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**MÍDIA**  
**E CONSUMO**

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# **Comunicação, mídia e consumo**

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## **FOREWORD**

The publication *Comunicação, Mídia e Consumo*, published since 2004 by the Graduate Program in Communication and Consumption Practices from Escola Superior de Propaganda e Marketing (PPGCOM ESPM), is celebrating its 50<sup>th</sup> edition. The celebration comes filled with nostalgia. In this edition, CMC brings a dossier paying tribute to the professor Maria Aparecida Baccega, founder and dean of the program, whose research legacy was fundamental for the consolidation of studies in the field of communication and consumption in the country. Isabel Ferin Cunha, Roseli Fígaro and Adilson Citelli, field researchers and friends of Baccega, write texts discussing her intellectual production and legacy, from the academic and emotional point of view.

In “Maria Aparecida Baccega’s Contributions to Reception Studies”, Fígaro maps the main concepts studied by Baccega throughout her academic life and highlights her understanding about concepts of social subject, production of meaning, mediations, reception and consumption. Citelli, in “Maria Aparecida Baccega: the word and the action”, presents some lines of strength that composed the theoretical framework and influences within which the professor accomplished her investigations, especially related to language studies, discourse analysis, the bond fiction-history and education and consumption. In “Ondjaki’s ‘Transparent City’: Luanda as a metaphor of Angola” Cunha describes the context in which Ondjaki’s novel is inscribed and his character construction through Baccega’s work.

When approaching correlations between the social function of language, the logics of media circulation, the discursive conflicts in communication and the different social forms of consumption, Prof. Baccega's legacy transcends the presented dossier and spreads out in the other texts composing this edition.

Issues about the logics of media representation are approached in Patricia Posch and Rosa Cabecinhas' article, "Portraits on migration in the Brazilian television series 'Portugal pelos Brasileiros'". In this study, the authors present the relationship between media discourse and migration through the perspective of social relations. Following the methodological presupposition of Critical Discourse Analysis, the authors identified that the new Brazilian immigrants in Portugal are portrayed in a partial and excluding manner, through media discourse based in specific cultural and socio-economic traits. On "Come on be happy: strategies of control and discursive manipulation of emotions in the advertisement and corporate fields", Rogério Covaleski and Leonardo Mozdzenski investigate how the advertisement and corporate fields discursively support client's and worker's affections and subjectivities, linking them to organizational values, with the purpose of improving the productive efficiency, enhancing consumption and maximizing profits. For the authors, emotions are conceived as a capital of the company, assuming the mission of emotionally linking consumers and workers to the soul of the corporation.

In relation to the media flows and their forms of consumption, the issue brings two articles. The first one, by João Silva D'Arcadia and Juliano Maurício de Carvalho, titled "The new territorialities of information and the non-place of news", presents the concept of territoriality and non-place and links them with the Digital News Report made by the Reuters Institute. Coming from the hypothesis that these environments are implemented as fluid spaces of broadcasting newlike and non-news-like content, the article shows that, given their peculiar characteristics, such spaces tend to stimulate the dissemination of misleading content. In turn, Fernando Cavalcante and Michael Hanke, in "Anchorage of interaction in media groups: quanti-qualitative proposition", propose an analytic matrix that problematizes similarities between face-to-face

communication and interaction in media groups, basing them in the approach of anchorage of interaction frameworks, coined by Erving Goffman. The authors are based on the understanding that the technical functionalities of WhatsApp groups allow us to identify markers for quanti-qualitative analyses directed towards Communication Sciences and Media Studies.

In the axis of audiovisual studies, the edition brings the articles of Krystal Urbano, “The media counterflow of Japanese and South Korean productions on Netflix”, and by Nilda Jacks, Valquiria John, Daniela Schmitz and Laura Seligman, “*The Hobbit* in Brazil: the reception of the cinematographic trilogy”. In the first one, she discusses the media counterflow of Japanese and South Korean television shows on Netflix, with the goal of expanding the investigations about the uprising of peripheral poles of television production in the midst of global flows and reflect about the distribution and circulation of these productions in Brazil. In the second, they present the Brazilian results regarding the research *The Hobbit Project*, which involved 46 countries and investigated with the audience what was the reception about one or more films of the trilogy.

In the forewords of the volumes that composed the publication *Comunicação, Mídia e Consumo*, throughout 2020, we highlight, in each text, some aspect of the intellectual work of professor Baccega. And, in this sense, the impression that remains is that there will never be enough celebration or tribute to comprise her absence and they only highlight the mourning we feel. The repercussions of her story, however, remain apparent not only in research that pay its respects to her theoretic contributions, but in the echoes of very remarkable emotional memory, which, as a mnemonic trace, can only exist in the present and in the future.

We wish you all a delightful reading!

Mônica Rebecca Ferrari Nunes  
Eliza Bachega Casadei  
Editoras da revista CMC

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## Contribuições de Maria Aparecida Baccega aos Estudos de Recepção<sup>1</sup>

### Maria Aparecida Baccega's contributions for Reception Studies

Roseli Figaro<sup>2</sup>

**Resumo:** *Este artigo tem o objetivo de registrar e discutir as contribuições de Maria Aparecida Baccega (1943-2020) aos estudos de recepção. Trata-se de estudo bibliográfico em que se busca cotejar os principais conceitos trabalhados por Baccega com base em levantamento realizado sobre sua obra em revistas acadêmicas, livros e capítulos de livros, anais de eventos científicos, bem como do registro das teses e dissertações que a pesquisadora orientou ao longo de sua vida acadêmica. Não pretende ser um levantamento exaustivo e muito menos conclusivo. Propõe-se destacar a compreensão dela sobre os conceitos de sujeito social, produção de sentido, mediações, recepção e consumo. Este estudo se justifica porque se vincula a uma tradição de estudos sobre teóricos latino-americanos e suas contribuições relevantes para a área da comunicação.*

**Palavras-chave:** *Maria Aparecida Baccega; estudos de recepção; discurso.*

**Abstract:** *This article aims to record and discuss the contributions of Maria Aparecida Baccega (1943-2020) to reception studies. This is a bibliographic study based on the author's work in academic journals, books and book chapters, annals of scientific events as well as the registration of the theses and dissertations that she has guided throughout her academic life. It is not intended to be an exhaustive research, much less conclusive. Based on our view of the author's work, it is proposed to record her understanding of the concepts of social subject,*

- 1 Article approved to be presented to GT Recepção, Circulação e usos sociais das mídias, from 29<sup>o</sup> Encontro da Compós, UFMS, 2020.
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*production of meaning, mediations, reception and consumption. This study is justified because it is linked to a tradition of studies on Latin American theorists and their relevant contributions to the area of communication.*

**Keywords:** *Maria Aparecida Baccega; reception studies; speech.*

## Introduction

The goal of this article is to deal specifically with the history<sup>3</sup> of intellectual production of Maria Aparecida Baccega (1943-2020) on the theme of reception studies. The author, PhD and full professor worked for 25 years at USP's School of Communications and Arts and, after the retirement, at the Superior School of Marketing and Propaganda of São Paulo, managing the Graduate Program in Communication and Consumption Practices. In the academic path, Baccega stood out in the field of discourse studies, as an expert in verbal language, editor of scientific publications, researcher of language and discourse analysis, of telenovela studies, management of communicational processes and inter-relations of communication and education. In a research we performed on her work, based on her Lattes profile, we found 77 scientific articles published in national and international publications, 61 book chapters and 29 books. She also advised 18 masters and 14 PhDs. She presented works in numberless congresses, seminars and events whose annals register her participation and contribution. In this extensive body of work, the reflection that we develop here is mainly concerned with Baccega's contributions to reception studies regarding the concepts of social subject, receptor, mediations, consumption. All these concepts were discussed by her taking into account theories of verbal language, mainly under the perspective of circulation of discourses and production of meanings.

We divided our analysis in three axis: methodological aspects of research and contextualization of Baccega's work, highlighting her

- 3 It is worth highlighting the already documented trajectories of Eliseo Veron, Mario Kaplun, José Marques de Melo, Luiz Beltrão, Jesús Martín-Barbero, Armand Mattelart, Memórias da Comunicação Grupo Gaúcho, do Grupo Uspiano and many more, in projects on the memory of research in Communication in the country. Some publications: Melo, José Marques de; Dias, Paulo Rocha (Orgs.) *Comunicação, cultura, mediações. O percurso intelectual de Jesús Martín-Barbero*. São Bernardo do Campo: Universidade Metodista, 2000. Melo, José Marques de; Santos, Marli. (Orgs.) *Mutações na Comunicação: ampliando as fronteiras do jornalismo*. Luiz Beltrão. São Paulo: Umesp/Intercom, 2016. Melo, José Marques de (Org.) *Fortuna crítica de Luiz Beltrão. Dicionário bibliográfico*. São Paulo: Intercom/Umesp, 2012. Maldonado, Alberto Efendy; Castro, Edizon León (Org.). *Investigación crítica de la comunicación en América Latina: diálogos con la vertiente Mattelart*. Quito: Ciespal, 2019.

production related to reception studies; her conception on the role of language and communication in the conformation of social subject; coming from this understanding, the analysis/discussion made around the concepts of mediation, reception and consumption. Finally, we will make some notes about the author's contribution, taking into account the reception studies for the inter-relation communication, education and televisional fiction.

### **History of contribution to the field of communication: a profile with method**

The method for this research, whose goal is to identify and analyze the contribution of an academic history on reception studies, was the bibliographic research and contextualized analysis in the concepts highlighted based on keywords, titles and abstracts. In addition, the attentive reading of the selected material enabled us to identify a theoretical scenario through which the author passed during her academic production. Assis ([s.d.] *On-line*) makes a bibliometric research of Baccega's work registered until 2012, through the data retrieved from her Lattes profile updated until then. In that study, Assis identified the central profile of the intellectual Maria Aparecida Baccega whose characteristic is the interdisciplinary practice in scientific production, the interest on research and the theoretical approach given to concepts developed in the analysis of empirical objects.

The differential presented here is to center our goal in the analysis of Baccega's contributions for the reception studies through the method of bibliographic study, focused in the author's body of work. To do so, we followed the steps indicated by Treinta et al. (2012) for the definition of the theme: reception studies; research keywords: social subject, receptor, consumption, mediations; as well as the guiding question of research: what is Maria Aparecida Baccega's contribution for reception studies? Once defined the goal, the research question, the keywords that guide the research goal, we start the search for these keywords in Baccega's

work, having as universe the data available on her Lattes profile declared by the author. Out of her body of work, we've selected to compose the sample articles, book chapters, books and articles of the National Meetings of Compós, that would indicate in her textual body of title, keyword and/or abstract any of the concepts chosen (reception, social subject, consumption, mediations). We mapped all of the data and composed an Excel sheet so we could have the dimension of the information to be analyzed. Once the reading of titles, keywords and abstract was done, we began the selection of the corpus to be analyzed. The set of texts selected were 20 articles in scientific publications; 15 book chapters; 6 books and 2 articles presented in Annual Meetings at Compós, as well as an article presented with Compós' template, but not found in the conference proceedings nor among the articles of the magazine E-Compós, the address of the basis of the article is [http://www.compos.org.br/data/biblioteca\\_1283.pdf](http://www.compos.org.br/data/biblioteca_1283.pdf). The thesis and dissertations that Baccega guided were also part of our research universe. We began to relate the material selected for analysis, according to the object to this article.

Table 1 – Articles published in publications

BUDAG, FERNANDA ELOUISE; MARCELINO, ROSILENE MORAES ALVES; ABRÃO, MARIA AMÉLIA PAIVA; BACCEGA, MARIA APARECIDA. <u>Consumo</u> e Cidadania: em perspectiva a <u>recepção</u> do <u>rap</u> da periferia paulistana. <i>Comunicação &amp; Educação</i> (USP), v. 20, p. 47-55, 2015.
BACCEGA, M. A.; BUDAG, F. E.; RIBEIRO, L. M. Rebelde(s): <u>consumo</u> e valores nas telenovelas brasileira e mexicana. <i>Comunicação &amp; Educação</i> (USP), v. 18, p. 95-104, 2013.
BACCEGA, M. A.; ANTONACCI, A. A transmidialidade em morde&assopra: uma reflexão sobre <u>consumo</u> cultural e construções narrativas. <i>Comunicação &amp; Educação</i> (USP), v. 18, p. 89-98, 2013.
BACCEGA, M. A.; CASTRO, G. S. ; RIZZO, M. Retos en la investigación sobre <u>consumo</u> cultural y comunicación. <i>Portal Comunicación.com</i> , v. 1, p. 00-00, 2012.
MARCELINO, R. M. A.; BACCEGA, M. A. Clô: uma personagem da sociedade de <u>consumo</u> . <i>Comunicação &amp; Educação</i> (USP), v. 1, p. 99-112, 2011.
BACCEGA, M. A. Comunicação/educação: relações com o <u>consumo</u> . Importância para a constituição da cidadania. <i>Comunicação, Mídia e Consumo</i> , v. 7, p. 49-66, 2010.

Table 1 – Continuation

BACCEGA, M. A. Construindo a cidadania nas interrelações comunicação, educação e <u>consumo</u> . Conexiones. <i>Revista Iberoamericana de Comunicación</i> , v. 2, p. 20-29, 2010.
BACCEGA, M. A.; MACEDO, Diana Gualberto de. Afinal, o que é gênero em comunicação? O <u>consumo</u> da programação midiática televisiva. <i>Comunicação &amp; Informação</i> (UFG), v. 13, p. 01-11, 2010.
BACCEGA, M. A.; CASTRO, G. S. . Comunicação e <u>consumo</u> : cidadania em perigo? <i>Revista da ESPM</i> , v. 16, p. 56-60, 2009.
BACCEGA, M. A.. Comunicação/Educação e a construção de nova variável histórica. <i>Comunicação &amp; Educação</i> , v. 3, p. 1-10, 2009.
BACCEGA, M. A.. Inter-relações comunicação e <u>consumo</u> na trama cultural: o papel do <u>sujeito ativo</u> . <i>Animus (Santa Maria Online)</i> , v. 15, p. 1-15, 2009.
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Table 2 – Book chapters

<p>TONDATO, M. P.; BACCEGA, M. A.; ANTONACCI, A.; ROCHA, C. R. N. C.; ABRÃO, MARIA AMÉLIA PAIVA; JUNQUEIRA, A. H.; SABOIA, C. T. N.; BUDAG, F. E. Novos formatos teleficcionais e a <u>recepção</u> da televisão de qualidade no Brasil: um olhar para a supersérie onde nascem os fortes. <i>A construção de mundos na ficção televisiva brasileira</i>. 1. ed. Porto Alegre: Sulina, 2019, v. 6, p. 225-247.</p>
<p>BACCEGA, MARIA APARECIDA; ROCHA, C. R. N. C. A importância da inter-relação entre o campo da comunicação /educação e os <u>estudos de recepção</u>: um olhar para a comunicação a partir dos sujeitos. In: KUNSCH, Margarida; FIGARO, Roseli (Org.). <i>Comunicação e educação: caminhos integrados para um mundo em transformação</i>. 1. ed. São Paulo: Intercom, 2017, v. 1, p. 71-88.</p>
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<p>BACCEGA, M. A. <i>Dicionário de comunicação: escolas, teorias e autores</i> (verbete Comunicação e <u>Consumo</u>), p. 53-65. 1. ed. São Paulo: Editora Contexto, 2014. v. 1. 8p.</p>
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<p>BACCEGA, M. A. Inter-relações comunicação e <u>consumo</u> na trama cultural: o papel do <u>sujeito ativo</u>. In: CARASCOZA, João Anzanello ; ROCHA, Rosamaria de Melo. (Org.). <i>Consumo midiático e culturas da convergência</i>. São Paulo: Miró Editorial, 2011, v.1 , p. 26-44.</p>
<p>BACCEGA, M. A. Reflexões sobre as relações comunicação/educação e <u>consumo</u>. In: BARBOSA, Marialva ; MORAIS, Osvando J. de (Org.). <i>Comunicação, Cultura e Juventude</i>. São Paulo: INTERCOM, 2010, v. 1, p. 433-446.</p>
<p>BACCEGA, M. A.; BUDAG, F. Representações em Rebelde e <u>recepção</u> de Rebelde: o global e o local na comunicação e no consumo. In: Centro de Altos Estudos da ESPM-(CAEPM) (Org.). <i>Arenas da comunicação com o mercado: articulações entre consumo, entretenimento e cultura</i>. 1ed. São Paulo: Alameda Casa Editorial, 2010, v.1 , p. 233-248.</p>
<p>BACCEGA, M. A. Campo comunicação/Educação: mediador <u>do processo de recepção</u>. In: BACCEGA, M. A.; COSTA, Maria Cristina Castilho (Org.). <i>Gestão da comunicação: epistemologia e pesquisa teórica</i>. São Paulo: Paulinas, 2009, v.1 , p. 13-</p>

Table 2 – Continuation

BACCEGA, M. A. Inter-relações comunicação e <u>consumo</u> na trama cultural: o papel do <u>sujeito ativo</u> . In: CASTRO, Gisela; TONDATO, M. (Org.). <i>Caleidoscópio midiático: o consumo pelo prisma da comunicação</i> . São Paulo: ESPM, 2009, v.1 , p. 4-20.
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BACCEGA, M. A.; TONDATO, M.; MACEDO, D.; SANTANA, F. C. Gêneros televisivos e publicidade no prime-time português e brasileiro: a <u>recepção</u> como suporte das relações entre comunicação e <u>práticas de consumo</u> . In: MARTINS, Moisés de Lemos; CABECINHAS, Rosa (Org.). <i>Anuário internacional de comunicação lusófona 2009: memória social e dinâmicas identitárias</i> . Portugal: Grácio Edutor, 2009, v. 1, p. 1-270.
BACCEGA, M. A. O impacto da publicidade no campo da comunicação/educação: <u>recepção</u> de professores e alunos do Ensino Médio. In: SOUSA, Helena; MARI-NHO, Sandra (Org.). <i>Anuário Internacional de Comunicação Lusófona 2007: os media no espaço lusófono</i> . Minho PT: Campo das Letras, 2007, v.1 , p. 327-344.

Source: Author.

Table 3 – Books

TONDATO, Márcia; BACCEGA, M. A. <i>Telenovela nas relações comunicação e <u>consumo</u>: diálogos Brasil e Portugal</i> . 1. ed. São Paulo: Paco Editorial, 2013. v. 1. 206p.
BACCEGA, M. A.; OROFINO, M. I. (Org.). <i>Consumindo e vivendo a vida: telenovela e <u>consumo</u> e seus discursos</i> . 1. ed. São Paulo: Intermeios, 2012. v. 1. 202p.
BACCEGA, M. A. <i>Comunicación y culturas del <u>consumo</u></i> . 1. ed. Espanha: Comunicación Sociales, Saracozza, 2012.
CASTRO, G. S. ; BACCEGA, M. A. (Org.). <i>Comunicação e <u>consumo</u> nas culturas locais e global</i> . São Paulo: ESPM, 2009. 615p.
BACCEGA, M. A. <i>Palavra e discurso: história e literatura</i> . São Paulo: Ática, 1995. 96p.
BACCEGA, M. A. <i>Comunicação e Linguagem: discursos e ciência</i> . São Paulo: Editora Moderna, 1998. v. 1. 127p.

Fonte: Autor

## Board 4 – Compós meetings

BACCEGA, M. A. Inter-relações comunicação e consumo: receptor e consumidor. In: 18° Compós, 2009, Belo Horizonte. XVIII Encontro Anual da Compós: Associação Nacional de Programas de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação. São Paulo: Compós, 2009. p. 1-13.

JUNQUEIRA, A. H.; BACCEGA, M. A. O processo de construção da imagem do receptor pelo enunciador na comunicação persuasiva: um estudo de caso na publicidade institucional de flores e plantas ornamentais no Brasil. In: 17° Encontro Anual da Associação Nacional dos Programas de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação. São Paulo: Compós/Unip, 2008. p. 1-17.

BACCEGA, M. A. O campo da comunicação/educação e as práticas de recepção: o papel das mediações. [http://www.compos.org.br/data/biblioteca\\_1283.pdf](http://www.compos.org.br/data/biblioteca_1283.pdf). Este terceiro artigo com *template* da Compós não foi encontrado nem nos anais dos congressos nem entre os artigos da *E-Compós*. No entanto, por acaso, o encontramos via Google.

Source: Author.

The reading of the selected material allows us to affirm that the author's concern is to define the communication having as a scope language studies, considered through the issue of the relation between discourses, always situated, passing through conditions of production and, therefore, by social, cultural and ideological injunctions that shape them. This pillar allows us to claim the field of communication as production/reception simultaneously. Thus, Baccega denies the linearity and transmission as explanatory terms of communication. She brings out to the conceptual arena the problematization of communication as a field of inter-relations in which their simultaneously feed one another the roles of production/reception. With this formulation, Baccega contests the lineage of communication theories based on Functionalism and Structuralism, classic currents that guided a great extent of researches in the field of Communication in the 20th century.

It is interesting to check how this intellectual history of Baccega gave support to theses and dissertations of the young researchers advised by her. Out of 32 orientations, among 14 PhD students and 18 Master's students, we have 18 works related to the theme of reception and/or consumption, as shown by Table 5.

Table 5 – Theses and dissertations with the theme of reception and/or consumption

LEVEL	title	Autor	Ano	Instituição
DO	Estudo de recepção: o mundo do trabalho como mediação da comunicação	FIGARO, Roseli	1999	ECA-USP
DO	Negociação de sentido: recepção da programação de tv aberta.	TONDATO, Marcia P.	2004	ECA-USP
DO	O cotidiano e a cultura: <u>mediações</u> em que se tece o sentido	<u>Guimarães, Margaret O.</u>	2006	ECA-USP
ME	Recepção: heterogeneidades e negociações de sentidos. O jornalismo político e os sujeitos leitores das revistas semanais	AZEVEDO, Aline Fernandes de	2006	ECA-USP
ME	Comunicação em rede, novos agentes socializadores e recepção práticas culturais: o consumo de Internet em lan houses na periferia de São Paulo	BREDARIOLI, Claudia Maria Moraes	2008	ESPM
ME	Comunicação, recepção e consumo entre o Guarani: o índio na mídia e a mídia na vida do índio	VENDRAME, Sonia I.	2009	ESPM
ME	Comunicação, recepção e consumo construção de sentidos na arena do popular: a berlinda do Círio de Nazaré como suporte midiático	JUNQUEIRA, Antonio Hélio	2009	ESPM
ME	Comunicação, recepção e consumo: inter-relações. O receptor/ consumidor no prime time brasileiro e português	MACEDO, Diana Gualberto de	2010	ESPM
ME	Comunicação, recepção e consumo: as manifestações culturais e sua influência na formação das identidades. Um estudo sobre as telenovelas Duas Caras (brasileira) e A Outra (portuguesa)	ABRÃO, Maria Amélia Paiva	2010	ESPM
ME	Comunicação, educação e <u>consumo</u> : a circulação de práticas de consumo na intraficção e a sua apropriação por estudantes	MARCELINO, Rosilene M. Alves	2012	ESPM

Table 5 – Continuation

ME	Comunicação, <u>consumo</u> e educação: o caso da telenovela Amor e Revolução	ARAUJO, Dayse Maciel de	2013	ESPM
ME	Comunicação, <u>consumo</u> e educação: os discursos sobre ciência na telenovela Morde & Assopra: uma aventura interdisciplinar sobre aprender, apreender, ouvir e contar histórias	ANTONACCI, Andrea Celeste Montini	2013	ESPM
ME	Comunicação, recepção e consumo: suas inter-relações em rebelde-RBD	BUDAG, Fernanda E.	2014	ESPM
ME	<u>Retratos do brasileiro no imaginário equatoriano: um estudo de recepção da telenovela Avenida Brasil em Guayaquil</u>	NOVAES, Lizbeth C. Kanyat Ojeda de	2014	ESPM
ME	Comunicação, educação e <u>consumo</u> : por uma pedagogia da igualdade e da liberdade	PIRES, Regina de Lima	2016	ESPM
ME	O conceito de família na telenovela: um estudo sobre sua recepção	ROCHA, Camilla R. Netto da Costa	2017	ESPM
ME	Comunicação, educação e <u>consumo</u> : a telenovela Lado a Lado e a questão do negro no Brasil	BARRETO, Rosana Grangeiro	2017	ESPM
ME	O conceito de família na telenovela: um estudo sobre sua recepção	<u>ROCHA, Camilla R. Netto da Costa</u>	2017	ESPM

Source: Author.

