade e, sobretudo, de um modelo de produção institucionalmente mimetizado do modelo hollywoodiano clássico.*

Palavras-chave: *indústria cinematográfica; neoinstitucionalismo; mimetismo.*

Abstract: *The idea of the industrialization of cinema in Brazil became a constant theme from the 1920s, both critics and directors. Discussions about what should be done and what would be Brazilian cinema par excellence always found*

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the North American model as a reference. The attempt to follow such a model, however, did not make room for the adoption of other existing logics and governance structures that were not valued by the environment. From the institutional theories and the different governance structures of the organizations, we propose to examine the attempts of industrialization of Brazilian cinema between the 1920s and 1960s, identifying the legitimation practices of national cinema in the face of an artistic thought of what quality and above all, an institutionalized mimetism production model of the classic Hollywood model.

Keywords: *film industry; neoinstitutionalism; mimetism.*

Introduction

There is no cinema industry in Brazil. This categoric statement is repeated in different studies of the cinematographic area of the country throughout decades (AUTRAN, 2004; BERNARDET, 2009). This comes from researchers, intellectuals and professionals of cinema who defend the impossibility of the country to have a film industry and are consolidated by academic studies of the area. Such statement, however, presupposes a very idealized concept of industry generally associated to a specific type of productive arrangement.

Given the complexity associated to the cinematographic production, as well as its distribution and exhibition, involving high costs and a large number of people, it is understood that cinema only really exists through elaborated industrial formal structures. These structures, however, can have different shapes, with significant variations in the relation between organizations, types of governance and development of activities. Since one specific productive shape is defined as the correct one, any other activity, as more or less effective as it is, is delegitimated and, therefore, understood as invalid.

The construction of such reference of structures begins in the decade of 1910, when the American cinematographic industry was consolidated not only in the internal market, but also as an aesthetic and productive reference throughout the world. The dominance of a cohesive and transparent narrative form and the practically uninterrupted production, in addition to the guaranteed domestic exhibition due to the verticalization of companies made the American cinema, only focused in Hollywood at that time, the main reference of cinema in the world after World War I (COSTA, 2005).

In Brazil, from 1920's onwards, the idea of industrialization of the cinema became a constant subject in critics and directors minds. The discussions around what should be done, what type of film, what would be Brazilian cinema par excellence and how to do it always ended up having the North American model as reference. Some attempts of verticalization of the production occurred, varying their time of existence and the themes of films. All of them, however, did not satisfy the urge to see Brazil as a consolidated industry, guaranteeing constant production of films and reach of at least the domestic audience (GALVÃO; SOUZA, 1987). The focus on the physical structure of studios and in the Hollywood model did not consider the characteristics of the national economy and industry, nor the audience and how to get to them.

From that, the proposition of this article is to discuss the possibility that the issue of industrialization of cinema in the country is not only a lack of organization of film directors, the initial participation of the State or the market occupied by foreign film (AUTRAN, 2004), but an issue of adopting a model coming from a completely different context. As oscillating as it has been, film production in the country followed a considerable path, especially in the period analyzed in this study, from 1920 to 1960. Production that in some moments was made by studios and in others by independent directors with their own resources or with the support of businessmen. The discussion about what should be cinema and how could it be done, however, ended up focusing efforts towards production, leaving distribution and exhibition aside in the adopted hierarchic mode.

The attempt of following the North American model, however, did not open a space for the adoption of other logics and structures of governance that existed, but weren't valued by the field. Institutional theories explain such behavior through isomorphism and the need of organizations to be legitimized in their field (DIMAGGIO; POWELL, 2005). Such legitimacy often happens through the imitation of practices understood as correct, even if they are not thought for that context where they are being applied. Therefore, a detachment happens between the institutionalized practice and the real activity, between legitimation in the field and efficiency of organization (MEYER; ROWAN, 1977).