It is not the case here of quantifying (bibliometric study) the number of times that certain concepts appear in the selected body of work for analysis, it is also not the case of being quantified the references and citations of authors incorporated to the selected material. We can point out, certainly, according to our experience as readers of Baccega's work and for handling the material analyzed, that authors that were referenced and guided her production are those linked to language studies, such as Ferdinand Saussure, Roland Barthes, Michel Pêcheux, Adam Schaff, Umberto Eco, Eugenio Coseriu, Henri Lefebvre, Ferruccio Rossi-Landi, Mikhail Bakhtin, Dominique Maingueneau, Eni Orlandi, Augusto

Ponzo, Louis Hjelmslev, and to History, Culture and Communication, we can reference: Fernand Braudel, Agnes Heller, Walter Benjamin, Michel de Certeau, Jesús Martín-Barbero, Paulo Freire, Klaus Jensen, Edgar Morin, Terry Eagleton, Fredric Jameson, entre outros; além dos clássicos Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Antonio Gramsci, Lucien Goldmann, Álvaro Vieira Pinto, Pierre Bourdieu, Octavio Ianni, Florestan Fernandes. Authors and concepts referred and formulated in a vast trajectory whose foundations are traced in two fundamental works of the author, built in the path of PhD and full professorate at USP and that resulted in the two syntheses published in the books *Palavra e discurso. História e literatura* (1995); and *Comunicação e Linguagem: discursos e ciência* (1998).

The theoretical axis are in these two books, mobilized for the conceptual development of the following years, that will be centered in the inter-relation between communication and education; in the study of television fiction/telenovela, based by the conception of the field of communication as the space for interdependence of production and reception of discourses. The cultural and historic contexts that mark economic and social facts appear through the circulation of discourses, in other words, the meanings that are built in the context in which communication takes place.

In this scenario, appears as natural the approach that Baccega makes of reception studies. According to her, as we've said, production/reception are a part of one process whose communicational factor is given in the circulation and re-elaboration of discourses from experience and daily reality of each social subject. The issue of the social subject is the core for the understanding of this thought about the field of communication and, specifically, reception studies. In the body of work that constitutes the corpus of our study, we observe as longitudinal aspect of her composition the apparition of themes and problems in analysis by the author, crossed by the concept of social subject, circulation of discourses, fiction, history, telenovela, communication and education, reception, and finally, consumption. For instance, the

keyword consumption will appear in thesis and dissertations that the author advised from 2008 onwards, moment in which she consolidated the Master's Program in Communication and Consumption Practices at ESPM. In addition to the institutional issue that is named with the term consumption, Baccega worked on discussing and deepening in theoretical terms, in her works and orientations, the concept of consumption. Her perspective unveils a new scenario of theoretical references that will be distanced from the common use of the term in marketing, as we will discuss later on. In the case of the concept of reception or reception studies, Baccega gives a fundamental contribution, when in 1994, in the foreword of the first issue of the magazine *Comunicação e Educação* (Communication and Education), she says:

(...) Communication only happens in the meeting of these two sides: “emitter” and “receptor”. Shows only happen when we watch it and listen to it; newspapers and magazines only happen when we read them. If it is right that communication is only effective when the “message”, what is said, was appropriated by the one who receives it, by us, then it becomes fundamental to know how the media work, so we have the means to know the world better, looking to unveil the mechanism used in its *editing* (BACCEGA, 1994, p. 8).

By referring to communication as the process that happens between emission/production/reception, qualifying the subject as an editor of an already edited discourse by the media, exceeds the importance of social and institutional relations, like the ones in school. It is important to highlight that the School of Communications and Arts, from USP, received the visit of Jesús Martín-Barbero, in 1993, in a series of events organized by the professor Mauro Wilton de Sousa.<sup>4</sup> From this contact, Baccega maintained a close relationship with Martín-Barbero's work, deepening her reflections to the theoretical issues that the author reinforced in *De los médios a las mediaciones* (1987) and in numberless other articles. It is important to highlight the interview that Baccega (1999) gave with

4 The classic work *Sujeito, o lado oculto do receptor*, published in 1995, with organization of Mauro Wilton de Sousa.

Martín-Barbero, in which, in addition to his personal and academic history, the intellectual talks about communication, work and challenges of contemporaneity. The lucidity of both Martín-Barbero and Baccega, shocks for the capability of enunciating themes so current.

[Jesús Martín-Barbero]: I think the issue goes through this side, it's food for thought. Sincerely, I am the ones who believe that Anthropology is the key, because the challenges presented by the technicity are not purely instrumental, of tools. After all we've said about changes of sensitivity, of perception of time, space, we see that through there goes a transformation that does not fit into the categories with each social science is working on. (In: PAULINO; BACCEGA, 1999, p. 71)

Martín-Barbero's discourse highlights the relevance of the communicational themes, provoking an interdisciplinary thought, giving special attention to the time/space relation. Therefore, we see that Baccega's work (2011) is also based In the theoretic and epistemological concerns of contemporaneity and committed with the "construction of a new historic variable". In the next axis of discussion, we will deal with the Baccega's conception about discourse, verbal language and social subject, fundamental basis for the understanding of the process of communication, in other words, reception studies.

### **Social subject: the self of communication in the production of meanings**

Graduated in Languages at the University of Philosophy, Languages and Human Sciences at USP, with a professional history dedicated to teaching, Baccega arrives to the School of Communications and Arts with the theoretical-practical knowledge in the field of verbal language and discourse analysis to work as a researcher, professor and citizen. The author has contact with primordial works that deal with verbal language in the field of discourse. Some authors were important for that development. Adam Schaff, with the work *Language and knowledge*, translated into Portuguese and published in 1974. As affirmed by Baccega (1995a,



p. 95), the author deals with language “through praxis, in a dialectic posture”. These are also two keywords in Baccega thought process: praxis and dialectics. Another important author in the formation of her conception is Henri Lefebvre, with the work *Language and society*, in European Portuguese, published in 1966. To these works, we add the pioneer authors of Linguistics, base of her formation, and discourse analysis, Michel Pêcheux, and Language studies, Mikhail Bakhtin and Valentin Volóchinov.<sup>5</sup> The authors named approach language as production of the collective that is society, social and cultural production that molds the movement of social relations and new generations. So the verbal language is a collective human creation, social, civilizational, cultural, always renewed through the dynamics of construction throughout history. The result of discourse is product of social praxis, of dialectic movement, which comprehends the contradictions of a life well lived. Thus, for Baccega, language is a collective production, marked by the values of society in a historical time, but that reserves in layers of meaning the story of the speakers. Always to be contextualized, discourse reveals the most sensitive social changes, concept of Volóchinov, which Baccega already worked with writing her PhD and full professorate. The excerpt below is from the book *Communication and language. Discourse and science* (1998a) is a good thermometer to indicate the thought of Baccega on language.

The relations of social class influence linguistic practices. In this sense, we can say that history is in the language: the linguistic (discursive) accomplishments have attributed values inscribed in them, the differences of interests, the proposition of diverse directions for the same historic process. That is what verbal signs – words – have different feelings, depending on ideological formation in which They are located. Other times, different signs begin to have the same meaning, according with such dependence (BACCEGA, 1998a, p. 20).

5 Valentin Volóchinov author of *Marxismo e Filosofia da Linguagem*, member of the Bakhtin Circle.

Reverberating such line of thought for the concept of subject, so mistreated by numberless conceptions of philosophical idealism, Baccega (1995a, p. 23) says: “when we talk about subjectivity, we cannot lose sight that it is formed through the materiality constituted by the manifestation of many discourses, instituting a plural self”. This idea of “self”, voices that are present in our own discourse, as layers of experience and re-elaboration of other discourses, gives this voice what the author defines: “It is in the plural self that are articulated structures and processes”. In other words, it is there where the dialectic relation operates, contradictory in which establish the means of production and the productive forces, having in mind that the subjects that work compose the productive forces. Therefore, Baccega discusses a fundamental issue:

It is in this plural self that structures and processes are articulated. In it, there are both the results of the historical path of that group and/or social class, in which condition the actions and the processes of actions and the effettivation of behaviors of individuals/subjects (BACCEGA, 1995a, p. 23).

Thus, the receptor can never be treated in Baccega's work as a opposite pole of communication that receives the message and responds like a robot. According to her, communication is the process of the relation between enunciators and enunciatees, in which the production of discourse (message) is conformed by the significations given by the interdiscursivity, in other words, for the dialogue that every discourse presupposes. Dialogue constituted, including, by the dialogic minimum (BAKHTIN, 2002) of the interior discourse. To crown this thought, Baccega (1995, p. 27) affirms: “There is something to perceive the “dislocation” of these significations: the production of meaning is in society, is in history”.

Thus, the centrality on the conception of language guides Baccega's thought in order to understand the field of communication – process of relations between emitter/receptor and story – and the concepts of mediation, reception and consumption. Themes we will approach in the next lines.

## **Mediations, reception and consumption: conceptions from which she thinks the communication**

In Baccega's work has complete relevance her comprehension on verbal language and the circulation of discourses in the communicational process, that being considered as a field of inter-relations marked by the historicity of class struggles. Verbal language in this concept is the privileged mediator between the subject and the object, always in an inter-dependent relation. There is no way to exercise communication and build society without a system of signs to mediate our relation with the world of nature and culture. Therefore, when we talk about studying communicative mediations of culture, or before, the mediations of culture in communicational practices, for Baccega it is about observing especially the system of signs, privileging verbal language. Language constitute us and creates a bridge between us and the others.

In order to have communication, it is necessary for the interlocutors to have a "common" memory, participate in the same culture. That is because communication manifest itself in discourses and the discourses that circulate in society are constituted through intertextuality (BACCCEGA, 1998b, p. 8).

This comprehension brings back to media and its potential in production/circulation of discourses, having it inserted into the conception of the receptor, expression of their place in history, in the struggle to constitute as subject/citizen. This relation of constitutive reciprocity can be observed in an excerpt of his article in the magazine *Communication and Education*.

We need to clarify that the meaning of "content" of media is only complete in the moment someone listens, reads or watches. In this moment, the receptor adds to the meaning that receives the meaning which his culture enables to apprehend. There is one of the levels of mediation. The identity of the citizen, of being Brazilian, is related to the "image" that the media reveal. How the country we live in looks like, what is the traces, the behaviors of our people that unite one another? Here are the media that are constituted, themselves, as privileged mediations. This is

another level of mediation. They are the ones who collaborate for the institution of our identity as an individual/subject and as a citizen (BACCEGA, 1995b, p. 8).

When emphasizing that enunciation of Baccega, what we are reaffirming is that the mediations, beyond the specificities of identity, mobility, temporality, cognition, spatiality, technicity, flows and rituality, present themselves as elements that are present in the discourse, and are anchored in the history of social relations; at the same time, they constitute themselves as symbolic spaces that enclose dialogic and dialectic relations. With these different plans of mediations can be operated in researchers, we cannot operate them separately from an understanding of the total of the process of constitution of meanings and, in this point of view, the clarity of the paper of the media in the constitution of discourses that circulate in society.

Still about mediations, Baccega in an article we retrieved through Google, with a Compós template, but outside the annual proceedings, and also not published at E-Compós, says:

(...) The process or knowledge, that is not confused with the object in study, with the project in exposition, will always take in consideration the existence of mediations, seeking to make them clearer, either through partial perceptions of reality (the part of the street I see through the point where I am positioned to “see it”), or in the perspective of totality, to which the complex configuration the mediation guarantees the movement, the dynamics, the inter-relations (BACCCEGA, *s/d on-line*).

Baccega calls attention to the condition of historic subjects that “make history even without knowing it”; however, our effort, and the effort of reception studies, is to walk towards those subjects that make history through the awareness of their position, in a movement from particular to general, assuming what Bakhtin (2010) called responsivity (as response and responsibility).

Far from proposing a theory and a methodology for reception studies, what Baccega does is to show and work concepts that underlie

the process of reception, distancing themselves from functionalist propositions that deal the receptor as a target-audience, a shapeless mass, captured from a set of data, redesigned and approached with “directed” messages. In the same article (s/d online) Baccega makes an effort to treat the methodology of reception studies.

Dialectically capturing the movement of being social, becomes indispensable the “search of mediations while conducts where the concrete categories are moved giving meaning to the historic process”. (...) This search for mediation means, in the methodologic field, the capture of articulations and live passages that are processed between instances involved in the historic fabric (BACCCEGA, s/d *on-line*).

Baccega, following the tradition of Martín-Barbero, understands the receptor in the dialectic of the struggle of subject of being the owner of their enunciation and understanding the deep inter-relation between circulating discourses, what was said and what was not said, the silences, because the silence is also meaning something (ORLANDI, 2007). Understanding the processes of reception is entering the arena of fights that is given through language. A bigger example is what we living right now, with the neoliberal dictionary (DARDOT; LAVAL, 2016) adopted in every social instances: the entrepreneur the competences and skills, free market, competitiveness. These discursive elements, as an ideological mantra, are present since the reality shows until the classroom of elementary teaching (entrepreneurship in school).<sup>6</sup> They are present, especially, in the discourse of the financial system, as many of the men of State in an aware and positional form; or even the discourse of the Uber driver that sees himself as an entrepreneur, in an illusion of his daily struggle for survival (HELLER, 1970), without the perspective of totality.

Baccega understands the receptor in the conflicting movement for expression and taking awareness of the historic place we all have, relegates, on the other hand, the target audience, the role of the consumer.

6 View website Empreendedorismo na escola – Conectas exponenciais. Disponível em: <https://escolasexponenciais.com.br/inovacao-e-gestao/empreendedorismo-na-escola-por-que-investir/>.

Until the early 2000's, Baccega discussed the receptor in the dimension of social subject and the consumer as the one individual disputed by the market of society. It is interesting to see her manifestation on the theme.

In this path, we can distinguish of reception study of consumption studies. The simple fact of a chocolate ad had effectively enable the sale of a bigger number of chocolates does not indicate that there were reception as we understand. Indicates only that there were appropriation, transitory, of something. And we will see as the field of consumption. Thus, it is not for the fact of a advertisement campaign having success of sales that we can affirm that the receptor subject re-signified cultural behavior, incorporating them to their practice. Reception is a slow and continuous process and is not measured only for quantity (BACCEGA, 1998b, p. 10).

This position will be rubbed to life dynamic, when Baccega receives the challenge of formulating the proposition (with a collective of other academics) the master's at ESPM. The brand of a traditional school in the field of advertisement and marketing will be present in the scope of a program of academic studies, however, the commitment with science and history are present in Baccega's story, which will study this new challenge of professional level and scientific knowledge. There are years of purification in which the author will deepen her reflection on the historic subject and about the function of capitalism. That marked the work of the author in terms of dialectic reflective and pluri-disciplinary will be resumed to leave what she called as "stereotyping" in the use of concepts, thus formulating the opening of one of their articles "The concepts of consumption is one of the territories in which, much more than others, stereotyping fills the spotlight" (BACCEGA, 2009, p. 108). In other words, she reconsidered what she said in 1998, in the aforementioned article for research Communication and Education. But, in the 2009 article. Baccega goes ahead and brings García Canclini in Consumers and Citizens, in her paradigmatic sentence: "Consumption works for thinking", and exemplifies with citations of Sinhá Vitória, character from *Vidas Secas*, through which Graciliano Ramos reports:

Seu Tomás hada a real bed, made by a carpenter, a wooden platform, with the open joints everything well built-in and a raw leather on top, stretched and well nailed. There a Christian man could rest his bones (RAMOS, 1980, p. 46).

The challenges that make her reflect on a revision of the separation that she coined between receptor and consumer points new authors to be studied and incorporated to her work. García Canclini, already known; Jameson, Bauman, Quesada and Augé will be read and/or re-read in the key of revision of the former concept of consumption. This effort makes her dialogue with Celso Frederico, old intellectual friend from her USP times, to think about Marx and Introduction to the critique of political economy, which opens the first book of *Grundrisse*. This moment can seem like a reencounter with the threads of previous discourses, a new thought of the concept to, again, perceive that also consumption, as well as the receptor, need to be read in the key of historic totality, the one with the development of productive forces and class struggles. Thus, Baccega brings to the field of graduation in Communication and Consumption Practices the specter of the old bearded man. But it is exactly there that the study of consumption gains strength and academic distinction.

In an article for the magazine *Animus*, from UFSM, in 2009, Baccega writes:

Consumption and promotion are two faces of the same coin. In other words: “production is immediately consumption; consumption is, immediately, production. Each one is immediately its opposite” (MARX, 1992, p. 8). What happens is that production constitutes in the great mediator of consumption, because it creates the materials that will be used in the confection of the object. On the other hand, consumption is also the big mediator of production, because it creates “for the products the subject, to which they are products. Without production there is no consumption, but without consumption there is no production” (MARX, 1992, p. 8apud BACCEGA, 2009, p. 113).

This excerpt from Marx in the drafts (*Grundrisse*) of *The Capital* will be resumed numberless times to think about the function of the social life between production and consumption. It is important to point out that Marx is making a critique to certain opinions of economists – of Political Economy, that lost the dimension of dialectic and contradictory relations of the system of production of capital, the ones that manifest between production and consumption, and are related to the material basis of life – in the economy meaning, of work, of raw materials, land, factory development – and the basis of life that are related to the organization of society, culture, politics, art. The author manifests like this:

Two faces of the same coin, such as the sign, the product only receives their final finish in consumption, in other words, the concretization, the signification of the product is in consumption, as well as the concretization of verbal sign is in the word – in the dynamic of social life (BACCEGA, 2009, p. 114)

In other words, the movement that Baccega does is the re-signification of what is a product (object, food, car, dress, merchandize, movie, TV show, etc.) To treat product as sign. Without a doubt, sign is the material production of life in society, only in the social group the human being develops himself to communication and, therefore, his condition of producer of signs. The signs of capitalism became an essential merchandize. Since Aristotle, we know the persuasive power of discourse. But it is not only about persuasion that Baccega talks, she brings back Marxist concepts, also in Volóchinov, with the idea of ideological sign, to go back to Rossi Landi, when he deals with “Language as work and as market”. Certainly, by going back to the *Grundrisse*, Baccega crowned her understanding of the concept of consumption in the contemporary context, in other words, the social weave in which dispute space the citizen in detriment to the consumer. But the consumer in the big mouth of hegemonic enunciators is similar to the receptor shapeless mass or the craziness of the almighty consumer/receptor. The brand that Baccega brings and to which she holds on to is the dialectic understanding of



the class struggle that is especially manifested in the arena of signs and, therefore, in studies of communication.

It is important to highlight another excerpt from the work referred from Marx and that is repeatedly cited by Baccega.

Each one is not only immediately the other: each one, when accomplished, creates the other. The product does not become effective other than in consumption, for instance, a dress effectively converts itself into a dress when it's used; an abandoned house is not, in fact, an effective house, precisely because the product, unlike a simple natural object, does not confirm itself as a product, does not become product, other than in consumption. When dissolving the product, consumption gives its final touch, because the product is not only the production as activity as a thing, but [also] as object for the subject in activity (MARX, 1992, p. 8)

This understanding enables a leap of quality in the reflection about the relation between communication/consumption/reception. It will also apply them to the fields of school and television fiction, which we'll discuss in the next topic.

## **Production reception-consumption – in the telenovela studies and communication/education**

Baccega coordinated the research project<sup>7</sup> with the support from Fapesp to study telenovela, and this was the accomplishment that gathered a set of intellectuals from ECA-USP to study the most popular format of television fiction in the world. Previously, Brazilian melodrama was studied at ECA, but the group led by Baccega took the theme with such theoretical and methodologic coverage that from 1990 until today it hasn't stopped being studied, including by her. More specifically the telenovela reception was discussed in articles, in research projects and

7 This is the project: *O campo da comunicação: os valores dos receptores de telenovela* (1995); part of the collective project: *Ficção e Realidade: a telenovela no Brasil, o Brasil na telenovela*. The ECA-USP professors were part of the research group: Maria Lourdes Motter; Mary Enice R. Mendonça, Maria Immacolata V. Lopes, Solange Couceiro Lima, Renata Pallottini e Maria Cristina C. Costa.

in thesis and dissertations she guided, as well as in her leadership being a vice-coordinator at Obitel (Iberian American Observatory of Television Fiction). In the field of this observatory, Baccega guided numberless researches and published books and articles. It is important to highlight her understanding on the question of transmediality in the reception studies discussing television fiction in an article about reception studies at the telenovela *Morde & Assopra*.

(...) Relation with consumption, in turn, becomes more pertinent when Scolari suggest that the theorization of hyper-mediations sees the consumer beyond his role of re-signifier of contents, going to the “territory where consumption is geared towards production – place in which the intertextual creation is manifested”. The same way, Martín-Barbero highlights the importance of looking for the mediations technicity and rituality, that can be analyzed in the transmedia context (BACCEGA; ANTONACCI, 2013, p. 90).

We see the concern from the authors in dealing with the consumer as a part of the circuit of communication and, therefore, also as a producer of discourses. This preoccupation can be checked in the article in which she (BACCEGA et al., 2015) studies the reception of popular music, rap of São Paulo's outskirts region. The authors say:

[The study] sought to understand how media culture and consumption appear in the narratives (song lyrics) of a rap group of the outskirts of São Paulo and how they are received among young people of São Paulo, seeking to understand the meanings of consumption and citizenship that are constituted there (BACCEGA et al., 2015 p. 47).

Reception/consumption/discourse are intertwined, in an approximation with education/citizenship. The theme of the inter-relation communication and education will be discussed through the need of studying it facing the wide presence in our society, and, especially, at school. After all, as Baccega emphasized: even if the media are not present in the classroom, they are through students (receptores/consumidores).

Going back to the adoption of research reported in the article, the authors affirm this approximation when adopting the following axis for the study:

(...) Research sought to (a) articulate, theoretically, the vertexes of Communication, of Education, of Consumption and Citizenship; (b) understanding the place of speech of the group in question; (c) analyzing the production of this rap group of the outskirts of São Paulo and (d) creating a reception study about this music genre between young people in São Paulo (BACCEGA et al., 2015 p. 47).

The research to which the article reports deal with, according to Baccega already have been saying, the concepts of reception/consumption/education. This final movement in her theoretical production was made through research projects from her students, from Obitel and from the Graduate Program in Communication and Consumption Practices. The guidance is to dive in empirical researches to seek for elements in everyday life that could shine a light in her reflections about this process of reception and consumption. Still in the same article, the authors say:

Through reception studies, we seek to understand how interactions come about occurring in society and how the process of negotiation of meanings are developed. (...)

Finally, we seek to understand the perceptions of students about social issues, of outskirts and consumption; and understand how they receive the messages of rap songs through their social practices (idem, p. 48).

Baccega and the authors show that the negotiations of meanings are the object that is sought to unveil. As in the process of reception, students perceive social issues included there as the consumption of the outskirts. In other words, Baccega deepens the theoretical perspective that discourses reveal circulating meanings of and in social practices of young people in the process of reception and consumption of rap in São Paulo's outskirts. The articulation of reception, consumption and education is given through the axis of politics, in other words, by citizenship. Or we could also affirm that the articulation between reception,

consumption and citizenship is given through education. Then, Baccega clarifies the coherence of her theoretical perspective: education as political action of the historic subject. The critical subject forged in the environment of Freirean dialogic education. It is a new encounter, in fact, a re-articulation with communication/education. This concept marked so much her story that, in 2019, she was distinguished by ESPM and the graduate program in Communication and Consumption Practices with the professorship Communication, Education and Consumption Maria Aparecida Baccega.

### **For synthesis, a path to other discussions**

Baccega coined her history through studies of verbal language. She understood the field of communication as a process of production and reception, given that the mediations of language are fundamental for human beings. The linguistic sign is an arena of fights for positions which reveal ideologic formations in which social discourses are disputing the hegemonic meanings. Studying reception/consumption without understanding the dimension of social subject and how he is shaped in this discursive arena is to simplify and try to shape what is complex through simplistic crystallization.

Understanding the reception and consumption as aspects of the process of production of meanings and worldviews, of values and positions of class was the proposition left by the works of Maria Aparecida Baccega. The set of texts of her authorship or co-authorship is substantive and a challenge for intellectuals of communication, especially from the field of discourse studies, reception and education. The discourses that Baccega enunciated in the process of production of a knowledge on communication are there more as a always unfinished bond of interdiscursivity because the voice of others can always bring another challenge to face.

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## **Maria Aparecida Baccega: a palavra e o ato**

## **Maria Aparecida Baccega: the word and the act**

*Adilson Odair Citelli*<sup>1</sup>

**Resumo:** *Este artigo tem o propósito de apresentar aspectos da trajetória pessoal, acadêmica, profissional de Maria Aparecida Baccega. Busca-se indicar algumas linhas de força que compuseram o quadro teórico e de influências no interior do qual a docente efetivou as suas investigações e escreveu significativo número de obras. Destaca-se neste conjunto reflexivo a presença de certa tradição teórica advinda do marxismo e como ele aparece desdobrado em temas que alcançam os estudos de linguagem, a análise discursiva, os vínculos ficção-história, as incursões no terreno da comunicação, da comunicação e educação, da telenovela, do consumo. Conclui-se evidenciando o caráter inovador levado a termo pelo trabalho da professora no campo da pesquisa e do magistério.*

**Palavras-chave:** *Maria Aparecida Baccega; comunicação; educação; telenovela; consumo.*

**Abstract:** *This article aims to present aspects of the personal, academic and professional trajectory of the Maria Aparecida Baccega. It seeks to indicate some lines of strength that made up the theoretical framework and influences within which the professor carried out her investigations and wrote a significant number of works. In this reflective set, the presence of a certain theoretical tradition arising from marxism and how it appears unfolded in themes that reach language studies, discursive analysis, fiction-history links, incursions in the field of communication, communication and education stands out, soap opera and consumption. It concludes by highlighting the innovative character carried out by the professor's work in the field of research and teaching.*

**Keywords:** *Maria Aparecida Baccega; communication; education; soap opera; consumption.*

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*Preso à minha classe e a algumas roupas,  
vou de branco pela rua cinzenta (...)*

Carlos Drummond de Andrade

## **Achegas**

The rhetoric expansions do not shy away to certain tricks: they can hide what is not supposed to be said, reveal what is, promise the impossible and justify the lack of action. Maybe one of the first challenges of who is engaged in the word of language is, precisely, finding your place inside it and, at least, trying to understand it, adjusting the terms in which the game will be played. It is possible that this huge challenge results in the moving force of the ethical-moral, political, ideological, evaluating endeavors, to evoke some terms whose fusion tie the bonds between saying and doing. Everything points towards residing, here, the vitality from which will derive all types of moral, political, evaluating inflections that grant the bonds of word-acts. Adjusting both attributes, in the fusion sign and meaning, language and principles, implies finding during the passage the noun coherence, something that asks requirements stiff tenacity of an elevated cost. To pursue congruence does not mean, however, to dive in the territory of inflexibility and orthodoxy ignoring the difference as a starting point, contradiction between ideas in circulation and recognition of distinctive perspectives. To a certain gentleman, with which she would gladly share the celestial banquet – if she believed in such ethereal horizons – is attributed the sentence, reassuring that strength and tenderness are included in the same package. *“One has to be hard without ever losing tenderness”*.

Since I am talking about Maria Aparecida Baccega, it seemed pertinent to begin from a point which, one way or another, exercised a decisive role in her intellectual project, of a researcher and professor, in daily life, in the political engagements, in the affections: language and its arrangements; the fine tuning between verbal formulation and social insertion; the responsibility of someone that says what is said. She liked



to remind us that words are not summarized into a semantic dimension, since they carry strategies of action and forms of revealing subjects into the world. It is hard to think about that tall woman, with fair skin, blue eyes and wide gestures, a certain impatience and firm voice “as a good Italian daughter that I am”, in a scenario that is far from the challenges of language.

### **Political-emotional gap**

I met who would be a friend for almost half a century in the tumultuous period of the 1970's. Maybe in late February, which is now a coincidence with our last encounter, also taking place in the same period, now in 2020, with her lying in a hospital bed.

Due to AI-5, the military dictatorship had grown the uprising of violence leading to the prison of thousands of Brazilian people, including Baccega's partner, José Adolfo de Granville Ponce, a journalist of publications such as *Realidade* magazine and, later, a publisher of publishing houses, such as Editora Ática, where he directed the important collection of university books *Ensaíos*. Equally incarcerated and a friend of Granville, who was weekly visited by the lady with a strong presence, filled with groceries for her husband, but always in a larger quantity to be distributed to other political prisoners, I started to connect with her. I admired the generosity and courage of Granville's wife, who would frequently help families of other prisoners with what she had of material possessions – one piece of clothing, a pair of glasses to be repaired, the indispensable medicine, a letter put in the mail – the numberless pieces of advice given, the active solidarity – especially with the ones who needed the most, the ones without relatives in São Paulo, with trouble getting some legal assistance. And even the execution of tasks with evident risk, such as establishing contact with clandestine political organizations and even sheltering people under the target of political repression. In the subtlety of some procedures, it was possible to get a glimpse of Baccega's character and personality.

Over time, we grew closer and as we talked, we identified common interests, that went beyond politics, and found the terrains of literature, language, the challenges of education, the crooked path of a country that seemed destined to live a long winter of obscurantism, regression, intolerance, traces of which we still haven't distanced ourselves and are always ready to emerge with the natural brutality of their actions.

The daughter of an Italian immigrant of the working class of Ribeirão Preto, prepared for marriage, raising children, domestic work, brought since the beginning the element of insurgency, the skeptical look for the ordinary ritual of submission and settling to the values of the provincial patriarchal society. As we used to joke about, everything went wrong, or, in popular tradition, no one has gone along with the Russians. And the mayhem went on, she got in the Communist Party, had her first marriage dissolved, a small son to raise, study and hard work to survive, world to be conquered: the ordinary provincial square had become small and her bachelor's in law didn't have enough strength to hold the assertive lady in an office dedicated to calm down the afflicted souls of litigators in search of settlement with the penal, labor, civil, family code and other tasks concerning legal activities. Moving to São Paulo, more than a mere transportation of household chachkis implied the accomplishment of a life's project in pursue of a bigger freedom of action and personal procedures, new work experiences and intellectual challenges, such as the unconcluded master's program in San Francisco, the new graduation in Languages at University of São Paulo and then the long, successful and known university career.

Since we ceased our conversations, we saw each other again years later, around 1974. The meeting place was a party that tried to gather strength and funds for the fight for democracy, at that moment being taken back and extended until the campaign for direct elections, in 1984, and the end of dictatorship with the editing of the Constitutional Letter of 1988 – called civic constitution by Ulysses Guimarães, and

now violated and target to every candidate to Simão Bacamarte<sup>2</sup> of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, with their aberrant orders of military intervention and the end of the Supreme Court, the National Congress, reason, science, art, public education of quality, in summary, of everything that suggests intelligence and civility. I imagine what would be my friend's reactions if she was alive and with full health.

Our encounter happened amidst the sounds of joy and air of surprise: I hear a loud scream followed by a radiant smile and the tall woman coming towards me with a proud cigarro de palha<sup>3</sup>. It was fumo de corda, something unthinkable nowadays, especially for the urban middle class youth, unless they would consider some variation of weed - something our friend would never get a hit.

During our friendship, we strengthen our bond that spread out to numberless professional endeavors that converged to a period of almost 20 years in which we were together as professors at the School of Communications and Arts at University of São Paulo. After her retirement and beginning a new work phase at Escola Superior de Propaganda e Marketing, Baccega helped organize the first moments of the Graduate Course in Communication and Consumption Practices, in which she was assistant coordinator between 2003 and 2007. Despite the different places of work, we continued in an intimate intellectual collaboration and emotional convivence until her death. I had other opportunities to talk about aspects of Baccega's life, in articles and expositions, as it is already possible to read works of authors that systematized her biography. All of this material can be found in database. However, I will stick to points over which I did not cover in previous initiatives and maybe collaborate to a wider understanding of the political, intellectual, professional itinerary of our companion.

First, however, I believe we can make an addendum, highlighted to regret practices that do not strengthen university life and exemplify the

2 Lead character from Machado de Assis' *The Alienist*, a story that talks about fear, conspiracy and revolutionary attempts.

3 Artisanal cigarette

existence of individual costs when we seek to accomplish the cited link between saying and doing.

The restless intellectual, marked by so many initiatives, had known setbacks and obstacles – as it usually happens with people that do not accept things according to the order they are imposed, neither think to firm pacts around personal projects surrendered to the solitude of their own interests, or even admit prevaricate about ethical procedures. On one hand, the strong positions seasoned in the heat of many dimensions of political fight and from which our professor have never shied away. On another hand, the tensions of power, in which the specific case of the university arena include not only symbolic dispute, but also physical spaces, positions and hierarchic places. Here, our professor knew oppositions more or less explicit that charged a high price: a dismissal of a private institution due to the defense of non-negotiable principles; discontinuity, in a public institution, of a journey that, despite being entirely successful in the intellectual terrain, in research, in production, in the professional involvement, it didn't get where it could. In a career that has as last level the position of full professor, Maria Aparecida Baccega retired from the School of Communications and Arts, in 2003, in the penultimate degree, as Associate Professor. The reasons, certainly, never were about the so-called meritocracy.

### **Productive restlessness**

*Chega mais perto e contempla as palavras.  
Cada uma  
tem mil faces secretas sob a face neutra  
e te pergunta, sem interesse pela resposta,  
pobre ou terrível, que lhe deres:  
Trouxeste a chave?*

Carlos Drummond de Andrade

Considering the plural character of researches and works written by Maria Aparecida Baccega, it is necessary to appeal to the spirit of synthesis,

necessarily weak and a little bit unsatisfactory, even because there are editorial limits to this article. Thus, having established the isotopic limits, it is possible to find links that, according to my understanding, give coherence to the intellectual project sought by her throughout her academic journey. And what is found in it is the theoretical-practical movement dialectically guided (according to the Marxist perspective) to the examination of bibliographic sources, thematic concerns and forms of approaching them, only clarifies the general assertive. And it randomly escapes the fact that the term praxis (and terms derived from it) gain permanent convocation in discourses created by our professor. It is a form through which the debate involving subjects in analysis (derived from research, metacriticism, from different ponderations) follow a certain script to which converge the historic scenario, social-economic factors, ideologies, culture and the desire of promoting some sort of intervention – or destination – of what is going through the reflective filter. Which is also can be considered a strategy of activism and combat in the intellectual field, in the field of concepts and ideas. It is a way of marking one's position, clarifying the place through which the world is seen and thought of. It is important to point out that I use the noun activism in a very precise direction, not being necessarily related to political parties, revealing the focus of vision, the commitments comprised, the interests at stake, the eventual paths to be taken.

I believe it is risky to withdraw the research and academic production of Baccaga in this circumstances, locking purposes and fragilizing involvements. Let us clarify that even because she would certainly like that. Here, we do not speak about political engagements with organized political groups, which she had until a certain point of the 1980's, but rather a dialectic inflection, as we already referred to contemplate in their epistemic core the idea of praxis. Let us say that the organic experience, as her bond with PCB (the Brazilian Communist Party) and indirectly with ALN (National Liberty Alliance), gained a residue to be kept in an almost emotional key. What we highlight, therefore, in expressions such as dialectic methodology, praxis activation, activist understanding,

relates to an attitude facing the intellectual field understood as scientific determination, integrity in research, accumulation of competences, strategy of clarification qualified in things of the world and vector of a possible social transformation. Neither theory or metacriticism as autonomous occurrences belonging to their own spheres with low or no connection with the “world of life”, nor voluntary or populist association with investigative procedures or immediatism located in the fights of circumstance. If we could speak of an existence of a method to guarantee internal recurrence to the works taken to term by our professor, we would say that it is put in the general lines drafted above.

The consequences of such methods find themes and forms that circulate, especially, in four big axis interconnected: language/discursive analysis; history and (tele)fiction; communication and education; consumption. Following this script – something found through the titles of research, books, articles, lectures, courses given, registered in her Lattes resumé – we will find in the cited lines of strength the majority of her production.

In works such as *Estudos de comunicação e análise do discurso: teoria e prática*; *Comunicação e Linguagem: discursos e ciência*; *Lenguaje verbal y médios de comunicación*; ou mesmo *Palavra e discursos: história e literatura*, what we see is the language call to action to guide and reflect the different consequences. The special place filled by the universe of words illuminates the other three axis of the sequence above. And even working in a closer manner with iconic signs (the televisional images) the supporting base did not leave the ground that shelters the word. Such understanding was derived from convictions and influences coming from, at least, two sources. Adam Schaff and Mikhail Bakhtin – if there was enough space to do so, there would be necessary to open a parenthesis to clarify how both characters are used, crossed and related to other sources of equal or close theoretical lineage; the subject will be briefly resumed below, however, their implications could be talked about in another moment.

In a similar way, it is possible to recognize the place where interdisciplinarity will fill in Baccega's thought. In the first and third books above, the verbal discursive material is put in dialogue with communicational studies; in the second one, the same bonds will turn to scientific discourse; in the last, it is about the literary variable in which is examined through the novel *Mayombe*, written by the Angolan writer Pepetela (Artur Carlos Maurício Pestana dos Santos) and geared towards narrating the fights of Angolan guerilla against Portuguese colonialist military. Such subject was used with the taste of the professor for associating the theme of national liberation the circuits word-history-fiction.

The clarification of the project created around the aforementioned four lines of strength can be identified in other works – and here I am limiting myself, for obvious reasons, only to the books written by her individually or in collaboration with other authors. Compelled the inter-relations – term that followed her, I suppose, even when she slept – television/television and consumption follow titles such as: *Telenovela nas relações comunicação e consumo: diálogos Brasil e Portugal* (in collaboration with Márcia Tondato); *Consumindo e vivendo a vida: telenovela e consumo e seus discursos* (in collaboration with Isabel Orofino). About the field of communication and education, I will dedicate a bigger segment next, mentioning, right now, two titles: *Televisão e Escola: uma mediação possível?*; *Contar histórias, tecer culturas: as intersecções entre comunicação, educação e consumo na teleficação brasileira*.

In summary, there is an abundance of material (and here we only ventured in her articles, lectures, courses) to justify the existence of the consigned four big lines of strength feeding the legacy of Maria Aparecida Baccega, arranged under the light of two integrated vectors and to which we highlight: language and interdisciplinarity.

In the first case, in translation of the studies concerning discourse analysis (of French influence, as she would like to accentuate, in company of Pêcheux, Fuchs, Courtine, Orlandi, etc. to which was incorporated the Russian Bakhtin) – subject which she would work with persistence, in the second, as an unescapable procedure to who wants to

advance the terrain of communicational and language studies. According to her, Communication has its goals, constituting itself in a field of knowledge with method, research strategy, insertion in the social debate, pragmatic purposes, by what is structured in a field of knowledge. Within this theoretical framework, it is developed a dialogue with different areas, scientific fields, without which Communication would be left short. And she would reiterate that when bringing up Philosophy, Sociology, Language Theory, communication could not be reduced to any of them, but incorporated to them, giving solidity to their own meaning brought in the noun field. It is spread in Baccega's work this key idea that "the place of making philosophic, sociologic, linguistic theory is in their original institutions, in the School of Communication is necessary to promote intense dialogue with such areas, not to subsume oneself to them, but with the purpose of giving body to our own field, the clash with other areas should not occur in the gateway, but in the exit door. This quote is evidently an approximation.

### **Educational action**

*Um galo sozinho não tece a manhã:  
ele precisará sempre de outros galos.  
De um que apanhe esse grito que ele  
e o lance a outro: de um outro galo  
que apanhe o grito que um galo antes  
e o lance a outro; e de outros galos  
que com muitos outros galos se cruzam  
os fios de sol de seus gritos de galo  
para que a manhã, desde uma tela tênue,  
se vá tecendo, entre todos os galos.*

João Cabral de Melo Neto

The term education will be used here in a wider sense, involving not only the formal plan, but, equally, the procedures of subjects that, being in the world, decide to change it through attitudes and words whose



spreading promotes knowledge, information, analytical-critical spirit, reaching a certain number of interlocutors.

In this coverage, Maria Aparecida Baccega was a full-time educator.

I have witnessed, considering we have shared an office for many years at ECA-USP, her efforts in the sense of providing the courses she gave with propositions converging the new concepts of language studies, communication, education and culture.

Hence sociolinguistics, whose apprehension comes from the work of Marcel Cohen, Tullio De Mauro, Michael A.K. Halliday, William Labov, Robert Lado and Dino Preti – who she was an assistant at ECA until she took place in the Linguistic Communication department, which both divided until the return of the professor to his position at FFLCH-USP. Such perspective around language studies was, in the beginning of the 1980's, still new to us. Or even, the problems involved in the concept of editing texts available through media – and a sentence that was recurring: “What we read in the newspaper and watch in the television is an edited world.” Furthermore, the themes of reception and mediations, for which she sought a foundation in Raymond Williams, David Harvey, Richard Hoggart, Stuart Hall, Jesús Martín-Barbero.

We can go on, while in a key of systematization, mentioning the effort that our professor had with the goal of enabling to her students a stronger experience in the communicational challenges, communicative-educational interfaces, culture, politics; common era in which classes directed towards, for instance, topics of semantics would come a question referring to the forms of speech of the working class or rural workers, and, with that, texts of general character including Paulo Freire, Marx, Ecléa Bosi, in an effort to show how language phenomena involve contexts, stories, age and social segments, economic status, etc. She understood that, in order to form a good professional of communication, it was essential to bring to light this complex character of language, necessarily, articulated with the world, something that did not deplete itself, therefore, in teaching techniques of production and circulation of speeches.

The spirit of innovation gained materiality in the propositions formulated to students aiming field research – an echo of sociolinguistics – about levels and variabilities of speeches used by the population and the confrontation with registers processed through media. The research, with months of preliminary work, used to make the class go to the streets, interview people not only to know their idiolects, but also to identify, in them, values and ideologies; such physical contact should represent to students more than the accomplishment of a school assignment, but allow to activate a reflection about the processes of alterity.

In graduate studies, Baccega dedicated herself to one of the many faces of the academic activity, referring to the research of emerging topics, such as telenovelas, still at the time, considered smaller products managed by the alienating machinery of the cultural industry. An interview given by her became popular in 1996 to the yellow pages of *Veja* magazine in which she defended that the teleficcional genre was studied in the university, since it was a vehicle for ideologies, behaviors, aesthetics, fashion, political manifestation, etc. And she said a sentence filled with controversy when she considered telenovela “the big Brazilian cultural product”. The affirmative, now consolidated, got, at the time, criticism from different fields, to which she knew to patiently – what did not really correspond to her personality – shun and take life forward, becoming one of the first coordinators of the Telenovela Research Center at CCA/ECA/USP.

In the chapter of being bold, the professor, researcher and manager fused herself to create, in 1994, with other colleagues of the Department of Communication and Arts, at ECA/USP, the publication *Comunicação & Educação*. It is needless to say that the project was a success, whose products, after 26 years, keep getting flourished in the inheritance of one of the most important publications in circulation in Brazil, recognized internationally for the theme it comprises. In good time and even as recognition of the work performed in the axis of inter-relations communication/education/consumption, the Escola Superior de Propaganda e Marketing/SP, where she worked as a professor in the graduate

program since 2003, in partnership with the Palavra Aberta Institute, created the professorship Maria Aparecida Baccega.

It's necessary to say, last but not least, that this path of full-time educator that had over 50 years of work, starting as a literacy teacher working in rural schools at Ribeirão Preto, going through programs of late literacy, such as the traditional Santa Inês, the direction and coordination of SESI schools, until she established herself in university. Throughout her story, she had lived in Ribeirão Preto, where she was born, Brasília, Osasco, São Paulo. She helped disseminate the Paulo Freire method, the studies of Darcy Ribeiro, just to name the first paradigmatic names in Brazilian education. And in the company of those two masters, along with the forged convictions in the political fight for a fairer, more solidary society, she bravely defended universal public education of quality.

It is understandable that she had become a respected professor, with recognition of students and colleagues involved in the communication/educational issues.

### **Final considerations**

Having with her an extensive journey of work, research, and fights in common, of eventual disagreements, I observed, overall, the presence of an admirable political-academic itinerary, a huge capability of donation to the common good, the generous way of welcome humble people, the coherence in her principles and the total inability of wearing a mask as a form of social relationship. Maria Aparecida Baccega, just like all of us, presents her weaknesses, limits and difficulties, but from that we can distance the illusory idea, so strong nowadays, according to which someone can live as an island.

To close this text, the feeling is that the character was not captured in all its complexity, either because of the lack of ability of her friend, or due to existing editorial limits. Furthermore, how can we restrict in just a few pages – without being encomiastic or laudatory, adjectives that I would not dare to be, nor she would accept that – so many years of work, friendship, confidences and common struggles. It just occurred me to

leave with the poem written by an anonymous author (but attributed to the Uruguayan poet Mario Benedetti), which she would read out loud if she were here, to say something about the tragic historic corner we are going through, in a country especially surrounded by the old air of regression, authoritarianism and resentment.

*No te rinda  
 No te rindas, aún estás a tiempo  
 De alcanzar y comenzar de nuevo,  
 Aceptar tus sombras,  
 Enterrar tus miedos,  
 Liberar el lastre,  
 Retomar el vuelo.  
 No te rindas que la vida es eso,  
 Continuar el viaje,  
 Perseguir tus sueños,  
 Destabar el tiempo,  
 Correr los escombros,  
 Y destapar el cielo.  
 No te rindas, por favor no cedas,  
 Aunque el frío queme,  
 Aunque el miedo muerda,  
 Aunque el sol se esconda,  
 Y se calle el viento,  
 Aún hay fuego en tu alma  
 Aún hay vida en tus sueños.  
 Porque la vida es tuya y tuyo también el deseo  
 Porque lo has querido y porque te quiero  
 Porque existe el vino y el amor, es cierto.  
 Porque no hay heridas que no cure el tiempo.  
 Abrir las puertas,  
 Quitar los cerrojos,  
 Abandonar las murallas que te protegieron,  
 Vivir la vida y aceptar el reto,  
 Recuperar la risa,  
 Ensayar un canto,  
 Bajar la guardia y extender las manos  
 Desplegar las alas*

*E intentar de nuevo,  
 Celebrar la vida y retomar los cielos.  
 No te rindas, por favor no cedas,  
 Aunque el frío queme,  
 Aunque el miedo muerda,  
 Aunque el sol se ponga y se calle el viento,  
 Aún hay fuego en tu alma,  
 Aún hay vida en tus sueños  
 Porque cada día es un comienzo nuevo,  
 Porque esta es la hora y el mejor momento.  
 Porque no estás solo, porque yo te quiero.*

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## “Os Transparentes” de Ondjaki: Luanda como metáfora de Angola

### Ondjaki’s “Transparent City”: Luanda as a metaphor for Angola

Isabel Ferin Cunha <sup>1</sup>

**Resumo:** *Este artigo analisa a obra Os transparentes do escritor angolano Ondjaki, a partir dos conceitos de memória, nostalgia e ficção, no cenário da cidade de Luanda, entendida como metáfora de Angola. Recorrendo aos trabalhos de Baccega sobre Mayombe de Pepetela, inicia-se a exposição traçando o contexto em que se inscreve o romance de Ondjaki. Assinala-se, a partir de excertos da obra, como o autor ficciona personagens e interesses da cidade de Luanda, nomeadamente os de uma elite afeta ao ex-presidente, que governou o país por cerca de 40 anos. Em seguida, evocando mais uma vez Baccega, analisa-se como são construídas as personagens, numa dicotomia ganhadores/perdedores, e num cenário urbano progressivamente caótico e corrompido, onde a memória e a nostalgia são âncora da resiliência dos despossuídos. Por fim, são mapeadas as referências e o papel das mídias, com principal relevância para o Jornalismo em Angola e a influência das telenovelas brasileiras.*

**Palavras-chave:** *Ondjaki; literatura angolana; ficção, mídias em Angola.*

**Abstract:** *This article analyzes the work Transparent City of the Angolan writer Ondjaki, based on the concepts of memory, nostalgia and fiction, in the scenario of Luanda city, understood as a metaphor for Angola. Using Baccega’s works on Pepetela’s Mayombe, we trace the context in which Ondjaki’s novel is inscribed. It is pointed out, from work excerpts, how the author fictionalizes characters and interests of Luanda city, namely the elite that supports the ex-president who ruled the country for about forty years. Evoking Baccega once again, we*

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*analyze how characters are constructed, in a dichotomy of winners/losers, and in a progressively chaotic and corrupt urban scenario, where memory and nostalgia are the anchor of dispossessed resilience. Finally, we map references and the role of the media, focusing the relevance of Journalism in Angola and the influence of Brazilian soap operas.*

**Keywords:** *Ondjaki; Angolan literature; fiction, media in Angola.*



## Introduction

This text celebrates the friendship and libertarian dreams of a friend, colleague and mentor Maria Aparecida Baccega. In her PhD thesis in Languages, presented at Universidade de São Paulo, in 1986, titled *Mayombe: fiction and history (a literature in movement)* she studied Angolan literature, choosing to analyze the classical work *Mayombe* (1980), by the Angolan author Pepetela. The author's goal was discussing the role of literature in moments of historic rupture, such as what happened in the end of colonialism in Angola, and its contribution for the arrival of new ideologic, historic and sociologic structures. In this sense, the work *Transparent Cities*, by the Angolan author Onjaki, constitutes an instigating text – after over 40 years of *Mayombe* being written and the independence of Angola – by denouncing, in a realistic way, the major contradictions of society and the lack of hope of those who fought for a more dignified and fair society. A theme that takes on relevance in the current scenario in Brazil and arrives as a path to explore, in this phase of the intellectual work of Maria Aparecida Baccega.

*Transparent Cities* (2012) is a novel that takes place in Luanda, in the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, telling the story of Odonato, an old public servant, and a vast group of characters, which represent not only Luanda's society but also Angola. The story is built around the growing transparency, in the literal sense, of the lead character, who stopped eating to feed his children, after not getting a job, because, in “Luanda, people who don't get into schemes...” (ONDJAKI, 2012, p. 282). But, in the lead character's speech, the characteristic that is progressively accentuated throughout the novel, is due to a new reality, “... We are transparent because we are poor” (ONJAKI, 2012, p. 203).