Therefore, we intend to understand the relationship between the industrial process of Brazilian cinema and the classic model of American cinema. Having the idea of one only correct way of industrialization, we see the Brazilian activity as a practice of institutional isomorphism. To do so, we have as a base, in addition to concepts such as isomorphism (DIMAGGIO; POWELL, 2005) and institutionalized structures and practices (MEYER; ROWAN, 1977; SCOTT, 1995), the different forms of governance, of verticalization of contracts (COASE, 1937) and plural forms (MÉNARD, 2014). In another sphere, we identified the respective trajectories of the cinematographic production in the United States and in Brazil, comprising key moments from 1910 to 1960 in order to clarify in which ways the model was adopted and the results and discussions around it.

Governance, institutionalization and isomorphism

To think about the different types of possible arrangements for the cinematographic industry, it is necessary to understand which are the factors that influence the determination of these arrangements. Each organization, regardless of the productive sector it is, has characteristics that must be taken into account both internally and externally.

According to institutionalist theories, economy works through three institutions: market, company and contract (SCOTT, 1995). To get to this stage, the forms of production were changing, changing the focus from economic action - and, consequently, the study - of the productive function based on the vertical specialization of companies, to the structure of oligopolies and the establishment of the market through competition, until networks of firms and contracts established between them (TIGRE, 2005).

Coming from, therefore, three main fundamental institutions, the analysis of the economic activity has its center in the company, on how it puts itself in the market and in what way their contracts are related with other companies. The choice, however, between a small or big number of contracts and the form is given by the presence of the company in the market is related to the reactions of existence of the firm and the logic for its internal organization. According to Coase (1937), the determination of structure of the firm and its boundaries is in the question if it's more efficient to buy or produce a certain component. Through that, it is possible to understand the nature of the established relationships. In other words, the option for verticalization of operations, in which the company produces everything that's necessary for its activity and existence, or for the purchase of other company's components, based in contracts and in the market is done through which of the structures of governance is more efficient for that context. Thus, it is through this choice it is limited as far as the activities of the firm goes and where it begins to cooperatively relate with others (COASE, 1937).

To Ménard (2014), however, the forms of governance do not need to be fixed, depending of the activity of the organization. For one transaction it is possible to, at the same time, hierarchize the activity and recur to the market, in hybrid arrangements, such as outsourcing. As well as the verticalization and competition of the market are choices according to the efficiency of the firm, hybrid forms can be fairly useful in situations that require technological diversity, solutions oriented towards innovation, financial issues, specific knowledge, among others (MÉNARD, 2014).

In this moment, with the combination of governances in order to expand opportunities, horizontal relations between organizations are established and, thus, created networks of exchange (PAULILLO; SACOMANO; GARCIA, 2016). Unlike contractual relations, networks have as base the agreement, norms of reciprocity that can be broken at any moment. Its goal is also through strategic alliances and partnerships to eliminate weaknesses and absence of processes in one or another organization (POWELL, 1990).

To their existence and growth, organizations need to define their limits and the forms of their activities aiming efficiency. At the same time, however, they belong to a context in which they need recognition and legitimacy. In some contexts, legitimacy is given through the competition between organizations, in which they have an internal structure according to the necessary activities and the desired results. In others, this recognition is made through the adoption of certain practices and structures understood as correct and valid on their own, seen as myths to be applied.

According to Meyer and Rowan (1977), myths generated by particular organizational practices and diffused in relational networks acquire their legitimacy both by the supposition that they are efficient and based on legal mandates. They are called institutionalized practices, since in a broader sense institutionalization refers to a process of crystallization of norms, meanings, values or knowledges, becoming social norms or status orders.

In societies where the network of relations is dense, the number of myths grow, and as much as they can be generated in a specific context they are diffused and applied in others. With that, the institutionalized rules have a high degree of generalization, often not fitting the needs of specific activities of each organization or their field, causing a detachment between the structures imposed and the activities performed (MEYER; ROWAN, 1977).