In the story, we see, fictionalized, specificities of the Angolan regime, of schemes and businesses of survival and corruption – especially around the exploitation of oil – that surpass, transversally, all society and leave common citizens gradually “invisible”. A story, where the author recurs to different literary registers, including humor, using nuances of the Portuguese language to describe embarrassment and challenges of

the Angolan society, as, for example, the announcement of the official demise of the "Lady Ideology", in a huge headline on Angola News (ONDJAKI, 2012, p. 331).

The analysis of the story is founded, in methodologic terms, in an interpretivist perspective that privileges the construction of science, through a subjective approach. This presupposition intends to enterprise a path of discovery founded in the declaration of principles and the enunciation of concepts, with the goal of exploring and understanding the meaning attributed by individuals or groups to a social or human problem (CRESWELL, 2009, p. 4). With this orientation, we draft the historic and social context which involves the novel *Transparent Cities* and call elements of history and sociology of Luanda. We also recur, to principles of the Literary Sociology (GOLDMANN, 1974; BACCEGA, 1990), namely to studies about the construction of characters (CÂNDIDO, 2007; REIS; LOPES, 2002), as well as the concepts of memory (POLLACK, 1992; BARONE, 2005) and nostalgia (PICKERING; KELGHTLEY, 2006).

### **Mayombe and Transparent City: works and their historic time**

In an article, inspired in the PhD thesis, published in the Magazine of the Center of African Studies at USP, with the title "The movement between fiction and history. The Mayombe Case" (BACCEGA, 1990), the author affirms that that romance "deals with the daily lives of a Guerrilla base, during the fights for freedom in Angola" where each member of the Base has a different ethnic origin and maintain their individuality", but, despite the diverse origins, "what counts, however, is the common project of defeating colonialism" (BACCEGA, 1990, p. 143-145). This utterance is very current, due to the political, racial and social polarization in which societies, namely Brazil, move. The "common goals", the "common good" is more important than the "particular differences". Lessons that cannot, however, make forget, according to the author, that

“the manifestation of harmony of races” is “one of fictions in our country” (BACCEGA, 1990, p. 145). Although, as Celso Frederico (2020) says, the fact that this harmony is a “myth” point towards a “story, a dream, that reveal deep social aspirations and latent values...” which projects a future of reconciliation... a racial democracy where an individual’s color of their skin will be finally an insignificant characteristic.

Baccega (1986; 1990) describes and analyzes society and history of Angola, in Mayombe, from Pepetela, from a liberating view of MPLA (Movement for the Liberation of Angola) here they are “present as fictional reasons the big issues that characterize that moment of the historic process, such as tribalism, national identity, culture, education and school degree, party, theory-practice relation, the intellectual role, the issue of violence” (BACCEGA, 1990, p. 147).

We remember that the inspiring thought process of Baccega, present in text about Angola, was materialized in courses she promoted about Africa – in which I had the privilege to participate – in late 1980’s, at School of Communication and Arts at USP. These seminars, with suggestive titles as “To better understand Africa” (1987-1988), involved professors and experts that approached issues like traditional societies, demographics, religion, politics and symbolic representations in an innovative way. In these courses organized by Professor Baccega, participated professors like Dilma de Melo, Fernando Mourão, Maria Aparecida Santili, Kabengele Munanga and others.

The present work seeks, thus, to pay tribute to Professor Baccega’s pioneer spirit on studies about Angola and Africa. The book *Transparent City* (2012) from the Angolan writer Ondjaki Ndalú de Almeida, born in 1977 integrates a vast literary body of work, located in Luanda, which goes through a period from the declaration of independence (November 11<sup>th</sup>, 1975) to nowadays. *Transparent Cities* refer to the final years of government of the President José Eduardo dos Santos, who governed Angola for 38 years (1979-2017) and conducted the People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) during this period. With the exit of José Eduardo dos Santos, we watch a reorganization of the regime,

in which the "fight against corruption" enters the daily discourse of the new president João Lourenço.<sup>2</sup> The family business from the former president and the elite that surrounded him were exposed nationally and internationally, being designated the Luanda Leaks scandal the great promotor of these criminal investigations (International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, 2020).<sup>3</sup>

In *Transparent Cities*, the negligence and greed of a political elite is fictionalized, associated to MPLA, capable of destroying, to their own advantage, Angolan society. Oil extraction in Luanda and the interests articulated around this "prospection" constitute the metaphor of that reality, illuminated in the novel, through the conversation between an entrepreneur, DomCristalino and a minister, SantosPrancha.<sup>4</sup>

[...] (Minister) oil extraction will go on, that is not a doubt, but the Boss is very worried... The mouths of opposition and the own concerns of the president... ;(Cristalino) the capital city is for everyone... and we will move forward... after the excavations, you guide yourselves with oil, I want water... [...] (ONDJAKI, 2012, p. 191-192)

With this text, the intention is to carry on with the same trail of *Baccega* and analyze how, approximately 40 years later, Ondjaki, a young writer, intertwines literature, fiction and history, in the sense of building a big picture of the Angolan society, having as scenario Luanda, in the first decade of the 21st century.

In Angola, the independence was declared after 14 years of fight against the Portuguese presence, which colonized the territory for 500 years. In a context of cold war and a new sharing of Africa, over 20 years of civil war had passed between the three main movements of

2 According to João Lourenço, the fight against corruption will go on despite of the "organized resistance" *Público*, 13/03/2020. Available at: <https://www.publico.pt/2020/03/13/mundo/noticia/joao-lourenco-luta-corrupcao-vai-continuar-apesar-resistencia-organizada-1907589>.

3 Cfr.: International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, *O Império de Isabel: como a filha do ex-presidente de Angola aproveitou o poder político do pai para, com empresas de fachada e informações privilegiadas, se tornar a mulher mais rica de África*. 19/01/2020. Available at: <https://apublica.org/2020/01/o-imperio-de-isabel/>.

4 We followed Ondjaki's grammar in the names, citations and excerpts of the book *Transparent City*.

liberation – MPLA, UNITA and FNLA – supported by foreign powers. Specifying, MPLA, the country with the larger number of boards and supporters, was led by Agostinho Neto and installed in Luanda, having been aided by Cubans and Russians; UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), located in the center region of Angola, of the ovimbundo ethnic group, was led by Jonas Savimbi and supported by South Africa, FNLA (National Liberation Front of Angola), of the bapungu ethnic group, implanted in northern Angola, was financed by the United States and led by Holden Roberto. The conflict lasted 27 years, from 1975 to 2002, and finished with the death of UNITA's leader and the transformation of this movement into a political party.

The war, and MPLA's victory, made so that it was installed in Angola, especially in Luanda, a name constituted by powerful members of that political party and generals that won the war (OLIVEIRA, 2015). Business, associated with oil and diamonds, were distributed through family members and followers of President Eduardo dos Santos, situation that seem to be reversed by the current president João Lourenço,<sup>5</sup> elected in August 2017 (CUNHA, 2020, p. 28-39). *Transparent Cities* approaches the “golden” period of the government of José Eduardo dos Santos, the high price of oil, which promoted the “distribution” of gifts and the consolidation of corruption “schemes”, where was involved all institutions of State, from ministers to smaller public servants. The book illustrates, equally, the consequences of this social “pathology”, showing the perverse effects and the degradation of the social, political and economic fabric. Let it be reminded that, in its widest meaning, corruption means the indebt appropriation of goods or earnings and involves three big scenarios: i) the degradation in the ethical sense of the agents involved; ii) a set of predatory social practices within certain institutions; iii) the indebt appropriation of benefits, by agents that are in mutual accord (GAMBETTA, 2002).

5 According to Peres, Cristina. Angola está mesmo a mudar? *Expresso Sociedade*, 08/02/2020. Available at: <https://expresso.pt/sociedade/2020-02-08-Angola-esta-mesmo-a-mudar->.

## **Luanda: from its colonial history to the metaphor of the Angolan nation**

In colonial times, Luanda was born as a commercial warehouse for slaves directed to the Atlantic (GONÇALVES, 2010), preferably to Brazil, and expanded as they established relations with pre-colonial aristocracies with emphasis to Kongo, Matamba, Ndongo and Lunda (GONÇALVES, 2010:4, citing TIDIANE DIAKITÉ, 2009). The commercial exchanges were fixated in a local mixed-race aristocracy, in 19th century (MOURÃO, 1996; BITTENCOURT, 2000; NASCIMENTO, 2013), built by merchants that lived there and by those who used to make commercial incursions in the wilderness, men designated by pombeiros. Pombeiros kept connections between country regions, under the jurisdiction of native kingdoms, and the shore, promoting slave traffic and trade of European and Portuguese manufactures, as well as wine. The abandonment of Luanda by Portuguese public authorities, throughout the colonial period, promoted the raise and autonomy of the city and the hegemony of a mixed-race population, which frequently affirmed facing the metropolis (MOURÃO, 1996, p. 58-60). This situation only changed after the "English ultimatum" (1890)<sup>6</sup> (ALEXANDRE, 2002), but, mainly, through the reorganization of the ultramarine politics of the Portuguese New state (ALEXANDRE, 1993), affective in 1950's of the 20th century.

Luanda's urbanization happened in the late 18th century, early 19th century. Streets were arranged and the connection between public buildings, neighborhoods and houses were created, originating the distinction between downtown and uptown. In both spaces prevailed a Kimbundo toponymy, to which were linked Portuguese historic and religious references (MOURÃO, 1997). Luanda integrates, thus, a religious city, a civil city, a city of militaries, a camp-city, a *feitoria* city and a settlement colony city (MOURÃO, 1997). From 19th century to

6 English Ultimatum (1890) – memorandum of the English government led by Lord Salisbury demanding that Portugal comply the agreement on Africa, signed in the Conference of Berlin, and left the territory between Angola and Mozambique.

the 20th century – based in administrative politics, in the differentiation of occupations and in the arrival of new inhabitants coming from the countryside, and the colonial metropolis – the city was organized around *asphalt* and *musseques*. This transformation, intensified with basic sanitation projects and urbanization post-Second World War, corresponds to a economic and racial hierarchization, painted by the so-called “popular” neighborhoods where mixed-race people, assimilated and poor white people built their identity of Luanda (NASCIMENTO, 2013).

The successive plans of fomentation created by the Portuguese New State (1926- 1974) for the African colonies, from the 1940's of the 20th century, contemplated the creation of infrastructure of road and port communication, Angola, and mostly Luanda, being one of the most benefited regions. In this context, roads and railway tracks linked the main cities, which favored the populational rise of the district capitals, but mainly Luanda, which in the independence day would have around 600 thousand residents. The post-independence civil war, with massive destruction of existing infrastructure, pushed residents of the destroyed provinces of the rural countryside for the Angolan seaside towns, in the condition of dislocated and refugees. Luanda grew rapidly in population, receiving approximately 4 million inhabitants, which had as consequence the expansion of a “spontaneous city”, characterized by the scarce development in areas such as basic sanitation, energy, housing, as well as the absence of investments in social equipment, such as schools and hospitals (RAMOS; NETO; FERREIRA, 2004, p. 212). Consequently, neighborhoods with precarious constructions were created, called *musseques*, while the degradation of the housing park in downtown took place, partly built in the colonial period and occupied by Angolans, when Portuguese residents flee to the Portuguese metropolis. This is the reality lived by the characters in *Transparent City*, which live in a building in accelerated state of decay, in downtown Luanda, more specifically, at Maianga, one of the most central neighborhoods of the city.

[...] The building had seven floors and breathed like a live entity... There is to know its secrets, the useful or unpleasant characteristics of its air, the functioning of its old pipes, the steps and doors leading nowhere [...]" (ONDJAKI, 2012, p. 16).

This reality does not change after the civil war, after the death of UNITA's leader, in 2002, although the raise of oil, the peace and plans of reconstruction, supported by China, had reached indexes of growth of GDP, between 2002 and 2008, of about 10%. The growth did not translate in an increase of HDI (Human Development Index) constituted by the indicators of GDP per capita, access to education and health. The increase seen in this index, in Angola, that fills the 149th position, among 189 countries, is due to, mainly, the increase of GDP per capita – the increase of super rich and rich, not reflecting in acquisitions of social welfare, education and health.

In this period, the city surpassed 6 million inhabitants and constitutes today one of the biggest and most dense urban centers in Southern Africa, in an area of approximately 3,000 km<sup>2</sup>, according to the Luanda General Metropolitan Master Plan (PDGML).<sup>7</sup> Currently, the *musseques* that shelter the majority of the population, are self-constructed, present major structural problems and represent approximately 80% of the urban geography of the city of Luanda. The first quarter of the 21st century comes to confirm, in the city, the projects of national reconstruction and investment in real estate and in the requalification of capital, in the shadow of PDGML. In this framework, the downtown area and the waterfront of the old town were remodeled, followed by the demolition of historic buildings, and modern surrounding cities grew, located in distant and pleasant places, without access to public infrastructure (ALEXANDRE, 2016, p. 81-82). Consequently, the city traffic became chaotic, given the non-existence of new access and the deterioration of existing roads. Ondjaki comprises this reality in a fictional

7 Luanda's Metropolitan Masterplan (PDGML) was presented in the Palace of Justice in December 14th, 2015, with the goal of guiding the decisions of strategic planning for the city of Luanda (Alexandre, 2016: 89).



and humorous form, narrating the daily life and social hierarchization, through the access of motorized vehicles and forms of transportation to and within the city of Luanda.

[...] In the avenue, the traffic was intense, Chinese motorcycles used to run among huge cars, American, Japanese and Korean jeeps, lots of mini-buses transporting the people that only could move around with buses, a lot of Toyota Starlets, also known as neighborhood movers, also in the service of transporting people, but illegally and in a more risky way... [...] (ONDJAKI, 2012, p. 70).

The narrator also describes the neglect of public services of public affairs when he describes the degradation of the streets and the supremacy of private interests, referring aspects that indicate business associated to the former president's family and the elite surrounding him<sup>8</sup>, for instance, telecommunications.

[...] The city was chaotic with new and old construction sites happening at once, and those CIPEL<sup>9</sup> excavations, and the holes for installing cable TV, and the holes made by the rain and the opened holes that no one thought about paving... [...] (ONDJAKI, 2012, p. 112).

Real estate investments constituted administrative designations and, simultaneously, big business, at times obscure, with the name MPLA. The activities were reported throughout the former president's government by international organizations and national activists, such as International Transparency<sup>10</sup> or the journalist Rafael Marques.<sup>11</sup> The current investigations, made in the context of Luanda Leaks about the daughter of the ex-president José Eduardo dos Santos, Isabel dos Santos, allowed, recently, to build a network of interests and appropriation of

8 BRITO, Ana; VILLALOBOS, Luís. UNITEL: *A empresa que lançou Isabel dos Santos*, 17/02/2020. Available at: <https://www.publico.pt/2020/02/17/economia/noticia/unitel-empresa-lancou-isabel-santos-1904236>.

9 In the novel, the author fictionalizes a possible plan to find oil in Luanda's underground level, where it is created na Comission of Found Oil in Luanda (CIPEL) (*Os transparentes*, p. 91).

10 Available at: <https://www.transparency.org/en/publications/cpi-2013#>.

11 Rafael Marques acusa figuras do Estado de Angola de branqueamento de capitais. DW-Angola, 17/07/2012. Available at: <https://www.dw.com/pt-002/rafael-marques-acusa-figuras-do-estado-de-angola-de-branqueamento-de-capitais/a-16103515>.

public resources, implemented by the family and their associates, with international complicity, especially Portuguese.<sup>12</sup> This journalistic investigation tracking the relationship between government and Angolan and international investors in projects of requalification of Luanda, relates the company *Urbinveste Promoções e Projetos Imobiliários SA*, owned by Isabel dos Santos, to the corporation *Broadway Malyan*. Simultaneously, the investigation brings irregularities in the execution of the project *Marginal da Corimba*, which aimed to create an urban corridor along the coast, with the goal of linking the southern region of Luanda to the city centre.<sup>13</sup>

Ondjaki, by fictionalizing, in *Transparent City*, a possible exploitation of oil in Luanda's underground, describes, equally, humorously, the international interests involved in Angola, both in trade and oil exploitation.

[...] Always the same group, Angola, USA and Russia... and the Portuguese get the leftovers, but since there are some weddings and ID cards taking by force, they may eat a little more... [...] (ONDJAKI, 2012, p. 126).<sup>14</sup>

Luanda becomes, therefore, a metaphor for Angola, where the author synthesizes the problems of survival of the country, the government and the population, in a complex and heterogeneous context, conditioned by factors inherent to a savage and peripheral capitalism, based by corporative interests, but having big relevance with elements of socio-cultural and historic jurisdiction (HODGES, 2002).

[...] Luanda boiled with their people that sells, that bought to sell, that sold themselves to later sell, that sold themselves to later buy and people

12 Cfr.: *Luanda Leaks*. *Expresso*. Available at: <https://expresso.pt/luanda-leaks>.

13 LOPES, Diogo; VINHAS, Nuno. A "visão" de Isabel dos Santos para Luanda rendeu 500 milhões, mas desalojou três mil pessoas. *Jornal O Observador*, 21/01/2020. Available at: <https://observador.pt/2020/01/21/a-visao-de-isabel-dos-santos-para-luanda-rendeu-500-milhoes-mas-desalojou-tres-mil-pessoas/>.

14 Conversation between Davide Airoso, scientist, and Paulo Pousado, journalist, making reference to the installed interests in Angola, as well as the very media covered marriage of one of the former president's daughters with a Portuguese entrepreneur (*Os transparentes*, p. 126). About the wedding, see: <https://www.cmjornal.pt/mundo/detalhe/casamento-de-tchize-e-hugo>.

that sold themselves without ever getting the chance to buy... [...] (Ondjaki, 2012, p. 72).

As Hodges (2002) refers, the MPLA politicians, when they abandoned the socialism of state in early 1990's, entered an exaggerated capitalism, complying with obscure and authoritarian mechanisms. The elections and institutions consolidated the interests of extractive elite that dominated resources and concessions of diamond and oil, the biggest wealth of Angola, in their own advantage or with corrupted and corruptor international interests. These interests created webs of patronage in society and mines, in a devastating manner, social reforms and investments in health, education and in job creation.

### **Characters: resistance and complicity**

Baccega (1990, p. 145) in the previously cited article about *Mayombe* writes that “fiction is concretized in History through figurativization through characters that gain life inside the book”. Antonio Candido (2007) considers that the character can be recognized, in other words, identified, by what the narrator informs about them, in other words, by what he speaks of himself or by what other characters say about him. In *Transparent City*, the narrator turns to complex strategies of presentation and construction of characters, in the sense of expressing social types, or, more frequently, stereotypes that synthesize the population, not only in Luanda, but also in Angola. To do so, the names of the characters pitch in, for instance, *MariaCom Força*, *CamaradaMudo*, *CienteDoGrã*, *JoãoDevagar*, *AvóTeta*, *PauloPousado*, *Pomposa*, *DestaVez e DaOutra*, *VendedorDeConchas* or *Cego*. (*Hard Mary*, *MuteFella*, *AwareofGrã*, *SlowJohn*, *TitsGrandma*, *LandedPaul*, *Pompous*, *ThisTime* and *TheOther*, *ShellSeller* or *Blind*. Names that synthesize life stories and physical and moral characteristics, as the ones that will be traced next:

[...] *Ciente do Grã*, Odonato's oldest son, spent his teenage years hopping from bar to bar, he was an associate of an famous disco but ended up as a doorman that was always late, he stole needles in a pharmacy giving it to

a heroin junkie and, in his late youth, was inserted into a Rastafari group in Luanda... Lost by vocation, he would wake up early to have more time to do nothing, and would feed the obsession of having a GrandCherokee jeep, his friends called him "Ciente do GrandCherokee" which quickly were abbreviated to CienteDoGrã... [...] (ONDJAKI, 2012, p. 25).

The characters build themselves, equally through the actions that they practice, through the thoughts they express, through dialogues, soliloquys, monologues and flows of conscience. In this perspective, in consonance with Candido (2007, p. 58-59), the construction of characters on literary fiction demands of the author the capacity of interpretation and comprehension of people and a longitudinal and transversal gaze that allows unity to the essential diversity of each person. Simultaneously, the characters acquire solidity, through memory and experiences of the author, relived by the narrator and based on experiences, expectation and frustration. In this context, the author Ondjaki "corresponds to a real and empirical entity" [...] While the narrator works as a fictional entity to whom, in the scenario of fiction, has the task of enunciating the discourse of narrative communication" (REIS; LOPES, 2002, p. 257). The narrator's game is to give life to characters based in the author's experience, using memories, observations and experiences, capable of attributing internal consistency – within the romance – and external, in other words, making the characters intelligible to the readers.

In the character presentation, there is a social and moral duality between the one who are "naturally losers", in a capitalist society, but bring in themselves moral and ethical values and the ones who are "winners" by giving up these principles. The resilient and nostalgic figures of Odonato, the transparent, of AvóKunjize, old woman of the Umbundu ethnic group, and Paizinho, who came from the South, bring in themselves the memories of another life, of another story, situated in an Angola who fought for their independence, suffered in this fight but is proud of the path they took, their traditional values and their identity. However, a big part of these characters find themselves in a limbo, between "losers" and

“winners”, when, in order to survive, they get in “schemes” of doubtful nature, although there is a slight hope, in changing everyday life...

[...] There is no time to remember/cry the next day/ the things we should cry about today... [...] (ONDJAKI, 2012, p. 9).

Odonato, the transparent, and AvóKunjize, old woman of the Umbundu ethnic group, and Paizinho, who came from the South, base their resilience in “events personally experienced”, but also in “events experienced by the group or collective to which the person feels to belong” (POLLAK, 1992, p. 200-212), namely in the fight for liberation and in the first years of independence of Angola. Both events are present in the three characters that recur, simultaneously, to the individual memory, but also to the collective memory, calling people and heroes, events and stories of another time, of another space and another place, which allows them to remake, daily, framings of memory and remembering another life. They evoke, as Barone writes (2005, p. 179-180), “forms of memory” that are found “associated to the social temporality” and allow “forms of living time”. It is a cognitive resource that involve social-physical and cultural characteristics that make memory not only a “cognitive instrument of the subject” but also a tool of “social transformation”.

Illustrative is the conversation between Odonato, his wife and AvóKunjikise which, in a disappointing present, retrieves the memory of another life, of another Luanda and Angola, of hope, of years after the declaration of independence.

[...] The disgrace began... I hope God isn't sleeping – whispered AvóKunjikise

Odonato looked absorbed by the window, looking for a place inside time I believe I suffer of the illness of national discomfort – he tells his wife, smiling lightly... The country pains me... the war, the political disagreements, the ones within and the ones that are for the ones who are out.

His eyes and body felt a deep nostalgia of Sunday strolls with the family, close to the sea, in the Bairroallha...

Luanda was, then, compared to now, almost an urban desert where there was no food or clothing, medicine, no water and no light, often we didn't

have beer or wine... The shoes were old but the legs were happy... And even the people were gentler... [...] (ONDJAKI, 2012, p. 179-180).

This excerpt, beyond the "forms of memory", brings nostalgia, extended in the Greek primordial sense of "extended pain" by being away from "home", in other words, it's the memory of another life, another Angola, where they were comfortable. That nostalgia, which involves melancholy, expresses a state of mind that articulates the present – where they live, but they feel weird – and a past, where they imagine to be at home (PICKERING; KELGHTLEY, 2006). The feeling of nostalgia is shown not only in Odonato's speech, but in other different characters that overvalue past experiences, in face of difficulties, strangeness and incomprehension of present days, such as the Mailman.

[...] Time has passed and there were things that were lost, respect, morals, good manners... [...] (ONDJAKI, 2012, p. 80).

The wealth of characters, created by the narrator, is in the diversity, and in the capacity of synthetizing social archetypes, in a simplified manner, which allows immediate recognition of the character in society. The description of the social type arrives, in this sense, as a stereotype, a simplification of the information involving a cognitive process of social categorization, capable of reducing sociocultural anxiety while making possible sharing of mental images, by individuals of groups. This process, adopted by the narrator, reflects the images that groups have of themselves, in the form of self-stereotype, but also images that groups have of other groups, as hetero-stereotypes (LEYENS, 1985, p. 55). A game of mirrors weaved by mutual images.

With base in this procedure, the characters compose a social web, which involves either the poorest – for instance, the ShellSeller and the Blind – or the most informed ones – LandedPaulo, the journalist, DavideAiroso, the scientist – or even the obscure forces of society, namely a minister, interested in oil exploitation, an assistant, subservient and overbearing, or even, a winner businessman, as DomCristalino.

[...] Ribeiro seco, the man they called DomCristalino, for being for years involved with water issues, worked for years in the Ministry of Industry, going through other posts in the era of the Schematic Socialism and went privatizing places, factories and even some people that were involved in his path. [...] (ONDJAKI, 2012, p. 165).