According to Scott (1995), institutions are structures and activities that enable stability and meaning to the social behavior, delimiting behaviors and formatting actions. They are based, especially, in the cognitive, normative and regulatory pillars, defined by the way they are adopted and their social origins. In the case of practices institutionalized by organizations, dealt by Meyer and Rowan (1977), they have a strong base in cognitive institutions, since legitimacy comes from the adoption of a board of reference or an orthodox structure. In addition, the cognitive perspective is manifested through isomorphic practices, generally mimetic, through common beliefs and shared logics of action (SCOTT, 1995).

Mimetic isomorphism is one of the forms of institutional isomorphism studied by DiMaggio and Powell (2005) in the intention of understanding the processes that make the organizational field homogenized. For the authors, organizations tend to become similar and that is given in a coercive normative or mimetic form; forms related to the institutional perspectives proposed by Scott (1995).

In the case of mimesis, the similarity happens when an organization is surrounded with uncertainties and needs to guarantee their safety among other companies. As we've seen, in institutionalized environments, safety does not come through efficiency and competition, but through imitation of practices of organizations considered referential (DIMAGGIO; POWELL, 2005). Therefore, even if the efficacy of the organization in relation to their internal goals is not assured, it will have the easiness of exchange with other organizations and the legitimacy with relation to the actors of the field.

North American industry and the cinema in Brazil

Classic Hollywood cinema

The industrialization of cinema in the United States begins around 1910. The long film, until then almost nonexistent, started to be the most produced product, gaining space in movie theatres. At this time, a good part of the films exhibited in the United States was European, mainly Italian and French, at the same time the producers were being intensified in the North American territory. Through the creation of Motion Picture Patents Company (MPPC) and its distributor General Film Company (GFC), cinema in the country organized itself in a more standardized manner, through budget delimitations, forms of production and releases. The trust, led by Thomas Edison, had the goal of controlling the national market, impeding the formation of new companies and, mostly, the entrance of European product in the domestic market. With the First World War, European production dropped significantly, which helped not only to expand MPPC in its own country, but also the opening of a space in a new market. Therefore, the raise in production started to demand a specialized system, with intense rationalization and division of labor (COSTA, 2005).

Still in the 1910's, little by little, MPPC lost its importance, especially after the government action against practices that harmed competition in the sector. At the same time, different independent producers were getting organized and would become the big companies in the country. The first to create a physical structure for simultaneous recordings was Universal, in a city next to Hollywood. Therefore, from 1912 to 1928, the known and strong cinematographic industry was established in shape and market dominance (THOMPSON; BORDWELL, 2003).

Known as factories, Hollywood studios, in fact, had the physical and organizational structure necessary to adapt themselves to every new movie, since each project had different demands. To do so, the separation into clear roles and departments is fundamental. The creation of closed studios allowed a bigger control of lighting - and, later, sound - replacing old studios with glass walls. In addition to recording structures, the companies also started to invest in the purchase and construction of rooms that would guarantee the exhibition of their films. Thus, the vertical integration of companies would no longer be restricted to the production of the film, but it would also be related to the other parts of the chain, including product distribution and exhibition. Until the 1940's, there were the so-called "five big and three smalls", respectively Paramount, MGM, 20th Century Fox, Warner Bros., RKO, Universal, Columbia and United Artists (THOMPSON; BORDWELL, 2003).

It is important to highlight that both the extinction of MPPC and the later verticalization of activities and all the cinematographic chain centralized into few and big companies followed the logic of functioning of the North American industry as a whole, even with a certain delay. Cinema was consolidated as an industrial art in the period in which North American organizations of different sectors also went through a restructuration, from predatory practices in cartels to the formation oligopolies and big specialized companies. As in other sectors, the cinematographic industry also was a target of a reactive action of the State that aimed to regulate activities, always guaranteeing the existence of competition. The different conceptions of control (FLIGSTEIN, 1990) can also be observed in this context.