Women have, generally, not a lot of expression in *Transparent City*, except the elders, such as AvóKunjikise and AvóTeta. Both give out authority for their life path, experience and age, despite their paths being quite different. While the first one, of Umbundo ethnic group and language, arrives to Luanda as a war refugee and is adopted by Odonato's family, where she replaces the grandma they just buried; the second one lives in the city for a long time, where she organized, in a popular neighborhood, a prostitution business, where she takes care and gives work to abandoned women. All the other women arrive as "secondary characters" for male characters, either dedicated and caring wives, or lovers/girlfriends.

Regardless of that condition of "secondary characters" women are fictionalized, generally, as having strong and resilient personalities, such as MariaComForça, who sells food on the street and other chachkis. However, they can't be free from their condition of subservience facing men, due to their emotional dependence. Clara, PauloPousado's girlfriend is one of the most independent woman in choices and options, especially sexually, within an urban frame of work and sociability.

The blurring of female autonomy does not mean, however, irrelevance, because these are the woman that dynamize the male characters, but mirror, regardless, the difficulties of affirmation of most women, in African societies.<sup>15</sup> Oxymoronically, the only woman with intellectual, emotional and professional autonomy is a BBC journalist, unnamed, who proposes to investigate and report what is happening in Luanda and Angola, giving, simultaneously, voice to the people.

15 Available at <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000230162>.

## Media as background

The novel *Transparent City* comprises a media dimension that follows the story, with many characters taking on or fine tuning their identity elements through the consumption of media products such as reading the newspaper, watching CNN, watching Brazilian telenovelas, watching movies, including adult movies, or even listening to jazz or Angolan music from the 80's.

The Angolan media landscape is regulated by the Constitution of Angola, proofread and approved in 2010, which consecrated, in different additions, the right for freedom of expression and information and the prohibition of censorship. In the context in which the novel takes place, despite the law in effect, Angolan media system continued being controlled and monopolized by the government party, MPLA.

In the years in which *Transparent City* takes place, the written press had about 13 newspapers, among public (3) and private (10), while the National Radio of Angola dominated 80% of the market, although they operated over 12 private radio stations, including the Angola's Catholic Channel (Gaspar, 2015, p. 18). In the field of television, we highlight the Public Television of Angola (TPA), which "exercises its work in a regimen of state monopoly, with three channels with national and international coverage. Channel 1, Channel 2 and TPA International" (GASPAR, 2015, p. 19). There were, however, conceived licenses to private groups that had alliances with the government and the installed elite, as, for example, the Media Nova Group and TV Zimbo<sup>16</sup> and Banda TV (paid channel). The private sector, very unstable, due to economic, social and ideologic conditions of work, is constituted by national groups and subsidiaries of international groups, especially Portuguese and Brazilian channels offered through Pay TV. Within these groups, Portuguese channels catering to African audience (RTP, TVI and SIC) and the Brazilian Globo and Record stand out. In addition to

16 Available at <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13036740>.



these channels, we had also European channels, such as BBC, American cable TV such as AXN and FOX and South American channels.

The technologic changes in television that happened in the first decade of the 21st century, which determined the passage of analogic to digital, are signaled in the way it is described the rooftop of the building, the epicenter of the story and the home of the lead character and the main characters of *Transparent City*.

[...] There lied quiet or danced in the wind the numberless antennas, the ones from the old days, aged, crooked or even shaking, and the most recent ones, small and big satellite dishes, those that catch news and voices of other international places... [...] (ONDJAKI, 2012, p. 52).

The role of the government institutions and the state monopoly of the Radio of Angola and Television of Angola, happens in different moments, basing government decisions, from the “Boss”, the “President”. The declarations made live bring speeches of state in an elaborate bureaucratic register, and announce general dispositions that hide facts, at times hidden and harmful to common citizens.

For instance, when the president speaks to the microphones of National Radio, about the cancellation of the “eclipse” – an event announced by the government as unprecedented in Angola, which would bring out many tourists and would be an opportunity for national celebration – due to the “demise of the comrade ideology”. The excerpt brings out a metaphor of the deviations performed by the governments and the deceptions sold to the Angolan people, whose speech, in the Radio, begin like this:

[...] Dear citizens of the RepublicOfAngola, other representatives of other nations credited in our country, religious and civil entities, in the name of the national government of Angola and according to an extraordinary meeting at the political bureau of the Party, I follow the duty to inform a decision that will have implications in the social, political and cultural life of each one of us... (ONDJAKI, 2012, p. 362).

TPA and the National Radio follow the daily lives of the characters, sharing information about the measures adopted by the government, but also there are references to programs of public interest, such as the collection of a traditional song that the National Radio made, or even, TPA's show "Meeting Spot", promoting reunions of families separated by the civil war.

The struggle of exercising journalism in Angola; the daily threats the professionals are subject to, namely physic and psychological threats; the political and economic pressures, as well as the different forms of the regime to curtail the independence and freedom of expression, constitute a reality of daily life in Angola.<sup>17</sup> This reality is portrayed by one of the most tragic characters of the novel, the journalist Paulo Pousado, who, by being within the political and economic stories, decides to murder the president and ends up murdered, with a shot in the forehead, by the Body Guards. His character emerges as a metaphor for Journalism in Angola, where many journalists were persecuted and killed in the period when the novel takes place.<sup>18</sup> Paulo Pousado expresses the angst between who sees himself pressured by a situationist conformism and the freedom of press and expression, written in the constitution.

[...] The boss called a meeting that I couldn't refuse, things weren't so good at work, too much complaints and absences, not to mention the ideologic differences that guided the work of each one of them, if at times the boss began to take on the liberal character that wanted to be an example in the field of national communication, other times were evident his commitment with members of the high scale of... [...] (ONDJAKI, 2012, p. 83).

The radical escape that the journalist sees when planning the death of the President is combined with the dramatic solution the narrator

17 Available at: <https://www.dw.com/pt-002/angola-acusa%C3%A7%C3%A3o-a-jornalistas-espe-lha-press%C3%A3o-do-governo-em-tempo-de-elei%C3%A7%C3%B5es/a-39480522>; <https://www.dw.com/pt-002/aumenta-press%C3%A3o-contrainmprensa-angolana/a-44328461>.

18 Available at: <https://www.voaportugues.com/a/ano-2013-foi-pessimos-para-os-jornalistas-angolanos-misa/1783347.html>.

finds to end the novel: the explosion of the building, and Luanda, and the death of Odonato.

[...] All the horizon was a sea of yellow flames and confused smoke, diminishing noises to later feed other explosions... Odonato takes of his left pocket a small paper, and, under a dry gaze of farewell and tenderness, wrote quick lines t then bend over himself and chew with his canine teeth the piece of rope that connected him to the building... [...] (ONDJAKI, 2012, p. 421-422).

Throughout the novel, other media companies are mentioned, such as CNN, Globo, RTP and BBC. The references to other international stations are sparse, but BBC appears in the image of a journalist that seeks to understand what happens with Odonato, and the cause of his transparency. However, she does not have a lot of conviction that her journalistic work will be published and comments that “she does not send anything to BBC anymore. They do not want... No one wants good news about Angola or Africa” (ONDJAKI, 2012, p. 281-282).

In the media landscape, we highlight the mention to telenovelas and Brazilian media professionals. We remember, here, that in the intellectual path of Professor Baccega, the studies on telenovela, production and reception received a lot of attention. In an article published in the publication *Educação & Communication*, in 2003, the author writes that “the media, especially the television” are the privileged place of narrative, whose historic matrixes are found in these cultural manifestations” (BACCEGA, 2003 p. 9). In the same article, she refers that “television and televisual fiction in general ...due to its genre format... can, in a much more agile manner, expose concepts and walk successfully in the sense of persuasion of population in general” (BACCEGA, 2003 p. 9). When she explores this issue, she associates television news to telenovela, considering that the first ones are generally much more “fictional” than the telenovela. With this information in mind, it is necessary to understand the role and presence of Brazilian telenovelas in the daily life of Luanda’s people, considering the secular relations that involve cultural and economic exchanges between Brazil and Angola

(CUNHA, CASTILHO; GUEDES, 2017). The success of telenovelas is inserted into a timeline of symbolic exchanges, which involves events and situations such as slavery, African traditional religions, Portuguese literature and Brazilian popular music. Brazilian telenovelas, in Angola, have an audience since early 1980's and, since then, they are present in the daily life of Luanda's people.

In other novels, such as *Os da minha rua* (CUNHA, 2020, p. 35-62), Ondjaki exposed the power of Brazilian telenovelas in stimulating, in the daily life, possible imaginaries, and, at the same time, allowing the escape of difficult realities experienced by the people in Luanda. In *Transparent City* the same feeling, of escape of the daily life, is present and not only the telenovela brings out processes of identification, but it constitutes as a temporal milestone of Luanda families and society, such as "coming home after the novela", "working at the time of the novela", talking like "Odorico Paraguaçu".

The projection of Brazilian media through telenovela and the big companies they produce took to Luanda qualified technicians and professionals in charge of operating these devices. At the same time, it generated among Angolans a big familiarity with Brazilian slang, adopting words and expressions. That proximity also brought evangelical churches to Angola, which, in the novel, appears as the IgrejaDaOvelhaSagrada (church of the sacred sheep), described humorously, as an opportunity of safe business. It is important to point out that Brazilian evangelical churches, in Angola, have been in the epicenter of numerous controversies, not only because of the tithing, but also due to ideologic issues.<sup>19</sup>

References to the cultural industry are also constant in *Transparent City*, a characteristic of Ondjaki's novels which, in this book, enunciates – often within a nostalgic framing, related to the years of colonial struggle, to the period of post-independence, or even civil war – Angolan musicians such as Bonga, RuyMingas, CarlosBurity, WaldemarBastos or PauloFlores.

19 Available at: <https://www.hypeness.com.br/2018/11/por-que-angola-esta-fechando-igrejas-evangelicas-no-pais/>.

## Final notes in form of conclusion

The novel *Transparent City* is, contrary to Pepetela's *Mayombe*, a hopeless piece of literature. In the moment where Baccega wrote and analyzed *Mayombe*, in her PhD thesis, they were apparently tracing the way of independence and freedom in Angola. At the time when Ondjaki wrote *Transparent city*, many years have passed after these events, a ruthless civil war destroyed many lives and many dreams and installed a savage capitalism, with few beneficiaries and many losers.

Contrary to Pepetela, Ondjaki does not point paths towards a future that would bring out peace, prosperity and agreement between ethnic groups and races. In accordance to the lead character Odonato, the transparent, the narrator suffers and describes, in a clear way, many elements indicating the end of a regime and the anxiety about what the future may bring. When illuminating a gallery of characters that fight for survival, in different layers of society, where there seem to have disappeared parameters of coexistence and solidarity, only the people, described, abstractly, as “beautiful, dancing, arrogant, filled with fantasy, crazy, drunk...” (ONDJAKI, 2012, p. 283) appear to have the ability to change the course of history.

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## Retratos sobre a migração na série televisiva brasileira “Portugal pelos Brasileiros”

### Portraits of migration in the Brazilian television series “Portugal pelos Brasileiros”

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**Resumo:** Neste artigo abordamos a relação entre o discurso midiático e as migrações a partir da perspectiva das representações sociais. Analisamos o caso do fluxo de imigração brasileira em Portugal que vem aumentando nos últimos anos, conforme retratado na primeira temporada da série televisiva brasileira “Portugal pelos Brasileiros”. Utilizamos a abordagem da Análise Crítica do Discurso para entender como a significação da experiência migratória está incorporada na série por meio das representações sociais. Como resultado, pudemos identificar que os novos imigrantes brasileiros em Portugal são retratados de maneira parcial e excludente, por meio de um discurso midiático ancorado em traços culturais e socioeconômicos específicos.

**Palavras-chave:** discurso midiático; migrações; representações sociais; análise crítica do discurso; Portugal pelos Brasileiros.

**Abstract:** In this paper, we focus on the relationship between media discourse and migration from the perspective of social representations. We analyze the case of the Brazilian flow in Portugal that has been increasing in recent years, as portrayed in the first season of the Brazilian television series “Portugal pelos Brasileiros”. We used the Critical Discourse Analysis approach to understand how the meaning of the migratory experience is incorporated into the series through

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*social representations. As a result, we were able to identify that the new Brazilian immigrants in Portugal are portrayed in a partial and exclusive way, through a media discourse anchored in specific cultural and socioeconomic traits.*

**Keywords:** *media discourse; migrations; social representations; critical discourse analysis; Portugal pelos Brasileiros.*

## Introduction

Migration has always been about navigating new risks, uncertainty, and the contested terrain of mobility (HEGDE, 2016, p. 1).

When we perform an Internet search on Brazilian migration to Portugal, it is possible to find a myriad of newlike articles about the increasing number of Brazilians<sup>3</sup> who decided to emigrate to that country in the last few years. In a moment in history in which Portugal “desperately needs” (*Público*, Aug. 16th, 2019) migrants, there are thousands of them that are “millionaires and unemployed” (*Uol*, July 14th, 2019) looking to settle in Portugal.

In a behavioral level, the symbolic exchanges are inherent to the processes of communication directly influence the decision-making processes of a personal and collective dimension. In the media dimension, Baudrillard (1991, p. 108) said it is possible to have cases of an exact syntony between information and meaning, being that information, in this case, can be either “destructive or neutralizing of meaning”. Such thing occurs because the world that media present to us is built, in turn, by diverse social representations that seek to give meaning to human existence. It is also frequent to find in the media obliterations and distortions of current social stratifications (PAZ; LEÃO, 2012). When entering the public dominion of media communications, these representations also become ideologic (MOSCOVICI, 2009). Thus, if it is true we live in a “furious idealism of meaning”, an “idealism of communication for meaning” (BAUDRILLARD, 1991, p. 108), it is essential to question what is the meaning that transpire in the social representation shown in media.

Precisely with this goal of answering questions such as this one that we conducted the study we present in this article. Adopting the point of view of Critical Discourse Analysis, we analyze five episodes of the first season of “Portugal pelos Brasileiros”, broadcast at Rede Globo de Televisão in early 2018. We guided ourselves through the intention of

understanding how the experience of these new Brazilian immigrants is signified in the media discourse through the social representations on the phenomenon, which would support us to glimpse in what way this portrait of the recent Brazilian immigration reverberates in the social sphere.

### **Social representations in the media context**

Once it's possible to escape the meanings the world receive through its representations, the focus of the analysis of the contemporary social issues must consider how they are being built and reflected in the current discourses. Adopting the discourse in a Foucauldian perspective, where the primary concern is to evidence the relationships there are between language and social structure (FOUCAULT, 2008), we reinforce the recognition that the analysis of these discourses should also contemplate the "interpretation and revelation of implicit meanings" (FOUCAULT, 2008, p. 127) and their "propositions" (FOUCAULT, 2008. P. 127). When we talk about the discourses present in contemporary societies, we cannot forget that they are related to an architecture of knowledge that is built in social meanders and has an operative nature, for directly influencing the communication of power and authority structures through the management of points of view.

It is in this constitutive web of human knowledge on the world that we find social representations. We can define them as collective cognitions and the current systems of thought in the sphere of groups of individuals that give meaning to daily life. They are socially built through specific cognitive processes, in which the goal is always "turning something unfamiliar into something familiar" (MOSCOVICI, 2009, p. 54). Everything that cannot be categorized within the pre-conceived ideas of the world becomes as enigmatic as threatening to the subject, creating a feeling of uncertainty that ends up provoking distancing (MOSCOVICI, 2009). Since social representation have a dynamic character, the study of those who still are not totally sedimented into social groups becomes particularly interesting (MOSCOVICI, 2009). Furthermore,

we consider imperative to also understand how these processes exercise influence in the mind and guide the action of individuals in the world. As we could observe through human history, this feeling of non-recognition of plurality inherent to the human being has been leading to situations of social discrimination and racism.

In this whirlwind of ideas that gives meaning to the world we live in, media takes on a key role. It is through them that is managed a true “disruption of reality” (BAUDRILLARD, 1991, p. 106), leaving the perception of the world confined to the social representation exposed there. Television takes on a particularly interesting role in this process. Even facing the proliferation of newslite and documental content nowadays, we cannot neglect the nature of television as a means of communication, not only information (GIACOMANTONIO, 1981). According to Crespi (1997, p. 200), it is a potent “agent of socialization” in society, in the sense that cultural productions shared there have a big social impact. Therefore, since it is not possible to focus the analysis of television productions only in its content, it is necessary to promote a change of perspective and seek to understand how this content is created and in what way these formats influence its meaning (FISKE; HARTLEY, 2003), being the own nature of television to offer productions in a context of “invisible censorship” (BOURDIEU, 1997, p. 6).

These meanings are fundamental parts of a symbolic puzzle that results in the construction of media discourses. In the case of social representations about migration, they promote transformations that will have a direct impact in the migrant’s life. Sayad (1998, p. 56) had already said that “there is no other discourse about the immigrant and immigration that is not an imposed discourse”, and this affirmation gains even more sense nowadays. It is not rare to observe the presence of discourses that advocate in favor of a status quo of the immigrant that positions its presence in the community of destination in a place between provisional and permanent (SAYAD, 1998), a type of social hiatus. From the moment it was agreed to approach the issue of migration as a “social problem” (SAYAD, 1998, p. 56), in the case of Brazilian immigrants in

Portugal, or in media contents or in everyday conversations within specific social groups, the power relations in a discursive order have been established throughout time in tangible and intangible levels, reaching the level of provoking, often, situations of true “symbolic incarceration” (MACHADO, 2003, p. 181) of these subjects.

When they are not approached in a critical form, media discourse on migration and its subjects end up socially solidifying itself. When fiction and non-fiction are mixed in the intent of representing reality (FREIRE; SOARES, 2013), this stiffness makes these discourses become, at times, real obstacles for the recognition and legitimation of cultural differences. These setbacks will have a direct influence in the process of integration of immigrants in the target community, which is involved in a costly process in the mental and emotional level.

### **Studying social representations through discourse**

In order to understand how the new migratory wave of Brazilians towards Portugal is represented in the Brazilian media, we analyzed the first season of the television journalistic series “Portugal pelos Brasileiros”.<sup>4</sup> This season has five episodes of, approximately, ten minutes each, where a Brazilian person that recently migrated to Portugal reports their experience in 1st person. The episode titles are: *Eduardo’s story*, *How to live and teach in Portugal*; *How to buy real estate in Portugal and getting a resident visa*; *How to validate a diploma in Portugal*; and *Becoming a businessperson in Portugal can be a way to get a visa*. The reports are complemented by a voiceover and the exhibition of information and tips for Brazilians who have the intention of emigrating to Portugal.

Coming to the conclusion that the social power relations are discursive (MACHIN; MAYR, 2012) and the discourses are a form of social and political action (FAIRCLOUGH, 1995; VAN DIJK, 2018), we

4 The series was created by the producing company Plano Geral Filmes and has the Direction of Rodrigo Ponichi. It was broadcasted as a special project within the TV show *Como Será?* In January 6th, 13th, 20th e 27th and February 3rd, 2018. The program is shown on Saturdays at Rede Globo de Televisão in the morning and has re-runs the next mornings in the channel Globo News and in the afternoon at Canal Futura..

analyze the social representation according to the Critical Discourse Analysis. This approach is guided in a way to clarify how the discourse positions subjects in society, who has the interest of that being made that way, and, when serving these interests, what other interests are being neglected (JANKS, 1997). Being one of the main differentials the concern in problematizing unequal power relations, in a clear position of solidarity to social groups socially and culturally dominated (VAN DIJK, 2018), the referred perspective revealed to be fitting for the study in question.

### **Media discourses on Brazilian immigrants in Portugal in a historic perspective**

One of the vital dimensions for the study of Brazilian immigration in Portugal is understanding the current discourse on the phenomenon was built through time. According to Fairclough (1995), this appreciation allows us to have a panoramic view of the universe of possibilities in which discourses are inscribed. Our analysis was focused on the linearity of discourse about the Brazilian immigrant in Portugal and their eventual points of rupture, following a historic-diachronic perspective (CARVALHO, 2015). This temporal appreciation allowed us to weave connections between the current media discourse and those of other historic moments.

The different economic realities between the two countries can be pointed out as the main reason that, from around the 1980's, the first migratory wave of Brazilians to Portugal had occurred. In a first moment, this movement had the profile of countercurrent, because the Portuguese emigrants that had established themselves in Brazil were now returning to their country with their family. When people already declared that period as a "lost decade" (FAUSTO, 1995, p. 546) in Brazil, the economic growth in Portugal and the perspectives of modernization in the country due to its entry to the European Economic community made that migratory project begin to be considered in other parts of the

Brazilian population. Therefore, beyond Brazilian political exiled, we also perceive the dislocation of highly qualified people to Portugal.

In that country, the arrival of the first group of immigrants was reported in a preconceived and pessimistic way, in consequence of the stereotype of the “cheeky and smartass Brazilian” (IORIO; SOUZA, 2018, p. 319) that prevailed at the time, an inheritance of the social representation about the men present in Brazilian telenovelas that were shown in Portugal since then (MACHADO, 2003). Meanwhile, in Brazil, the subjects were focused in re-signifying Portugal as a modern country with promising economic perspectives. It was only in a second moment, when the first migratory flow became more consistent, that the Brazilian immigrants in Portugal began to be represented in the news. Here, we found the first attempts of characterizing the phenomenon through the description of who were these Brazilians that “took a chance” at improving their quality of life in faraway lands. The first news report about the migratory flow was made in 1988, highlighting the profile of the emigrant, whose characteristic that stands out is the profession, showing, thus, the level of qualification of these people (PINHO, 2007). They are doctors, dentists and engineers, but also businesspeople, the latter referenced as a testimony of economic viability of the migratory project (PINHO, 2007). They also mentioned football players, advertisement people, architects, artists and engineers, characterizing the immigration of the professional type (PINHO, 2007) and of the male gender.

The first migratory flow was extended until early 1990’s. With the entrance of Portugal in the Schengen Area,<sup>5</sup> the improvement of public infrastructure and the transition of that country for an economy based in the service sector, the emigration to Portugal begins to be considered by many Brazilians as an opportunity of better work opportunities. Then, the second migratory flow begins, distinguished from the first one due

5 The Schengen Area comprises the geographic territory of 26 countries that agreed to the Schengen Agreement. Created in 1985, this agreement establishes the end of border control between the signing countries, in a way of allowing free circulation of people within the European Union and simultaneously a reinforcement of control and vigilance of exterior borders (CARVALHAIS, 2008).

to its density and migrant profile. The Brazilians that began to arrive in Portugal had a lower school level and were more oriented to less qualified positions in the work market (PADILLA et al., 2015). Another unique aspect of this second flow is the fact that it is marked by the feminization of the migratory movement, which followed the trend of other migratory flows in the global sense (PADILLA et al., 2015).

Following these changes are the transformation in the discourses of the Brazilian media. Maybe for the first time, it is signaled the existence of “illegal” Brazilian immigrants in Portugal, condition that is only mitigated when it appears associated to more qualified professionals (PINHO, 2007). It is also observed the fact that, as in the first flow, we perceive substantial differences in the way of presenting the phenomenon. From Brazil’s side, the press would neglect the essential changes that differentiated the profile of the first and the wave migrant, especially regarding the recognition and representation of women, of people with less favorable economic conditions and the “multiracial” character of the second wave (ASSIS, 2017). In Portugal, these changes, even though they are recognized and legitimized, end up appearing in pessimistic discourses, for instance, the association of Brazilian men to criminal activities and Brazilian women in the sex market (ASSIS, 2017). These stereotypes, along with European migratory policies becoming more strict and difficulties found by immigrants in foreign soil, were some of the factors that contributed to, at the end of the second migratory flow, the increase of number of Brazilians emigrating Portugal and returning to Brazil, situations also documented in Brazilian press (PINHO, 2007).

After a period marked by the return of Brazilians to Brazil or by the re-migration to other European countries, which is extended until the end of the first decade of the 21st century until the following decade, the statistic records have come to show a new period of growth of the migratory flow from Brazil to Portugal. In 2018, it was possible to see an increase in 23.4% in the number of Brazilian citizens residing in Portugal in



comparison to the previous year, 105,423 citizens representing 21.9% of the foreigners living in the country<sup>6</sup> (RIBEIRO et al., 2019).

These data show that, even before there were a certain indecision in distinguishing a new migratory flow face to the one observed in the first decade of this century (FRANÇA; PADILLA, 2018), it is already possible to see studies that attest its existence (FRANÇA; PADILLA, 2018). Following the trend of diversification already observed in the second flow, we are facing a multifaceted third migratory flow. How it is being represented by the media discourse is the question we have and we seek to respond with this article.

### **“Portugal pelos Brasileiros” and the new Brazilian immigrant in Portugal**

The analysis of the material we proposed to study was guided in the sense of evidencing in what way the social representations of Brazilian immigrants in Portugal are being built or articulated in the show. In order to do that, we recurred to statistic data and other studies, in a way of understanding the relation of what we see in the show with a wider scenario. We also did not neglect the work of production and editing the content. Even though the show portrays the experience of migration through the direct speech of immigrants, Fairclough (1995) points out that the choice of which excerpt of scene to put in the final cut of the material that will be broadcast in the television schedule is everything but arbitrary. According to the author, it is in the center of these choices a complete relation of social and ideological motivation more or less conscient that will have direct impact in the meaning and discourse articulated with that content. When we think in this manner, we understand that the option for recurring to personal portraits of immigrants demonstrated the intention of representing a certain authenticity which would have been supposedly lost when checking that the statistical data

6 It is admitted that the total number of residents of Brazilian descente in Portugal is bigger. This number, even though it is official, do not consider undocumented Brazilians and those who are not considered because they have acquired the Portuguese citizenship.

did not match the social representation about Brazilian immigrants in Portugal (FAIRCLOUGH, 1995).

We will speak about the social representation from their presences and absences, in other words, how they are being built in the episodes through which they are shown or mentioned, but also for what they do not show or tell. We are concerned in comprising our analysis into two different perspectives, without disregarding them being connected in very complex ways. In our notes, we mention representative implications of discourse, in the sense we perceive in what way the broadcasted representations are related with the wider context we mentioned above. On the other hand, we did not obliterate the discursive implications that these changes carry within that talk directly with the social context in which these immigrants are inserted. It is this interweaving that allowed the problematization of social and cultural issues that come from the aspects observed, evidencing what is the impact of these changes in the subjectivity of contemporary societies and their implications in the life of these subjects.

Before we begin with the analysis of social representations associated to immigrants, we questioned what would be the Portugal that is being represented. According to King and Wood (2002), the discourses and images that are built about the country of destination are an important support for the decision of emigrating. In this sense, we see in the show a discourse that interpolates the immigrant's speech with images and voiceovers that makes us know different aspects of the Portuguese culture, such as food, architecture and music. Here, we see an example of the ideologic character of the national identity, through which it is evident the prioritization of the political and economic view about the society (MARTINS, 2001). Since this is not the focus of our analysis, we considered important to point out here that it is imperative to question, in a second moment, not only the means, but also the ends in which the national identity associations of Portugal present in the show intend to accomplish.

The change of perspective in Portugal's image of their economic traits for their cultural traits are mirrored both in the change of the profile of the migrant and in the terms in which this migration happens. In the series, we see family as an important component of media discourse on migrants. In a large part of time, interviews are conducted within the residence of immigrants or show them interacting with family members. We see here a mirror of the trend associated to the third migratory wave of: family inclusion in the decision-making process about migration and their effective realization. The statistical data do not allow us to say otherwise: in 2018, 28% of residence authorization conceived to foreigners were for situations of family regrouping (RIBEIRO et al., 2019). In the next year, the Service of Foreigners and Borders was obligated to refuse new requests due to the absence of available dates to help immigrants (LOPES, 2019). In addition to family, in the show, we also see the hobbies and moments of leisure to be values, either through images if immigrants developing their aptitudes in ateliers or in strolls with the family, or through the verbal discourse of these immigrants. This aspect consolidates the change of economic and labor profile of migration of other periods to political and moral profile, something already mapped in previous studies (FRANÇA; PADILLA, 2018). It is important to mark, however, that, even if these discourses are a reflection of what statistical data show us, they are also, in a certain way, implicit markets of what is considered important or not to be shown about these migrant's lives, influencing a whole representative and symbolic universe in full construction.

When we went further on understanding how the recent Brazilian migration to Portugal was represented in the show, another aspect that stood out was the discourse that this is a geographically marked phenomenon. The Brazilians that appeared in the episodes of the first season of this show migrated to different places in the Lisbon area. Some of them live in more central regions of Lisbon, as Príncipe Real and Alvalade, and others live in nearby cities, associated to a higher social state, such as Cascais and Sintra. The show's voiceover show us a bit more

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information about these locations, with data about the number of inhabitants and their distance in relation to Lisbon. Even if, in 2018, the district of Lisbon would concentrate 68.9% of the foreign resident population in the country (RIBEIRO et al., 2019), it is important to observe that other regions of the country equally presented a significant growth in the number of residing foreigners, rates that can be compared to the districts that, taking Lisbon as an example, shelters a great number of immigrants. We especially highlight the growth of the Northern region as a destination, being the district of Braga, Porto and Viana do Castelo the ones who presented a greater increase in number of foreign residents when compared to the previous year – 24.4%, 18.7% and 17.4%, respectively. These taxes were matched or superior to the districts where there are a greater concentration of foreign residents nowadays, Lisbon, Faro and Setúbal – 17% 12.3% and 12%, respectively (RIBEIRO et al., 2019).

In relation to the sociocultural dimension, we observe that the division of gender, race and social status, commonly used to characterize Brazilian immigrants in Portugal, are still present in the show. The verbal discourse of immigrants and also their lifestyle show their higher social status in Brazilian societies. That also explains why there wasn't any black or indigenous people in the show, since it isn't possible talking about race in Brazil without talking about social status. According to a 2019 report from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, the condition of economic and social vulnerability is strongly present in the portion of the black population,<sup>7</sup> making these people be in "severe disadvantage" (IBGE, 2019 p. 12) in relation to the rest of the population.

We also highlight some important transformations about the presence of women in representation of the phenomenon. Out of the five episodes of the first season of the show, two had a woman as a lead character. Also in another episode, that talks about a couple's experience, even though the lead character is the man, and not the woman, we

7 The aspects of color and race find themselves mixed in a sole category in the analyses of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), which presents to their respondents the option of self-declaring White, Black, Mixed, Asian or Indigenous (IBGE, 2019).

perceive that the intention of migration was hers, and her partner decided to follow her. We note, here, an important discursive change in the media discourse about the Brazilian immigration in Portugal. In Pessar (1999), we see how migrations and the image of the migrant can end up being confined to representative categories of the male gender. The author explains that, in the United States, until not long ago, migrations had an exclusively male connotation, which made migrant women and their stories be invisibilized. This situation makes the expectations in relation to migrant men or women to be completely different. While the man was expected to have integration to the work market, the movement of migrant women was associated to following the working husband and taking with her the couple's children.

The analysis of the show allow us to say that the contemporary media discourse about the phenomenon we approach have been seeking not only including Brazilian women in the scenario of Brazilian migration to Portugal, but also qualifying who are they and the terms in which this dislocation happens. This type of discourse is different from the first migratory flow, in which the male gender was predominant, and also the second flow, in which we see a feminization of the movement followed by the hypersexualization of Brazilian women. That change in perspective has consequences not only in the perception about the movement, but also in the social counterparts of these symbolics constructions. That is because, beyond the aspects that were already mapped as important for the maintenance of good mental health of immigrants, such as maintenance of familiar relationships with the original country, the long-term perspective in the decision of living in the destination country and the conservation of a high level of physical health (TEIXEIRA; DIAS, 2019), studies such as Oliveira et al. (2019) showed that also an insertion in more qualified positions in the work market will have a positive impact in the mental health of immigrants.

They are, precisely, these new media discourses about Brazilians in Portugal that support a perceptive change between the immigrants of the third flow and the previous flows. This scenario indicates that we

are facing the creation of a new social category that distinguishes these new immigrants of others. That is a significant change because, as already reinforced by Tajfel (1969), stereotypes have a fundamental role in the configuration of the relationship between members of different social categories. If, on one hand, characteristics perceived as common between members of a social category are reinforced, on the other, the ones perceived as different between social categories are equally reinforced, in a process the author called *perceptive accentuation*. As a consequence, we see a new social identity of the Brazilian immigrant in Portugal gaining strength, at the same time that their own existence deducts possible intracategory conflicts that cannot be obliterated. In the series, this change is shown in the absence of interaction between the new Brazilian immigrants with those of other migratory flows. Most of the time, the Brazilian people interviewed in the show interact with spouses, family members or workmates. This absence of presence – which, in many cases, says much more than the presence – represents a marked segregation between social categories which, in our point of view, deserve all the attention in future studies.

## Conclusions

Brazilian migration to Portugal nowadays indicate we are facing a new migratory flow that have been intensifying over the last few years, constituting itself as a third migratory flow. The media discourse being a powerful tool of representation in the world we live in, we intended to understand how the social representation present in the television show “Portugal pelos Brasileiros” mean and shape the perception of the phenomenon.

When we revisit the discourses that were woven about Brazilian immigrants and previous migratory flows, we perceived they fluctuate according to a series of variables. The social representation of immigrants of the first migratory flow are linked to a media movement of praising Portugal as a country with economic potential, with migration being portrayed as a movement of highly qualified people with a certain cultural bond with the country of destination. In the second flow, we see that the low degree

of qualification and density of flow stand out, along with the derogatory view of the feminization of the movement. It is common to both flows the social representation sustained by a well-defined division of gender, race and social class, which helped crystallize the structuring dimensions of the stereotypes of Brazilians in the Portuguese imaginary.

In our analysis of the TV show in question, we identified different aspects that directly relate to a current movement of re-signification of these social representations of Brazilian media, as well as the social implications of this process. To the Portugal that now appears to be characterized by its cultural component much more than its economic situation, we see reinforced the idea of a migratory flow restricted to the Lisbon region and surrounding cities with a recognized high social status, contrary to statistical data that show a much more pulverized movement in which the Northern region is prominent. About the characterization of the immigrant, we see the replication of conventionalized social categories, such as gender, race and social status which, however, are being re-worked discursively. The new Brazilian immigrants are portrayed as white and belonging to more elevated social classes, which denounces the still persistent position of inequality of black people in the Brazilian cultural matrix. Women are represented in a position of bigger representation, which could be an indication to understand the re-positioning of Brazilian migrant women in the Portuguese social structure. In this process, the autonomy of Brazilian women as migrant and their insertion in positions qualified in the work market are some of the observable differences in the discursive level. On the other hand, the lack of mention of social relationships between immigrants of this new flow and previous migratory flows revealed to be a discursive strategy for the creation, through social representation, of a new category of Brazilian immigrants in Portugal. This scenario allows both distinguishing them from the stereotypes associated to Brazilian immigrants of previous flows, which would have a direct impact in the negotiation of its social identity and integration in the Portuguese society, as promoting the migratory project of Brazilian people with a similar profile that are still in Brazil.

These observations allow us to conclude that, in the TV show in question, the new Brazilian immigrants in Portugal are being portrayed in a partial and excluding manner, disregarding the plurality compatible to the nature of this phenomenon. The media discourse used for the effect is found based in specific cultural and social-economic traits, reinforcing a social representation of the phenomenon compatible to this profile, protecting these subjects from those who migrated in previous migratory flows, at the same time it positions them in a re-signified way in the Portuguese social structure.

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## **Vem ser feliz: estratégias de controle e manipulação discursiva das emoções nos domínios publicitário e corporativo<sup>1</sup>**

### **Come on be happy: strategies of control and discursive manipulation of emotions in advertising and corporate realms**

Rogério Luiz Covaleski <sup>2</sup>

Leonardo Pinheiro Mozdzenski <sup>3</sup>

**Resumo:** *Este artigo investiga como os domínios publicitário e corporativo buscam controlar e manipular discursivamente as afetividades e subjetividades de consumidores e trabalhadores, atrelando-as aos valores organizacionais, com o fim de melhorar a eficiência produtiva, incrementar o consumo e maximizar seus lucros. Metodologicamente, procedeu-se à análise de publicidades e cases empresariais que evidenciam o papel das emoções no neoliberalismo, com base das proposições de Casaqui (2017), Castro (2013), Charaudeau (2016), Deleuze (1992), Elias (1994), Freire Filho (2010), Foucault (2004), Illouz (2011), Lazzarato (2004), entre outros. Como resultado da pesquisa, constata-se que atualmente as emoções são concebidas como um capital da empresa, assumindo a missão de vincular afetivamente consumidores e trabalhadores à alma da corporação.*

**Palavras-chave:** *emoção; controle; manipulação discursiva; publicidade.*

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**Abstract:** *This article investigates how advertising and corporate domains seek to control and manipulate discursively the affectivities and subjectivities of consumers and workers, linking them to organizational values, in order to improve productive efficiency, increase consumption and maximize profits. Methodologically, we analyzed advertisings and entrepreneurship cases that highlight the role of emotions in neoliberalism, based in Casaqui (2017), Castro (2013), Charaudeau (2016), Deleuze (1992), Elias (1994), Freire Filho (2010), Foucault (2004), Illouz (2011), Lazzarato (2004), among others. As a result of the research, we verified that today emotions are conceived as a company's capital, assuming the mission of affectively linking consumers and workers to the soul of the corporation.*

**Keywords:** *emotion; control; discursive manipulation; advertising.*

## **Introduction: consumer happiness and worker emotional management**

Love, fun, happiness, satisfaction, success, excitement, well-being. Passions, emotions and affections play a fundamental role for advertisement, constituting powerful strategies which the creative frequently uses to call attention to an audience increasingly numb by multimedia super exposure. In this context, reinforces Casaqui (2011), advertisement promotes the materialization of the feeling of happiness through consumption: abstract dreams and wishes are made present by the advertisement discourse and concretized under the form of brands and merchandise. Castro (2013) points out that, more than selling products or services, companies want affectionate engagement from their consumers. Vaz (2010) reflects that in contemporary western societies, the right to happiness is the biggest motto of the individual.

This happiness to which we would have the right and our duty to pursue it is presented as residing in the private sphere and related to consumption of goods and services. Thanks to the omnipresent advertisement discourse, just by thinking about being happy we see images of a smiling family in a home filled with objects that would bring comfort and alleviate the harshness of domestic work (VAZ, 2010, p. 135).

It is what we can observe, for instance, from the famous slogans of Brazilian ads with the theme of consumer happiness, such as A place for happy people, from Pão de Açúcar, Be you, *Be happy*, by Riachuelo, and *Come on be happy*, by Magazine Luiza (Image 1).

IMAGE 1 – “Happiness” in advertisement slogans from Pão de Açúcar, Riachuelo and Magazine Luiza.



SOURCE – YouTube (Available in: <http://bit.ly/2rXhm7O>, <http://bit.ly/2nGFPJx> e <http://bit.ly/2D-V3fSg>, respectively. Accessed in: Feb. 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2018).

Oxymoronically, it isn't uncommon to realize that this affectionate rhetoric of happiness in advertisement pieces reveals itself to be very distant from the reality of these corporations. It is the case of the companies of the three ads above, known to have illegal labor practices. In 2013, for instance, Grupo Pão de Açúcar was ordered by Ribeirão Preto's Labor Justice so they stopped submitting young apprentices to deviation of the agreed position (exploitation of child and youth labor).<sup>4</sup> And in 2020, the supermarket corporation was convicted by São José do Rio Preto's Labor Justice to pay R\$ 100,000 for collective moral damages due to maintaining employees in strenuous work hours.<sup>5</sup>

In 2017, Rio Grande do Norte's Public Prosecutor's Office of Labor moved a public civil action against Riachuelo, requesting a collective indemnization in the value of R\$ 37.7 million, due to irregularities in the apparel industry that worked for the corporation. The inspectors oversaw over 50 apparel industries in 12 cities in the state, and concluded that the tercerized employees would receive a much lower payment

4 Available at: <http://bit.ly/2DXFrNk>.

5 Available at: <http://bit.ly/2DXwsfg>.

and had less labor rights than the employees hired directly by Guararapes Confeções, controlled by Riachuelo.<sup>6</sup>

Finally, in 2013, Campinas' Labor Court sentenced Magazine Luiza to the payment of R\$ 1.5 million for cost reduction from the elimination of labor laws: the employees were submitted to workdays with excessive extra hours and the legally foreseen breaks were disrespected.<sup>7</sup> Even with the sentence, the retail store kept subjecting their employees to debilitating shifts, which led to the Labor Public Prosecutor's Office to go in labor law, in 2017, asking a penalty of R\$ 5 million. The prosecutor Gustavo Rizzo Ricardo commented the case:

Magazine Luiza has self-declared one of the best companies to work with in Brazil. However, the documents gathered show that the reality is very different. Exhausting shifts of over 14 hours reveal that the company clearly disrespects the labor law. Even after the sentence, the company refuses to correct their conduct, which shows their disrespect for their workers and even for the legal decisions. Therefore, it is necessary to exercise a penalty with pedagogic-punitive purposes so that, finally, they change the way they act (cited in MPT/Campinas' website).<sup>8</sup>

These are just a few of the occurrences in which is evidenced the discrepancy between the affectionate position manufactured by advertisement and the predatory neoliberal practices adopted by the companies. Neoliberalism considers competition as the defining characteristic of human relationships. The neoliberal ideology re-signifies citizens as consumers that have the power of exercising democratic choices through buying and selling – a process that rewards merit and punishes inefficiency (BOURDIEU, 1998).

Individuals are divided into winners and losers, since each one wins what they deserve. Following the neoliberal principles, the market offers benefits that could never be reached with the anti-natural interference of external agents, especially with state or union intervention. And any

6 Available at: <http://bit.ly/2DXTfM9>.

7 Available at: <http://bit.ly/2nwMhDh>.

8 Available at: <http://bit.ly/2s0wdP3>.

attempt of limiting the competition are considered, therefore, hostile to freedom.

However, with the purpose of getting rid of a group of social climbers and greedy companies have been gradually recurring to management tricks and discourses aiming to mask or romanticize abusive neoliberal practices. Corporate gurus create, thus, heteroclitic movements such as “conscious capitalism”, proposed by John Mackey, CEO from the North American chain of supermarkets Whole Foods Market (MACK-EY; SISODIA, 2013). The businessman advocates that the movement is positioned “contrary to the idea – very common in the business world – that every businessman wants to exploit everyone for selfish reasons” and believes that “creating a company can be a good act – often even heroic” (MACKEY, 2018, p. 89).

As a tactic to reinforce a more humanized image supposedly concerned in boosting morale and well-being of their employees – but always chasing, in fact, the growth of productivity and a bigger efficiency of the workforce – corporations have been resorting to psychologists, behavioral researchers, motivational speakers, coaching professionals and every type of “stage entrepreneur”. Casaqui (2017, p. 14) critically evaluates these inspirational narratives that publicize the idea of “entrepreneurial society”.

Entrepreneurship has turned into a *panacea*, the cure of all evil of our time: from unemployment to unhappiness, passing through the crisis of value, everything that is possible of solution, through the practice of entrepreneurial activity that combines a business plan, a positive psychology and inspiration.

In a similar train of thought about the imperative search for happiness in the corporate environment, Freire Filho (2010, p. 50) understands that “positive psychology, neuroscience and self-help guides are in charge of instrumentalizing it, redefining it as a potent organic fertilizer, a type of natural energetic additive. The researcher reproduces, still, the logic explicated in an important publication about “happiness at all costs” [Você S/A, May 11th, 2009]: “Happiness is an important fuel for



those who want to grow careerwise” [...]The feeling of doing what you like and being well with yourself allows the person to create more, stand out and, thus, to be able of filling a higher position.

The psychiatrist and writer from São Paulo Augusto Cury is one of the greatest representatives of this trend of enterprising with happiness, gaining national notoriety with his books and conferences about “emotional management” and “emotional coaching” to manage anxiety and improve professional performance (CURY, 2015). Therefore, breaking barriers between the financial and emotional universe, strategies of control and manipulation of affection in the work environment are being thought and incorporated to the foundation of economic action, in a radically new way of conceiving the process of production (ILLOUZ, 2011).

At the same time, the imbrication between economy and emotion have also been receiving relevance under the point of view of consumption. It is about the “commercialization of love” (COSTA, 2005), in other words, a continuous process of infiltration, through advertisement speech, of commercial stimuli in the consumer’s affections and the association between symbols and merchandise in love relations. According to Carrascoza (2014, p. 55), “advertisement is the mediator between the industrial production, non-humanized, and consumption, humanized, making the nomination, the individualization of products, for the consumer”.

According to França (2010, p. 218) “current society cannot give us the ‘key to happiness’ – because this society desires a key that opens many doors”. For the author, these appeals are incessantly broadcast by different media products, especially by advertisement and works of fiction, that remind us of the obligation and path to being happy. Bauman (2014, p. 67) also reflects about this “key to happiness” brought by advertisement messages:

Sometimes messages are clearly explicit, and other times are subtly hidden, but, more and more, they appeal to intellectual faculties to emotions or subconscious desires, promise, suggest and express happiness (or

pleasurable sensations, moments of joy: a portion of happiness to every life delivered little by little, in daily dosages or for hours and for a few bucks) forming part of the acquisition, possession and enjoyment of products provided in a store. The message couldn't be more clear: the path to happiness involves going shopping." (Our translation)

Therefore, goods or services can be converted into an affectionate commodity and become a "beloved" item. With that in mind, companies strive to measure and control what the consumer feels and what moves them. "Coherent with the current neoliberal concepts, one invests extensively and constantly in the affectionate engagement of consumer", affirms Castro (2013, p. 177). Still according to the author, "one work so that the consumer is simultaneously challenged and constituted as admirer, endorser and, eventually, partner and brand spokesperson with their peers" (CASTRO, 2013, p. 177).

As such, it is possible to argue that, either in the field of consumption or production, affectivities and subjectivities have been actively mobilized, shaped and controlled by neoliberal economic forces, making that subjects become, nowadays, simultaneous emotional and economic actors. In this sense, the innovation brought by the so-called emotional capitalism is precisely to understand the feelings of consumers and workers – agents traditionally located in different steps of the productive process – as equally fundamental for the affectionate capital of companies.

In this article, we defend that this phenomenon can be more well-articulated and understood through the issues generated around mechanisms of control, vigilance and manipulation of emotions in the corporate and advertisement dominions. How did the historic evolution of the social control of emotion as we know today come about? In what way the idea of emotional capitalism contributes for the change in the corporate perception about the role of feelings for consumers and employees? And how can it be seen in practice, in concrete examples?

In order to base our discussion, we primarily rely on Elias (1994a, 1994b), Foucault (1983) and Deleuze (1992), and perform a succinct

report of the ways as social control of feelings have been dealt since the end of the Middle Ages – period considered as the landmark of affectionate vigilance in contemporary days. Then, the research will turn specifically for the understanding of strategies of affective control used currently both in advertisement and in organizations, that aim to measure direct, regulate or even make a prognosis of feelings of consumers and employees of a company (ILLOUZ, 2011; ANDRADE, 2015). Later, we will explicit the main techniques of discursive manipulation of emotions listed by Charaudeau (2016), originally conceived for the analysis of the political discourse, being recovered and reconfigured here to our purposes.

Throughout the article, we will present advertisement pieces and cases, as well as news and information of the advertisement and corporate world, in order to exemplify and unravel theoretical discussions. Finally, with the goal of putting into action the model of analysis elaborated by Charaudeau (2016), we elected as object the “endomarketing discourse” – in other words, geared towards the internal marketing of the companies – since it contemplates the control and manipulation of emotions both in the advertisement discourse (of agencies that share their services of consultancy for enhancement of the work climate) and business discourse (of organizations that want their employees to engage in the mission and values of the company). Lastly, we selected for study the advertisement film *Endomarketing*, by the agency Angelcom, because it has the biggest number of views in YouTube among videos of similar content.<sup>9</sup>

### **A brief history about the social control of emotions**

In many organization lies a crystalized conception in more traditional neoliberalism, but still well diffused into the current corporate imaginary: the duty of the adoption of a rational and objective posture of self-control of feelings in the workplace. In this conventional view, the

9 Available at: <http://bit.ly/2dZiNuE>.

emotional component would be attached to the final step of the productive process, when advertisement would play the role of affective charm and seduce their consumers, persuading them to purchase the good or service offered. However, that hasn't always been that way.

In the classic *The Process*, Elias (1994a and 1994b) analyzes the effects of forming the Modern State on individual's customs and personality. The author unveils the extensive historic mesh of profound transformations occurred in society since the Middle Ages through contemporary days, towards, civilization. One of the central points of the work is discussing in what extent these sociopolitical transformations influenced the construction of affections and the way they were socially shared until arriving to the modern conception of control of individual emotions by external imposition and by self-control.

The thesis sustained by the German sociologist is that the creation of National States in Europe exercised, throughout time, a decisive role in behavior, feelings and structures of control in western society.

This continuous, uniform and stable regulation of passions and affections will become a constitutive part of society. It is in this sense that, according to Foucault (1983), in the 17th and 18th centuries, the "disciplinary society" appears as a form of domination, introjected into social institutions and affecting human actions, habits and feelings. In modern society, industrial and capitalistic, the power economy concludes that surveillance is more efficient and profitable than punishment. In disciplinarian societies, the control of space, time and movement is submitted then to a "panoptic surveillance over docile bodies confined to prisons, schools, hospitals, barracks and factories (BRUNO, 2013, p. 60).

In the 20th century, with the end of the Second World War, emerge forces in society that found a new order, identified with changes in the capitalist world, especially regarding technological innovations. The use of these new technologies for social control is transformed in the most decisive manifestation of the exercise of power in current society. It is what Deleuze (1992) calls "societies of control". Instead of discipline and confinement, the modulation of societies of control is characterized

by the invisibility and the nomadism that is expanded along the networks of information. Control develops strategies increasingly less visible and material, and more and more subtle, virtual, dispersed, fluid, immaterial (HARDT, 2000).