Therefore, the assembly line type of production was also adopted in the cinematographic production, separating the roles in departments such as direction, costume, electrical engineers, machinists, film labs, advertisement, administration, finance, among others, all physically disposed in a way to maximize results, making processes easier between them. In addition to these roles, actors in this moment formed the star system of each company and were a fundamental piece for sale and repercussion of films. In addition, it is important to point out that every worker was an employee of the company and worked in more than one project at once, in order to guarantee continuity of production. The search for the best quality product, in which the viewer would not perceive the technologic and productive apparatus involved, would justify both the enormous recording structures and the changes in film style. Lighting, development of a more precise script, types of framing and camera movement, invisible editing and other techniques were elaborated creating the popular classic Hollywood style based on continuity, vraisemblance and narrative clarity (BORDWELL; STAIGER; THOMPSON, 1997).

The sectors of exhibition, until then still belonging to big companies, created a spectacle for each film exhibited, through the division of which movies would be released in which rooms, according to the quality of the film, varying, thus, the price of the ticket and the type of audience. Such spectacles were supported by the strong advertisement that would use the room where the film would be projected and mainly the stars of the film. Therefore, "in order to control stability and long-term planning, the company should expand, ensuring, therefore, regular supplies of raw material, reservations of capital and minimization of risks" (BORDWELL; STAIGER; THOMPSON, 1997, p. 353). Therefore, with a well-defined structure and standardized practices, North American cinematographic companies had a constant production, filling internal and external market, and a narrative style that guaranteed both a quality product and audience reach

Brazilian production

With relation to its own production the history of Brazilian cinema is divided into different periods or according to the regions. Until early 1910's, the Belle Epoque of Brazilian cinema reflects the period in which the country discovered cinema as entertainment and started to produce their own films, with landscapes, important personalities, family movies and small comedies – all of them with a short length. Between 1910 and 1920, the favorable scenario had changed. While cinema in the world began to be organized as an industry, artisanal productions of the country did not hold, with the exception of places where the so-called regional cycles established themselves with strength for some time, outside the Rio-São Paulo region. During the 1920's, the film production was sparse, spreading throughout the different regions of the country, with different forms of production, sources of financing and teams. The activities did not follow a pattern, nor used a lot of the previous production, with each new initiative being considered as a new beginning (GALVÃO; SOUZA, 1987).

In addition to the regional cycles, the production was limited to news cinema or movies made under commission, which were not considered proper cinema. It was in this context and with the repercussion of cinema magazines that the search for true Brazilian cinema began. Between late 1920's, early 1940's, the Cinearte magazine, edited by Adhemar Gonzaga and Pedro Lima was the journalistic reference about national cinema, not only following events, but discussing how and what should the national cinema look like, in addition to boasting the national star system. For the editors, Hollywood cinema was clearly the reference of well-made cinema, both regarding content and the means of production. It was through their texts that the discussion of the Brazilian cinema industry began to grow and define the North American production as base for the subject that did not develop for decades (AUTRAN, 2004). The reference to Hollywood is not random, however. As we've seen, since 1910's, the North American cinema dominated the international cinematographic market, intensifying its position in the 1920's with the consolidation of their verticalized system from production to exhibition (BAKKER, 2008).

From the 1920's until early 1960's, the so-called attempts of industrialization were many. In different contexts and moments, they had in common the objective to create a quality Brazilian cinema, based on the big production studies, with known actors and experienced technicians. In the 1930's, along with the first protectionist laws in the Vargas presidency, there were the first cinematographic companies in Rio de Janeiro with their studios and a big staff. Throughout this period, in addition to independent productions that kept occurring in an atomized manner, there were the companies Cinédia, Maristela, Brasil Vita Filme, Sonofilmes, Multifilmes, Kino Filmes, Atlântida and Vera Cruz. Some of them had only a few years of production. Initial investments for construction and equipping the studios and contracting technical staff and actors, in addition to the huge concern towards aesthetic and the lack of contact with the audience, were a few of the reasons they were unsuccessful (AUTRAN, 2004; VIEIRA, 2018). In each new attempt, the hope for consolidating the industry was reinforced, as well as the discussion on what should be done after each new bankruptcy. Questions about the form of production, State participation, investors or lack thereof, audience taste and what was lacking to reach the North American model came to the surface and generally did not get any conclusion. Even the idea of one film distributor responsible for such productions was hypothesized, but with no results (GATTI, 2007). "The decay of the industrialist thought stuck to the Hollywood productive mode is so grand that it is hard to understand if the industry had existed or if it was a stillborn entity that never came into effect (AUTRAN, 2004, p. 149).