Deleuze (1992, p. 223) still criticizes when affirming that currently he considers that “companies have a soul, which is effectively the most terrifying news in the world. Marketing is now the instrument of social control, and forms an imprudent race of our lords”. In fact, as Lazzarato (2004) reminds us, contemporary capitalism does not have an only goal of producing goods or services. Before, it desires to create worlds, subjectivities, affectivities. The company does not manufacture goods, but the world where the good exist in, it does not produce more consumers and workers, but subjects that inhabit this free world, playful and creative built by them.

A great example of how advertisement build affectionate worlds can be seen in a Sadia advertisement in 2017, titled Since 73 years ago, everyday + Sadia.<sup>10</sup> The piece consists of a compilation of one minute of historic advertisements of the brand, broadcasted from 1969 to 2016, with strong sentimental appeal, perceived in the classic jingle, with children voices: “It is good to know someone really loves you / Good to know someone wants you well / For all your life, inside your chest / It’s so good to know there’s a love like this”. As revealed by Cecilia Mondino, brand director from BRF (Sadia’s controlling company)

The consumer has an emotional relation with Sadia, because the history of the brand is meshed into people’s history. We perceive in researches that the brand or the own products are capable of unlocking memories and marking moments of the consumer’s life. Because of that, we invested in a campaign that values that connection and relation of partnership built throughout these years. (*apud* LEAL, 2017)

More than twenty ads with unforgettable images and catchphrases compose the film, such as the scene of the boy identifying Sadia’s ham

10 Disponível em: <http://bit.ly/2BXw4f6>.

in a blind test, or the boys singing “Christmas Turkey”, or the lady that used to complain with “No way, Jose!” (Image 2).

Image 2 – Scenes from the ad 73 years after, every day + *Sadia*.



SOURCE – YouTube (available at <http://bit.ly/2BXw4f6>. Accessed in: Feb. 4th, 2018).

In order to motivate a greater affectionate engagement from the audience, a hotsite<sup>11</sup> was created so that people would share their memories about Sadia and these iconic ads. Among the testimonies, we could read several testimonials that narrate personal and family stories mixing with the professional life – theirs or their relative’s – within Sadia. In other moments, we see pictures that describe memories from employees. “How happy I was in my first day of work”, “It wasn’t just work, it was life, it was a family!”. And “it is touching to be a part of this story” (Image 3).

11 Available at: <https://www.sadia.com.br/nasuahistoria/home>.

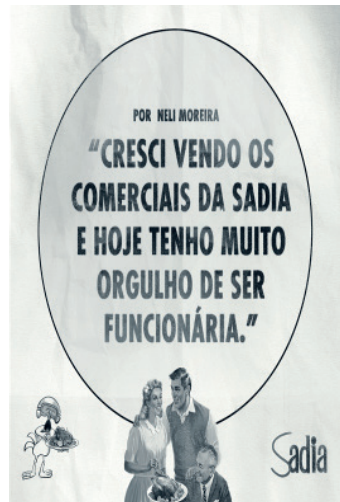
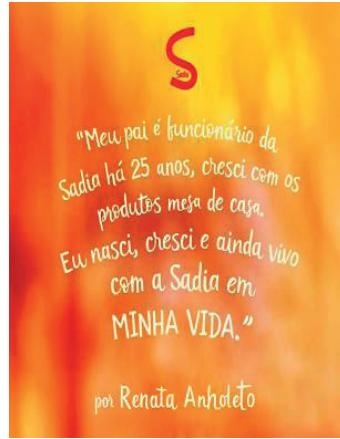
Image 3 – Images/testimonies from the *hotsite*, “in your story”, by Sadia.



SOURCE – Sadia (available in: <http://bit.ly/2Ed5iEr>. Accessed in: Feb. 4th, 2018).



IMAGE 3 – Images/testimonial from the hotsite “In your story”, by Sadia.



SOURCE – Sadia (Available at: <http://bit.ly/2Ed5iEr>. Accessed in: Feb. 4th, 2018).

These testimonies reveal, therefore, the advertisement exploitation of affectionate aspects of their actors, in which consumers and workers share the same feeling in relation to the brand. Hence this “new” capitalism being called *emotional capitalism*.

The notion of emotional capital arrived as a specific field of human capital to receive investment. These emotions became seen as determining



elements of employee motivation, from decision-making, resistance of risks and changes in flexible organizations and the persistence of the search for goals, cooperation and the coordination of productive processes, the fidelization of clients and deviations considered irrational in the corporate behavior. [...] Emotions emerge, thus, as a capital of the company inseparable from the qualities incorporated in workers and consumers (ANDRADE, 2015, p. 730).

We will see that this discourse of “new” capitalism is nothing more than a set of remodeled tactics of emotional control of consumers and employees.

### **Affection control in the advertisement and corporate field**

When discussing the fabrication of this affective world created by contemporary capitalism, Lazzarato (2004, p. 96-97) stresses that

[...] This world is constituted by arrangements of enunciation, by regimens of signs whose expression is called advertisement and whose manifestation constitutes a request, an order, that are, in themselves, an evaluation, a judgement, a belief about the world, about yourself and others. What is expressed isn't an ideological evaluation, but an incitement, a request to adopt a lifestyle, in other words, adopting a form of attire, a way of having a body, a way of eating, communicating, living, moving, having a style, a way of speaking, etc.

In this sense, it is up to the media, and, especially, advertisement, the mission of operating as a “pedagogical locus”, instructing the audience on how to behave in order of getting success in their daily life and fitting to the current social conduct (FISCHER, 2012; DOMINGUES, 2016). Advertisement arrives, thus, as one of the dominions that have developed the most in current days with the purpose of dictating new habits, values and beliefs, as well as teaching how people should behave, what they should buy, how they should feel. [...] Advertisement, much more than a tool in the field of marketing, that aims the persuasion of

consumers to generate sales of products and services, is a tool of social control (DOMINGUES, 2016, p. 15).

The search for understanding the role exercised by emotions and feelings in advertisement is not something entirely new. Since the 1920's, researchers seek to unveil this phenomenon, especially from a measurist perspective. In other words, most researches in this field present as main goal to find, through increasingly sophisticated technological resources, forms of quantitatively needing the audience's emotional response from an advertisement ad, and, consequently, an affectionate image of the brand (according to POELS; DeWITTE, 2006). And this eagerness for deciphering, monitoring and directing how people sensitively relate to brands is only increasing after the creation of the internet and digital media, where internet users are over stimulated to openly discuss their opinions, beliefs, likes and dislikes.

This exacerbated subjectivity, responsible for blurring borders between the fields of public and private, have been calling the attention of intellectuals of human and social sciences that already advocate an affective twist in this fields of knowledge (CLOUGH, 2007). It sustains the recognition of affectivity as one of the central elements for the understanding of subjectivity and the interactions among individuals in contemporaneity. The advertisement universe – always aware of the behavioral tendencies due to its market strategies – cannot ignore this phenomenon.

Specifically in the advertisement and corporate fields, the interest for the subject being generally treated within the logic of *fetichism of emotion*. Feelings are objectified, measured and made as commodity, in other words, disposed as goods to be consumed. Companies, advertisement agencies and research institutes tirelessly pursue the most accurate measuring method, capable of reading and interpreting affectivities in a more objective way with more productive (financial) results. With that, the intention is to value the “main asset of a company”, which is their brand – both in the consumer (“external client”) perspective and under

the prism of who works in the company (which begins to be called in the current corporate jargon as a “internal client”) (THOMSON, 1998);

On the other hand, there are those who criticize the technicity and the simulated reality of emotions in the corporate universe. It is the case of the sociologist Eva Illouz (2011), in her book *Love in the Time of Capital*, in which she defends that the corporate world have been turning into a system of production and management of feelings. That is manifested, according to the author, not only in the tireless effort to decode and create prognosis on emotional reactions of the consumer audience facing a brand or advertisement, but also regarding the control of emotional behavior of the employees themselves.

The difference is that, in fact, this control is no longer founded in the panoptic surveillance discussed by Foucault (1983). The strategies used nowadays are much more subtle and effective. This is what also affirms Andrade (2015, p. 738):

The techniques adopted by the corporate culture and by the economy of experiences seek to awake individual and/or collective excitement with the goal of affectively link workers and consumers to the company, obtaining their subjective engagement. The emotional and expressive rules promoted are the so-called “positive emotions”, the worker must feel and show himself motivated, committed, excited, optimistic and self-confident, developing, in relation to his colleagues and clients, moral feelings such as sympathy, empathy, loyalty, trust, responsibility, solidarity and teamwork spirit, even when the conditions of possibility of these feelings are undermined by job instability, the ephemerality of flexible relations, by fierce competition and the threat of unemployment. Workers, contrary to what happened in Fordism, can no longer manifest displeasure for their job and their co-workers, running the risk of being seen as unmotivated and non-cooperative, a mortal sin in the current work market.

According to Illouz (2011), capitalism only gave importance to the affective life of employees with the goal of obtaining better results in the production and, consequently, bigger profits. “The language of affection and productive efficiency were intertwining even more, one shaping the other” (ILLOUZ, 2011, p. 25).

This process is historically explained by Andrade (2015) from what the author calls genealogy of the anthropologic conception of the emotional economic man, linked to the concept of emotional capital. According to the sociologist, when analyzing the management discourse and the neoliberal economy on emotional capital, it is possible to determine an unprecedented coherence in the construction of emotional life of workers and consumers, being a constitutive part in history of the forms of feeling in contemporary society.

As clarified by the intellectual, from the 1990's, specialists from the company universe began to point out the role of emotions as the crucial factor in the competition between companies, defending, even, that emotional skills are decisive to establish the success or failure of a professional career. With that, entrepreneur, managers, consultants and researchers of this field began to try to understand better what are emotions and how they can be (self) managed to achieve more efficient results and boost financial profit.

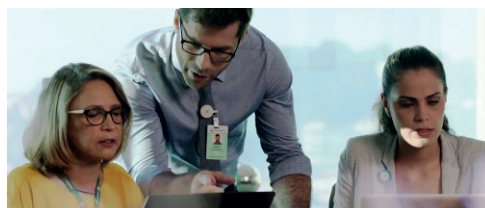
Therefore, "the conception of an emotional economic man concerns the management of workers; the devices of management power build the emotional life of individuals linking them to corporate objectives (ANDRADE, 2015, p. 727). The market logic of neoliberal governability, founded in the competition between companies and the maximization of income, becomes internalized by the individuals. They become, therefore, an "entrepreneur of self" (FOUCAULT, 2004, p. 232), taking on company values, such as control, performance, rationality, competitiveness (among their peers), etc.

In this scenario, the feelings are transformed into decisive factors to motivate employees of a company, from which it is expected to be proud and happy to "fill the shoes" of the company. They must identify themselves, thus, as part of the "team" or "family" in that corporation, cooperating to satisfy and create bonds of fidelity with the clients. When they apprehend as cognitively mediated strategies that, direct and indirectly, produce financial goods and generate contentment, emotions are converted into an object of management. According to Andrade (2015,

p. 730), “emotions emerge, thus, as a capital of a company inseparable from the qualities incorporated in workers and consumers”.

In order to attest the relevance of this discussion, it is interesting to notice precisely these circumstances in which there is a disruption, in other words, when this affective aspect ran out of control of the companies and what measures were taken to solve the resulting problems. A first situation can occur when a scandal happens in the corporation, such as involvement with corruption or an infringement of quality standards, tainting the audience’s feeling of trust and respect to the ethics and security before the brand. That is what happened recently with Petrobras and JBS. In both cases, the solution that was found was producing advertisement campaigns in which the employees give their voice/image to the company act as sponsors of the credibility of the brand (Image 4).

IMAGE 4 – Ads *Moving on*, by Petrobras, and *Quality is a priority*, by JBS.

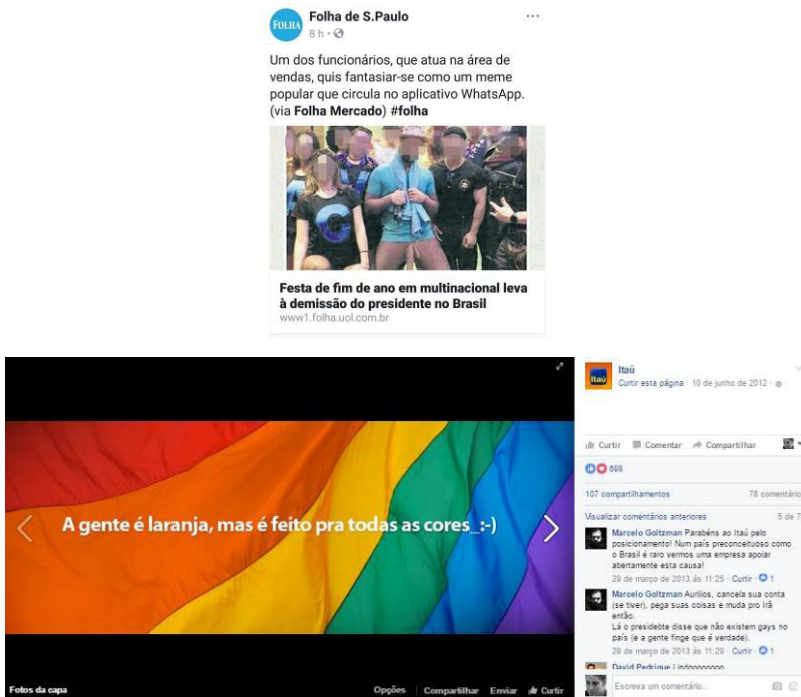


SOURCE – YouTube (available at: <http://bit.ly/2E03oUk> e <http://bit.ly/2GLlwTS>, respectively.. Accessed in: Feb. 4th, 2018).

On the other hand, employees that did not follow the value guide-book of the company can be penalized with a dismissal. Two recent cases gained media repercussion. In 2017, the Brazilian branch of Salesforce, North American software company, fired their president Mauricio Prado and other two employees after a controversy involving a costume

party in the company, in which one of the employees wore a racist costume (Image 5, left).<sup>12</sup> In another situation, also in 2017, an awarded manager from Banco Itaú was fired for posting a video on social media kissing his fiancée.<sup>13</sup> The oxymoron here is that Itaú externally adopts a pro-sexual diversity discourse (Figura 5, right) what seems to indicate that what a company preaches is not always what is practiced.

IMAGE 5 – Employees fired for not complying company values: Salesforce and Banco Itaú.



SOURCE – Folha de S. Paulo's and Banco Itaú's Facebook page (available at: <http://bit.ly/2nGqpEY> e <http://bit.ly/2E222wo>, respectively. Accessed in: Feb. 4th, 2018).

Due to the importance given by the management of affectivities in the company, they frequently conceive new tools for control and

12 Available at: <http://bit.ly/2E00V0e>.

13 Available at: <http://bit.ly/2GL2zR4>.

surveillance of employee's emotions. One of the main management tools consists in endomarketing, whose goal – under the critical point of view – is to manipulate employee's feelings aiming at the increase of productivity and profits of the company. How it comes about will be the theme of the following section.

### **Endomarketing and the discursive manipulation of emotions at companies**

Generally, the notion of endomarketing is related to strategies and actions typical of corporate practices geared specifically towards employees of the company (endo = internal), such as the enhancement of internal communication, the performance of events and initiatives of integration, the satisfaction survey or corporate climate, the promotion of motivational talks, etc. (BEKIN, 2004). According to the business consultant Saul Faingaus Bekin – who coined the term in Brazil in the 1990's – “endomarketing consists in marketing actions geared towards the internal audience of the company, with the goal of promoting among employees and departments values destined to serve the client” (BEKIN, 1995, p. 2).

According to Brum (2005, p. 34), the practice of endomarketing proposes to give the employee “education, care and attention”, with the goal of making them well prepared and well informed so they can also become, in turn, “a creative and happy person, capable of surprising, enchanting and exciting the client”. For the author, “today we can no longer speak of a company without thinking of love, because they are made by people, and love is something that surrounds each and every type of relationship” (BRUM, 2005, p. 27).

When critically evaluating this corporate practice, Andrade (2015, p. 738-739) exposes:

The marketing of experiences can be mobilized for the internal audience, promoting events, scenarios, internal communications, corporate competitions and awards in the form of experiences, in a way of transmitting emotional rules and linking the affective memory of employees to the

company. [...]In addition, in the post-Fordism era, not only awards, but the work itself can be approximated of the imperative of “experimentation” of consumption when characterizing by the variation, innovation, risk and emotional performance. The work is not presented in the managers’ discourse as something that only demands sacrifice and application, but also as something fun, emotional and sensorially exciting, like an adventure filled with risks and adrenaline, a liberating experience.

It is in this sense that the terminological repertoire produced by endomarketing manuals – such as those created by Brum (2010), Costa (2012), Cerqueira (1994), among others – discursively builds affective worlds in which employees are “collaborators”, “cooperators”, “associates” (NETTO; BRAZ, 2006, p. 217). With this control over the rhetoric of/in corporations, they seek to camouflage the deterioration of labor conditions of the working class, the growing precariousness and flexibilization of work, the deficiency and/or elimination of labor rights by politics committed solely with the neoliberal interests of the capital, among many other aspects that evidenced vulnerability in the employment bonds in Brazil and the systematic negligence with the quality of life of the worker.

This control comes about intrinsically through the manipulation of discourses that circulate in the corporate field. As highlighted by Fairclough (2017, p. 26), the “linguistic use is taking on a larger importance through means of production and social control within the workplace”. Until 1970’s, with the disciplinary control found preponderantly in Fordism, the surveillance of employees was based in a strict hierarchical structuration, in which the prime of order and subservience obedience is dogmatically assumed. Nowadays, the control over the work and productivity of employees is based on much more elaborate cognitive-discursive strategies.

According to Fairclough (2017, p. 26), “the goal is to establish new cultural values, in which employees are “entrepreneurs”, “self-motivated” and [...] ‘self-directed’”. Instead of the servile and resigned compliance of tasks, they stimulate the excellence in service, the favorable corporate



climate, competitive advantage, the channeling of strategic efforts, the synergy of company goals and their internal audience, the experience of personal satisfaction and accomplishment at work, the stimulus to meritocracy, the recognition for individual performance, among many other implicitly manipulatory clichés of the corporate jargon, easily found in the guides for internal marketing.

When investigating the manipulatory discourse, Charaudeau (2016, p. 68-69)<sup>14</sup> points towards four fundamental characteristics. First, the manipulator does not reveal their real purposes, camouflaging them under the shape of a reverse discourse or assuming the appearance of being acting in benefit of the person who is being manipulated. This is what typically happens with the misleading argument that the recent Brazilian labor reform was made in favor of the worker, because it would generate more jobs. Historic legal guarantees were taken from employees under the allegation that this would improve the company conditions for hiring, which wasn't true.<sup>15</sup>

In fact, the increase of temporary and part-time jobs ends up creating a bigger feeling of insecurity and instability for employees. In addition, less strict laws on workhours and duration of contracts may enable the exploitation of workforce – without the legal protection of a minimum workload – and worsen the income distribution between employees and employers, on behalf of the holders of capital.

A second characteristic of manipulatory discourse happens when the manipulator, with the goal of impressing the person manipulated, makes use of a position of legitimacy, which is given by context. In other words, by being a “entrepreneurial director”, the capitalist owner holds a place of prestige and is socially recognized as a institutionally legitimated authority in that situation.

The spirit of capitalism is precisely the set of beliefs associated to the capitalist order that contribute to justify and sustain that order, legitimating

14 Charaudeau (2016) performs his analysis using as examples basically political discourse. In this article, therefore, we come from the proposal of the author, adapting it to the advertisement and entrepreneurial fields.

15 Available at: <http://bit.ly/2IMPayi>.

the forms of action and the dispositions coherent with it. These justifications, either general or practical, local or global, expressed in terms of virtue or in terms of justice, give a base to the accomplishment of more or less hard tasks, and, in a general way, to the adherence of a lifestyle, in a sense that is favorable to the capitalist order (BOLTANSKI; CHIAPELLO, 2009, p. 42).

In third place, the manipulatory discourse, the manipulator builds an image capable of paralyzing the opinion of the manipulated person, either through a threat, or through dissimulation. The corporate threat comes about, for instance, in cases of moral harassment within the corporate environment, with “tough bosses” submitting workers to degrading and offensive situations, in a frequent and everlasting manner, throughout the work journey and in the fulfillment of their functions.

In turn, the dissimulation in corporations have as main purpose to make workers believe they have a significant and essential participation in the decision-making process of the company, and that they are not mere pieces in the productive process. They conceal the fact that, in neoliberal capitalism, the employee is not a proprietary of the means of production, and, because of that, the only alternative left is to sell their workforce to guarantee their livelihood. With the purpose of promoting a cosmetic appreciation of their subordinates, organizations create, thus, the so-called Programs of Quality of Life in the Workplace, destined, in practice, to the enhancement of productivity and profit (SANT’ANNA; KILIMNIK; MORAES, 2011).

Finally, in fourth place, Charaudeau (2016) reinforces that the manipulator dramatizes their speech in a way of sensitizing the manipulated person, even terrorizing them. This last characteristic of the manipulatory discourse will be more detailed ahead, based in the analysis of the advertisement piece of a internal marketing company.

In synthesis, therefore, the capitalist manipulatory discourse desires, ultimately, to control the interlocutors/workers when provoking an incitation so that they can change their opinion about a determined topic, adhering to the position of a manipulator/proprietor of the means of

production. With that goal, this type of discourse often recurs to arguments of a moral or emotional nature (braveness, fear, compassion, motivation, satisfaction, etc.), being frequently associated to a potential sanction. This sanction can be positive, as it is the case of promises of obtaining future advantages, such as the offer of variable income, bonus and rewards, benefit and health plan, etc. Or it can be negative, recurring to the imminence of a tragedy and impeding a more pondered reflection of the manipulated person, such as the threat of being fired.

Charaudeau (2016) argues still that one of the most used resources of control by the manipulatory discourse for the creation of common sense is the manipulation by the seduction. In the corporate environment, the manipulator manufactures an ethos or a self-image of credibility (when based itself in the frame of rationality) or charisma (when it seeks a more affectionate framing), aiming to conquer the company employees when shoing a natural leader, a serious director, a competent manager, someone who “makes it work”, etc. Classic social symbols are retrieved, such as the hope of prosperity, the expectation of success by individual merit, the feeling of joy for a fulfilled duty and a worked victory, etc., always sustained by the image of the manipulator.

Charaudeau (2016, p. 90) reinforces that this unfolds through the “reenactment of a drama” in three acts. In order to illustrate for the present article, we can observe how this dramatization happens in the corporate discourse through the analysis of the advertisement piece of a Panamenian agency of internal marketing Angelcom (Image 6).

IMAGE 6 – The three acts of enactment in Angelcom’s advertisement.



SOURCE – YouTube (available at: <http://bit.ly/2dZiNuE>. Accessed in: Feb. 4th, 2018).

Initially, in the first act of reenactment, the manipulatory discourse makes a fuss of a crisis situation, bringing up the typified scheme of a social disorder in which employees are victims (social crisis, economic crisis, etc.). In the advertisement film in animation, we are presented to the daily life of the character Juan “one of many Panamanians, who, in their daily lives, work to bring livelihood to their homes”. Juan wakes up early, changes clothes quickly and after two hours in his commute, has to make an effort to be grateful to at least have a job. In the firm, Juan has to face the indifference of his coworkers and the discomfort of an inhospitable workplace. The employee is frustrated and clearly facing a crisis (Image 6, on the left).

Continuous act, according to Charaudeau (2016), the dramatization of the manipulatory discourse has to identify a source of evil responsible for the disorder, being found and claimed to be a scapegoat. The fault falls over Juan himself, who spends “all workday thinking about when he will leave”. Juan is cited as an example of “thousands of employees which, overtime, decrease productivity by being unmotivated and dissatisfied” (Image 6, center). The employee is also described as “without any feelings of identity with his workplace”. The concept that underlies

here is that Juan has to necessarily change to fit to what the company expects of him.

Finally, in the third and last act of reenactment, there is a saving solution, embodied in the image of a “savior”, committed in repairing the situation of disarray. The internal marketing agency offers themselves, in the end, as capable of generating a “better work climate, instigating the commitment [...], the culture of the organization and, specially, motivating people to work with passion so that everyone works towards the same goal: the company’s goal.” To do so, the brand, values and culture of the organization must be sold to the employee, with the goal of “reinforcing the empowerment and generating a climate of labor happiness” (Image 6, to the right).

In other words, it doesn’t matter, deep down, that Juan keeps having to wake up early every day, remaining trapped into a bus for two hours before arriving the office, that the indifference of his colleagues won’t necessarily go away, nor that his workload, tight deadlines and responsibilities will continue the same. What matters for Juan to keep his job – and not suffer the negative sanction of being fired or demoted – is that he basically shows himself as happy, fulfilled and productive in the workplace. If Juan does not feel that way, he is the main responsible for being incapable of “giving his best” and not sharing the soul of the company, for not having perseverance, motivation and self-confidence, for not being pro-active nor generating value, etc. Poor Juan...