Among the initiatives, two existed for a longer period of time: Cinédia, by Adhemar Gonzaga, and Atlântida. Both had in common the goal of investing little by little, creating the structure of studios as films got any revenue (needing, of course, complementary investments) and with a concern with the audience's taste. Initiated by Cinédia and with an apex in the 1950's with films by Atlântida, films of Carnaval comedy, later called chanchadas, seized the taste for sound films and singers and songs known in the radio to attract the audience. It was with chanchadas that both producers reached what was the closest to a cinema with continuous production and with a real feedback from the audience. In addition to the genre, there is the verticalization promoted by the exhibitor Luiz Severiano Ribeiro, owner of a group of cinemas that became an Atlântida associate in 1947. Even guaranteeing all the steps of the chain, the company, however, close their activities in early 1960's, due to unclear finance issues. The genre "got old", being overly repetitive, competing with television and with North American film, and not earning enough to keep the structure that a large studio needed (VIEIRA, 2018). Their movies, as much as they were popular and had a guaranteed exhibition, did not please the critics and were seen as overly popular, unlike what Brazilian cinema should be.

Beyond the studios, any other form of production was seen as incorrect. When some directors made movies with smaller budgets and sought financing for that, they were seen as "adventurers", who only wanted to get money from their movies.

> We see here a type of prejudice against those individuals which, one way or another, sought and/or obtained some economic profitability in the activity to the point they remained in it. (...) It is necessary to exist some type of moral stamp – which could be given by aesthetics, by party politics, by intelligence or any other requisite. (AUTRAN, 2004, p. 23)

Such thought strongly differs from the beginning of the North American industrial process, in which the main worry of the enterprisers was to minimize their expenditures and generate income, since cinematographic production involved high investments (BAKKER, 2008). With this model, noticing similar practices in some points, but very different in others, makes us question how the model was applied and which other characteristics of the context helped or impede such adoption, such as local economy and the understanding of what cinema should be.

Institutionalization of the myth in a different context

Through the two landscapes presented, it is possible to see some similarities and differences, but, generally, a relation between the cinematographic productions of both countries. The questions about Brazilian cinema and its forms of production began precisely in the period in which North American cinema is established in its internal market and started to reach in a very incisive manner foreign market. Seeing that movies could be made with certain narrative characteristics and techniques understood at the time as ideal to the cinema, Brazilian directors and critics incorporated the notion that in order to have that it was necessary to perform exactly the same way, proposing, through *Cinearte* magazine,

> (...) A real transplantation of these ideals, legitimating the universality of a specific form of production, molded in Hollywood. The magazine incites the classic cinema of continuity, fluency and narrative clarity, supported into two strong structures of the hegemonic system, the star system and studio cinema. (...) The magazine suggested, numerous times, that the creation of good cinema in Brazil would be an act of purifying our social reality, with a careful selection of what should or shouldn't be shown in screen… (VIEIRA, 2018, p. 349)

What happens, however, is that as much as studios have been created in the country and reached some of their aesthetic and narrative goals, such as a certain technical quality, narrative fluency and continuity and a thorough selection of actors and locations, some details were left aside. The first one of them is related to the verticalization of the whole chain, not only production. As we previously commented, North American cinema gained strength from the moment businessmen invested in movie theaters, and it only happened in Brazil at Cinédia. The national concern was in producing films and not in the rest of the chain. That, however, is something perceived since the beginning of the *Cinearte* magazine and it remains in debate (AUTRAN, 2004).

Other important aspects to be highlighted: Even with the simultaneity of studios in some moments and even of some forms of production that weren't consolidated, but existed, Brazilian cinema did not establish a competitive market between their own films. The dispute was between the national and North American film. Thus, what DiMaggio and Powell (2005) call competitive isomorphism, in which organizations are similar to compete in the same market, did not occur, becoming necessary another type of legitimacy, institutional legitimacy, in this case, through mimesis. Still according to the authors,

> The smaller the number of alternative organizational models possible in a field was, the faster will be the rhythm of isomorphism in this field; (…) The more uncertain were the technologies or ambiguous were the goals, within a field, the bigger will be the rhythm of isomorphic change. (DIMAGGIO; POWELL, 2005, p. 84)

Once the international cinematographic field did not have big models at that moment, due to the decrease of European production during the war, Hollywood cinema became the reference. Even within the country, the possibility of an isomorphism between national companies was not possible due to the lack of consensus regarding national cinema, what was the quality desired and which stories should be told (AUTRAN, 2004). Thus, once more the search for a perfect model considered as a reference was made necessary.

Once found such an ideal model, it becomes institutionalized as the correct practice. "As institutional rules rationalized in certain dominions of work activities arise, organizations are formed and expanded incorporating the rules as structural elements" (MEYER; ROWAN, 1977, p. 345, our translation). Incorporating these institutionalized rules as structural elements disregarded the own context, which, in the case of a Brazilian mimesis coming from the North American context, are very distinct.

Brazilian economy was consolidated based in the agricultural production and exportation, with a highlight for the coffee sector. The strength of the internal market, the migration towards the cities, the manufacture production of non-durable goods for domestic consumption and the immigration were factors that contributed for the formation of the industry sector since late 19th century. With the first Vargas presidency, in 1930's, the first economic laws and policies were created, directing Brazilian production towards industrialization. However, it as only in 1960's that the industry sector surpassed export agriculture in economic terms, with external investments and the attempt of accelerating the country's growth through industry (ALDRIGHI; COLISTETE, 2015).

Relating the industry history of the country with the urge for a cinema industry, there is an incredibly significant contextual mismatch. While the country was economically structured based on agricultural export and with a small manufactural production until 1950's, the idea of the cinema industry started in the 1920's, being the last big attempt of creating studios, with Vera Cruz, precisely in 1950, and with the end of Atlântida in the beginning of the next decade. It is possible to understand, thus, that the desire of a verticalized productive structuration does not come from the functioning of a national industry, since that was in its early stages, but rather in the North American economic example. However, the attempt of a hierarchized governance for the cinema in a context where the other sectors of the economy did not have it makes visible the intent of adopting an "imported" model, not for the real possibility of application, but for the need of legitimacy.

The country did not go through the different phases of conception of control that generated the strong competition between companies, the later creation of oligopolies, or even the ramification of big organizations in different activity sectors like the United States (FLIGSTEIN, 1990). The moment the national industry had their big ramified organizations, as the case of companies of the Matarazzo family, and among them, Cinédia with Luiz Severiano Ribeiro, cinema was only one of the investment activities of businessmen, not the main one. When it was the main activity of small groups, the efforts were not in commanding a market, but in producing, because this was the parameter of legitimacy of the field, instead of audience reach and financial feedback. That is seen in the case of Atlântida, that had a recurring audience and remained for a relevant time in a minimally self-sufficient productive system. However, due to the constant idea of quality in films, its action was invalidated based in a search for artistic, not economic, legitimacy. According to Baker and Faulkner (1991), one of the forms of legitimacy of the cinematographic industry happens through the role played, in which occurs the dispute of position. While in classic Hollywood the focus was in the function of production and its power in guaranteeing the execution of films and function of studios, in Brazil, the image of the director, the artist, was valued and the economic interest was understood as smaller, as exposed in Autran (2004)'s quotation.

Therefore, at the same time that a verticalized production that the audience in mind was not artistically legitimated, other forms of governance were formed, as something less hierarchical and closer to relations established through contract, or even close to networks, were not legitimated because of isomorphic practices. Such initiatives, as the ones occurred in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in the 1950's onwards, show the technical and economic viability of cheaper and more popular productions, called independent (COSTA; CÁNEPA, 2018; MELO, 2018). In the case of Rio, the image of independent producers became vital, since it was their role to articulate the necessary to perform the film, including raising funds and negotiating for the exhibition. In this context, it was fundamental to see the strong bond of cinematographic associations with the state, which, for the first protectionist measures of Vargas, begins the interventionist logic in the national cinema (MELO, 2018). It is through the State policies that São Paulo's independent production will be structured. Associating the nationalist discussion with the Italian neorealism of 1940's, São Paulo's cinema received public support in the 1950's from structures that were demolished from studios (such as borrowed equipment or bought with a smaller price), dispersed professionals and low budgets to produce films of different genres. Each small group was articulated in a possible manner for their context, in order to tell the stories they thought were closer to the national reality, through adventure films or documentaries (COSTA; CÁNEPA, 2018).

These practices, however, as much as they had audience outreach and longevity, did not enter the industry radar nor were considered as "national cinema", still being seen as parallel attempts. It is through this type of governance structure that since 1990's it is understood as the main form of creative industries, through forming networks, circulation of professionals between companies and projects and relationships established between them and the public support, especially in countries under development (POWELL, 1990). Therefore, we see that the idealization of an industry formatted according to a specific standard did not enable the view of other possible industry formations and that ended up being established decades later.

We can understand, through what was exposed, that the search and attempt of the Brazilian industry cinema was not necessarily an issue of producing films for their market in a self-sufficient manner, but legitimating the national cinema through an artistic prism of what would be of quality, and, most of all, a model of production institutionally mimicked of the Hollywood classic format. The adoption of such model in a historic, social and industrial context completely diverse does not find forms of sustenance. As much as in some moments, Brazilian studios have reached their goals, little by little, the difference between institutionalized practices and real activities became clear, and the maintenance of structure, became unfeasible, ruining each one of the attempts.

Final considerations

Through the institutional theories of mimesis and the different structures of governance of organizations, we had proposed to examine the attempts of industrialization of the Brazilian cinema between 1920 and 1960. With the presentation of a brief history about the period in the country and about the consolidation of the cinema industry in the United States, it was possible to see some considerable contextual differences and similarities in production that were understood as activities of mimetic isomorphism.

The search for a quality national cinema – technically and artistically – and the need for a legitimation of such cinema made Brazilian directors to look in the North American model the structure needed for its success. Then, through the institutionalization of mimetic practices of another context, without considering them completely nor adapting them to their own reality, the attempts of industrialization as people understood as correct did not succeed. The detachment between the structure imposed and the activities performed became apparent, even if socially the legitimacy was reached.

The present study is set as a movement towards studying Brazilian cinema through institutional and organizational theories, in order to find new views and paths for analysis. As the work of Costa and Cánepa (2018) and Melo (2018), among others, that evidence different forms of production apart from the ones deemed legitimate and that belong to the industrialist bias, it is necessary to look at the national cinema through other points of view.

The mimetic adoption of a model established in another context ended up delaying the understanding of national cinema in its own scenario. At the same time it was intended to create one only cinema for the country in terms of theme, the industry did not consider the productive structure in this attempt. When the government support came into play, even if in a very initial manner, independent practices became more viable. The State participation, which would become fundamental for the Brazilian cinema in 1990's onwards, at that moment, however, was not included in the institutionalized model. The legitimacy of cinema went through the logic of studios, of classic narrative and Hollywood's star system and any other form was not even seen as cinema.

Thus, understanding the relationships between directors, governances, institutionalized structures and activities open a horizon to be investigated more deeply in future studies. Having a wider and more diverse understanding about the national cinema can help us deepen its development, both in relation to "what didn't work" or "wasn't constituted", such as this industry view, and in relation to what was effective, in other words, what cinema industry we really have.

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Date of submission: 25/09/2019
Date of acceptance: 28/04/2020