## **Final Considerations**

Throughout the article, it was possible to observe how the affective twist in the discursive field of corporations operates with the purpose of producing subjectified subjectivities and docile bodies, controlling and delimitating possibilities of feeling and acting, but making the subject believe to actively participate in the decisive process. In the advertisement field, that is manifested by the tireless search of companies for the measurement of the emotional response of the consumer, trying to understand how to direct behaviors, beliefs and desires to make them

affectively closer to the brands. In the corporate environment, in turn, this phenomenon is perceived in marketing strategies geared towards the control of emotions in the internal audience, having as the main purpose to camouflage the exploitation of workforce by the owners of means of production and promoting neoliberal values, such as competition, individuality and accumulation of goods. Furthermore, it was also discussed above how, under the optics of emotional capital, the connection between these two actors – consumers and workers – is increasingly closer and more intense.

In the analyzed case of the internal marketing agency, for instance, it became evident that the message of the advertisement animation ends up promoting the culpability of the weakest link of the employment relationship: the employee. In other words, initially, it would only be necessary for the company to adopt internal marketing techniques offered by Angelcom, to exempt of any decurring problems of the low performance of the employee and personally be responsible for his/her failure in the corporation. By being controlled about what, when and how they must feel and/or express himself affectively, the employee sees himself destitute of what characterizes him as human being on behalf of “a lot of rhetoric on individual freedom, autonomy, personal responsibility and the virtues of privatization, free market and free trade” (HARVEY, 2011, p. 16).

Finally, it is important to register that not always that neoliberal dynamic of emotional capitalism is accepted in a peaceful and unquestionable way. There are focus of resistance and dissidence, constituted by economic subjects that are committed to minimally conquering an autonomy, in a bigger or smaller degree, in the management of their emotions and subjectivities, outside big corporations. Deliberately, they propose themselves not to give up control over their feelings, not being subject to the advertisement consumerist logic and the values of corporations where they are clients or for who they work for.<sup>16</sup>

16 See Hollenbeck and Zinkhan (2006).

It is the case, for example, of the counter-hegemonic movements such as *Lowsumerism*, *Adbusters Media Foundation* and *L'Observatoire Indépendant de la publicité* – which warn for the harm made by capitalism, by the exaggerated consumption and fight for a more responsible advertisement; *Brandalism*, *Anti Pub (Résistance à l'agression publicitaire)* and *The Bubble Project* – which promote guerilla artistic actions in public spaces, with interventions on billboards, posters and street ads. These are collective initiatives of political consumption that intend to create some tension in the status quo and question the institutionalized forms of (re)production of domination by capitalist elite and the abuse of power over consumers and workers.

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## As novas territorialidades da informação e o não-lugar da notícia

### The new territorialities of information and the non-place of news

João Guilherme da Costa Franco Silva D'Arcadia<sup>1</sup>

Juliano Maurício de Carvalho<sup>2</sup>

**Resumo:** *Este artigo busca relacionar o novo campo de fruição dos conteúdos noticiosos, aqui definidos como “novas territorialidades da informação”, com o crescente avanço das mídias sociais. Para tanto, apresenta os conceitos de territorialidade e não-lugar e os articula com os resultados da pesquisa de consumo de mídia Digital News Report, do Reuters Institute, em suas edições de 2019 e 2020. Partindo da hipótese de que esses ambientes se efetivam como um espaço fluido e disperso de veiculação de conteúdos noticiosos e não noticiosos, o artigo busca contribuir com uma reflexão a respeito dos impactos dos novos espaços de fruição da informação, que, dadas suas características peculiares, tendem a estimular a disseminação não apenas de relatos factuais apurados, mas também de conteúdos enganosos ou materializados de maneira não profissional.*

**Palavras-chave:** *jornalismo; mídias sociais; consumo de mídia; territorialidades.*

**Abstract:** *This article seeks to relate the new field of enjoyment of news content, here defined as “new territorialities of information”, with the growing advance of social. To this end, it presents the concepts of territoriality and non-place interacts with the results of the Reuters Institute’s Digital News Report consumer survey, released in June 2019 and June 2020. Based on the hypothesis that these environments become effective as a fluid and dispersed space for the dissemination of*

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*news and non-news content, the article seeks to contribute to a reflection about the impacts of the new spaces for the enjoyment of information, given their peculiar characteristics, they tend to stimulate the dissemination not only of factual reports but also of misleading or unprofessional materialized content.*

**Keywords:** *journalism; social media; media consumption; territorialities.*

## Introduction

The popularization of digital and social media energized the debate about the new possibilities of sharing content. Traditional platforms – press, radio and TV – are going through a deep process of re-signification derived from this scenario. Even the internet is not the same as when it was developed by the end of the last century. The worldwide web stopped being trapped to computers and to the www to be subsumed into a wider network which includes mobile devices and other forums of consumption and debate, of which the browser corresponds only to a part of it.<sup>3</sup>

Beyond the evident consequences of the reposition of the market of media corporations, the configuration (still uncertain) of these new environments has provoked expressive changes in relation of users with the symbolic processes coming from this transformation – which also happens in consumption relations, the access to cultural goods, etc. In this article, we seek to evaluate that impact on the public debate, reflecting about how its preferential professional catalyst since the 19th century – journalism – has been dialoguing with what we will call new territorialities of information. Coming from the hypothesis that social media have dislocated the spotlight of factual information linked by the conventional press, we intend to understand the consequences of this gap portrait for misinformation and/or delegitimation of the professional verification of data.

The contributions exposed here have as theoretic base the concepts of territoriality (MEDEIROS, 2009; LITTLE, 2002) and non-place (AUGÉ, 1992), considered fundamental for the understanding of fluid spaces now occupied by informative dispersion. Such reflections come from the methodic contrast between the results of three recent world reports about media consumption. Brazilian Media Research (Brazil, 2017), Digital News Report (Reuters Institute, 2019 and 2020)

3 It became known the research result from Quartz/Mozilla in 2017, according to which 55% of the Brazilians interviewed considered that “Facebook is the Internet”. Available at [https://d20x8vt12bnfa2.cloudfront.net/InternetHealthReport\\_v01.pdf](https://d20x8vt12bnfa2.cloudfront.net/InternetHealthReport_v01.pdf). Accessed in: July 31st, 2019.

and Yearbook of Communication (OberCom, 2018). For this article, we chose in a synthetic manner the conclusions of studies by Reuters, co-relating it to events whose role in social media seem to be decisive in this period.

## **Territorialities of information**

The concept of territoriality is intimately related to the symbolic appropriation made of territory. Originally applied in studies in Geography, Anthropology and Urbanism, it was usually limited to physical spaces – the village, the field, the city – only to then be incorporated to non-physical spaces – symbolic exchanges, virtuality, the digital environment.

Either in geography (SPOSITO, 2009) or in anthropology (LITTLE, 2002), the concept of territoriality, for effects of this study, dialogues with the need for concretizing a physical or virtual space that projects to its frequenters a system of utility. As Sposito defines, territoriality “designates the quality gained by the territory according to its use or apprehension by the human being” (SPOSITO, 2009, p. 11).

Risério (2013), by proposing a systemic analysis of construction of Brazil based in the ideologies projected in their cities, understands that territoriality is founded by fine mechanisms of interference in the urban space – from the Amerindian country to the property speculation nowadays, passing by the Portuguese colonization, slavery and migratory flows. Territoriality, applied to this context, is given through the relations built in certain territory: native, if constituted as a genuine object of communities, but also exotic, if sedimented by new dominant people or by the economic power.

Territoriality, in addition to the generic meaning or the broader sense, where it is seen as the simple “quality of being a territory”, is often conceived in a strict sense as the symbolic dimension of territory. When talking of territoriality, we would be emphasizing the symbolic character, even if it isn’t the dominant element nor it exhausts the characteristics of territory (COSTA, 2004, p. 74).

In this first point of view, territoriality is linked to the space through which there is fruition in human relations, in which symbolic exchanges are established. To do so, it needs to be incorporated by its inhabitants through identity markers – in a constant exchange between recognition and distinction.

By identifying this path as an effect of “supermodernity”, Augé (1992) details what he considers to be a non-place: a space deprived of a clear identity, generic and transitory. Comfortable, by similarity with other similar environments.

If a place can be defined as identitary, relational and historic, a space that cannot be defined by identitary, or relational or historic will be defined as a non-place. The hypothesis defended here is that the supermodernity is producing non-places, in other words, spaces that are not, in itself, anthropologic places and that, contrary to Baudelaire’s modernity do not integrate old spaces. (AUGÉ, 1992, p. 61)

At that point, the best examples of non-places were enterprises that were multiplying in the western world: airports, highways, duty free shops, hotel chains and theme parks. Equal everywhere, they promote the detachment of the time-space relation – in a way it is possible to spend hours in these environments without realizing how much time was actually spent, as well as the climate changes that happened in that period.

Even in an embryonic stage, Augé was anticipating that the advance of communication technologies could establish non-places, in what he called “cable or wireless networks, which mobilize the extraterrestrial space for a communication so strange that often only puts the individual in touch with another image of himself” (1992, p. 74). In 2019, in an interview to the newspaper *El País*, the author revisited his concept by reinforcing that the internet had put humanity in a state of permanent non-place.

Before verifying these implications in the contemporary communicational environment, object of this reflection, we must see other

contributions about the de-territorialization provoked by globalizing phenomena.

Recognizing the term as “increasingly uncomfortable”, Canclini (2006) observes that one of the signs of post-modernity is *transterritoriality*. While in modern societies, identities were territorial and monolingual, in the following periods, what we’ve seen was the eruption of transterritorial and multilingual communities.

The phenomenon can be observed, for the author, in the search for “un-urbanized itineraries” which would contract the city fruition of a tour ride, for example. Franchise theme parks, such as Disney, take the place of historic itineraries marked by the fruition, unicity and authenticity.

The dissemination of new technologies, in the other hand, would dislocate citizenship manifestation from their classic spaces of political participation for the approaches made by the media.

These electronic media that made popular masses erupt in the public sphere dislocating the performance of citizenship towards consumption practices. There were established other ways of getting informed, of understanding the communities which we belong to, of conceiving and exercising rights (CANCLINI, 2006, p. 39).

The de-territorialization becomes a cultural perception. Consumption goods stop having a place of evidenced origin – the chain of production, often times, includes dozens of countries until it receives a fashion brand. Multinational and transnational corporations share their products in all western nations, distributed in equally standardized supermarket chains: non-things, sold in non-places.

Ortiz (2000) talks about the concept of re-territorialization in the context of internationalization of culture and symbolic consumption goods. The author highlights that the redesign of territorialities is an ontological premise of mass media.

The media contain a dimension that transcends their territorialities. A technical circuit about which messages are supported is also responsible

for a type of civilization that is internationalized. Movies, advertisement pieces, popular genres of music and TV shows are forms of expression that circulate within them, regardless of their origins (ORTIZ, 2000, p. 60).

Belochio (2009) remind us that journalism also had an institution-alized territory, whose relative stability was shaken by the arrival and dissemination of new technologies, in a process of de-territorialization. After the period of rupture, the structures are reorganized in a process of re-territorialization, “understood as the reorganization of a system that mixes characteristics of your traditional identity with different parameters of operation” (BELOCHIO, 2009, p. 205).

### **The map of news consumption**

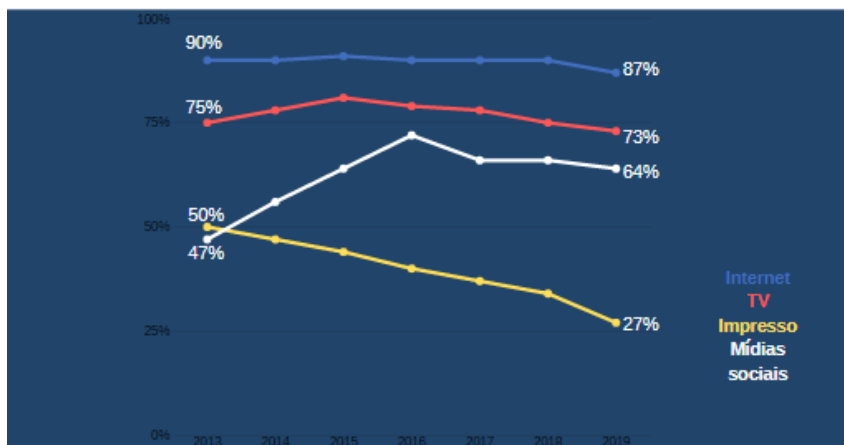
In order to outline what we call new territorialities of information, we loan the data supplied by the 2019 and 2020 edition of the Reuters Digital News Report, which analyze the consumption of media products, by platform, in 38 countries of the Americas, Europe and Asia. It is the 8th edition of the study, considered very important for presenting quantitative and qualitative aspects. For effect of this article, we used the data verified in Brazil.<sup>4</sup>

In the historic series observed since 2013, the configuration of the news outlets checked by most Brazilians already demonstrated a tendency of crystallization of new spaces for consumption of factual information, led especially by social media.

4 2.013 people in the country were heard. In all the study, over 73 thousand researches were performed..



Graph 1 - Sources of news in Brazil, by platform



As observed, in the interval of seven years, the internet (including social media) was kept at the top as the most accessed platforms with the goal of getting news. TV, which still has an important role in Brazil, was for the first time outshined by social media, even if they were practically tied. The press has been suffering successive downfalls and today is followed by 23% of the interviewed population. Radio is not on this list,<sup>5</sup> but 51% of the interviewees in the 2019 research said to have listened to any podcast in the previous month, which has been understood as a manifestation of a redefinition of the audio-phonoc culture.<sup>6</sup>

The rise of social media for news consumption is interesting because, in this sense, there weren't included interviewees that access the internet through browsers (*www*), but rather the ones who use the network exclusively to access their personal pages. Reuter's report dedicates a specific section to present the exponential growth of message apps for obtaining news – emphasis on WhatsApp in Brazil (48% of the interviewees, 5%

- 5 Research performed by Ibope in 2019 in thirteen metropolitan regions indicates that 89% of the interviewees say to listen to radio every day. Available at: <http://www.acaert.com.br/ibope-media-divulga-infografico-que-detalha-o-consumo-de-radio-no-brasil#.XVmmJuNKjIU> Accessed in Aug. 13, 2019.
- 6 In August, 2019, Globo Organizations, the biggest media group from Brazil, announced the creation of sixteen podcasts available in their News portal G1 and in platforms on demand.

less than in 2019). According to the document, Brazilians continue to be frequent users of social media. About social media and message apps, WhatsApp is only 6 points behind Facebook on preference of Brazilian users.

2019 and 2020 reports show the great impact of these services in decision-making processes, such as the 2018 presidential elections. Months before, during the strike of truck drivers that stopped most of the transport networks in the country, the app became a parallel environment for the exchange of information, diffusing fake stories and bringing out panic among those who believe that the supplies were ending.

The sense of urgency in sharing fake content gained a new wave of concern with the Coronavirus pandemic registered in the first semester of 2020. Research led by the Escola Nacional de Saúde Pública (National School of Public Health - ENSP/Fiocruz/2020) indicates that most of the fake news that were spread about the illness were shared through WhatsApp – what makes it harder to identify its origin, given the private character of the message app.

About how the adhesion of new environments grew, the trust of “news overall” decreased by 11% between the reports of 2018 and 2019, and increased 3% between 2019 and 2020, getting the mark of 51%. The disbelief in mainstream media was stimulated in the electoral plea, draining supports from both of the most expressive candidacies to the informative environments that we will call *quasi-journalistic*. We adopt the prefix quasi- which means near, because, even though message apps knowingly do not have as primary goal to share news, its informative use ends up orbiting other features.

### **The non-place of news**

Known for their flexibility and dynamic among their participants (MARTINO, 2015), social media and messaging apps, took on an important role in sharing content, according to what we talked thus far. Its unpredictability of reach and the possibility of anonymity engender what we consider to be the *non-place of news* nowadays.

Unlike what is advocated in deontological manuals (BERTRAND, 1999; FENAJ, 2007), the information circulating these environments often do not resist a basic protocol of measurement about its trustworthiness: content aren't signed, and, therefore, there are no authors being responsible for the exposed material. The date of publication cannot be verified, and the basic tripod of verification (interview, data collection and investigation) is not always effective. More dramatic is the lack of distinction among genre (informative, opinative and interpretative) and the indefiniteness about the journalistic and publiceditorial content, which, although present in mainstream platforms, are less perceptible in social media.

This confluence of factors leads to the dissemination of what is usually called *fake news* which according to Träsel (2018) represents an oxymoron: a figure of speech in which conflicting words appear juxtaposed, in a way of mutually excluding each other. Again, the dissemination of fake news is not a prerogative of the new environments, but in them it was found a necessary capillarization to manifest with more freedom and less sanctions.<sup>7</sup>

Although there are no data available for this finding, it is possible to foresee that many users of new technologies of circulation of content are no longer contumacious consumers of news produced by mainstream media.

According to the Indicator of Functional Alphabetization (Inaf/2018), only 12% of the Economically Active Population has conditions to understand and elaborate texts of different types, such as a message or an argument – editorial and newspaper texts, according to the example mentioned by the own study.

The abilities of understanding codes, that make the individual proficient in his language, are considered indispensable for the fruition of minimally complex texts, as for example the news content.

7 In 2017, the National Electoral Court (TSE) created a consultative council to evaluate the impacts of fake news and avoid dissemination. The work group did not present practical results until the 2018 election.

However, these same skills are not required for the basic understanding of verbal and non-verbal productions exposed in a fragmented manner in social media and message apps. The non-place provided by these environments, we can say, was filled by a type of content that did not find support in the mainstream journalistic production: rudimentary, truncated, fake, timeless materials, among other characteristics.

Naturally, we cannot judge this capillarity only as a problem of the functional lack of literacy in the country, since the phenomenon of adhesion of fake content is observed all around the world, including developed countries.

We can attribute this universal adhesion to quasi-journalistic material also to the newslite architecture (CANAVILHAS, 2014) of part of the fake news – very similar to the construction of a news text (Title, lead, photo and even interviews, for example) –, to the relation of that the fake news establish with preconceived ideas of the interlocutors – or the bias of confirmation (VALLONE et al., 1985) – and even to a certain disfavor that the search of an objective identification of facts experience in the contemporary world, what was consecrated as post-truth (D'ANCONA, 2018). This conjunction of factors is strengthened by the ubiquity of digital communication technologies.

The bias of confirmation express life perspectives that are already solidified by the life story and social context of the interlocutor, in a way that external postulations are that presented gain a bigger permeability when they are in sync with these beliefs and find a bigger resistance in situations in which there are disagreements with this previous point of view – even when the confrontation becomes irrefutable. Instead of interpreting the daily signs as a possibility of personal and intellectual development or even as an invitation of changing the paradigm, the interlocutor believes he uses external stimuli only to confirm his worldviews or to conspire against those who manifest something that speaks against their personal and innate convictions. The tautological reasoning can be faced as a symptom of that perspective.

Defined in a synthetic manner as a “useless discourse” by Abbagnano (2002) in his *Philosophy Dictionary*, tautology is manifested in redundant and illogical reasonings, by distorting the relations of cause and consequence or simply by proposing an intellectual economy by giving up the systematic reflection. In the example of the author, we have the sentence: “fifteen minutes before he died, he was still alive” – in other words, an unnecessary obviousness, unless it has an aesthetic value in the context of literature.

In Barthes (2001, p. 172), tautology is “a verbal procedure that consists in defining the same by the same”. It is a refuge, to whom does not find sufficient explanation to comprise the complexity of the events around them. “Well, all the refusal of language is a type of death. Tautology fundamentals a dead, motionless world” (2001, p. 173). The tautological proposition is one of the components of the Barthesian myth, a “stolen line” that provokes an economy of meanings by presenting a new sign, erected from many other characteristics (such as omission of story, quantification of qualities, among others). We relate the bias of confirmation to the tautology because both seek spaces of comfort facing a polyhedral nature of events, a type of intellectual shortcut that doesn’t deny the lies nor admit the truths, because it simply gives up on elaborating that type of judgement.

### **On our way to re-territorialization?**

What this article sought to defend is that the main characteristics of social media – understood by the flexibility and the dynamism among their users – provoke a new relation of consumption of information that is no longer linked to their conventional spaces of materialization – newspapers, magazines, radio, TV and web. In these territorialities, the codes of usage and conduct are still not well-defined, nor the public policies for regulation, that are not the object of this study.

Facing the crescent preference by social media to obtain information – news or not – we observe increasingly more frequent attempts of the mainstream media of repositioning themselves in these spaces, such

as the creation of newsletter lists on WhatsApp, the creation of news in other formats (interactive, immersive, collaborative and transmedia) and the maintenance of fact-checking agencies. Still, the efforts arrive after the establishment of the non-place of news, permeated by a lot of quasi-journalistic misinformation – fake content that orbit the news architecture – and cacophony.

The definitive repositioning is urgent, less for issues linked to the reservation of market, and more for the civilization need of offering to the public debate stories compatible with the balanced representation of facts.

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## **Ancoragens de Interação em Grupos Mdiatizados: proposta quantiqualitativa<sup>1</sup>**

### **Interaction Anchorages in Mediatized Groups: a quantiqualitative approach**

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**Resumo:** *Este artigo discute acerca das possíveis análises e enquadramentos temáticos debatidos por grupos mediatizados. Propõe uma matriz analítica, problematizando similitudes entre a comunicação face a face e a interação em grupos mediatizados, apoiando-se na abordagem de ancoragens de quadros de interação, cunhada por Erving Goffman. Procede a uma proposta metodológica, baseando-se no entendimento de que as funcionalidades técnicas de grupos de WhatsApp permitem identificar marcadores para análises quantiqualitativas dirigidas às Ciências da Comunicação e aos Estudos da Mídia.*

**Palavras-chave:** *mediatização profunda; método quantiqualitativo; análise de WhatsApp; comunicação face a face; enquadramento temático.*

**Abstract:** *This paper sets out a debate on the possibility of analyzing frames of relevance discussed by mediatized groups. It proposes an analytical model problematizing similarities between face to face communication and interaction into mediatized groups, based on the proposal of anchoring of interaction frames conceived by Erving Goffman. It launches a methodological proposal based on the understanding that the technical functionalities of the WhatsApp groups allow*

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*to identifying brackets for quantiquitative analysis addressed to the fields of Communication Sciences and Media Studies.*

**Keywords:** *deep mediatization; quantiquitative method; WhatsApp analyze; communication face to face; frame of relevance*

## Introduction

Recent retrievals of the symbolic interactionism of the Canadian sociologist Erving Goffman preserve two of his most important contributions. *The presentation of self in everyday life*, published in 1959, re-read by Thompson (2018), in which the concepts of *front and back stage* guide the rejuvenation of his theory and *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*, published in 1974, in which Persson (2018) dedicates himself to the reinterpretation of the frame analysis. Both essays, in conjunction with Hepp and Hasebrink (2015), ponder on the concepts undertaken by Goffman to the media and communication studies. The revision of the works of the sociologist already brought reflections about understanding media by its logic, in its format as “[...] Procedural board through which social action comes about” (SNOW; ALTHEIDE, 1979, p. 15 apud HEPP, 2013, p. 39). This written document explores the studies of frame analyses<sup>4</sup>, operationalizing a concept that is not discussed, but is productive for the qualiquantitative methods in investigations about media groups:<sup>5</sup> The concept of interaction anchorage. The debate expressed in the article is, above all, a calling for the figurational modality of the media interactional order. Due to the format, the content-capturing lens can be less myopic.

Converging notions of media logic to the proposed social-discursive semiotics, the network of investigation titled communicative figuration<sup>6</sup> proceeds to important counterposition to the media studies. From the understanding about the digital scrutinized in the communicational modalities in a comparative panorama – paying attention to processual configurations of media in the core of their historicity

4 Adopted in this article also as “thematic framework”, re-reads the original *Frame Analysis* (1986 [1974]) and the Brazilian edition *Os Quadros da Experiência Social: uma perspectiva em análise* (2012), from Editora Vozes.

5 Regarding the instant messaging communication apps, such as *WhatsApp*, *WeChat*, *Telegram*, *Slack*, *Google Hangouts* and *Facebook Messenger*.

6 The network of investigation Communicative Figurations is a group initiative from the Universities of Bremen and Hamburg with the Research Center in Media, Communication and Information (ZeMKI) and the Institute of Information Management (IFIB) at University of Bremen. <https://www.kommunikative-figurationen.de>.

(AVERBECK-LIETZ, 2014) – to the understanding of the metaprocess media, contextualizing, thus, that the stages of individualization, commercialization and globalization are permeated by numberless subprocesses of social transformation (KROTZ, 2007). In effect, the figurational approach is justified in this study by the centrality of networks of actors intertwined by the thematic framework of the media repertoire (HEPP, 2019). The term mediatization here approached instigates Brazilian researchers to the considerations of the concept of deep mediatization<sup>7</sup>, summarized by the focus in the centrality to the differentiation of media, exponential rise of connectivity and the quick innovative increment of media and in the process of datafication<sup>8</sup> (COULDRY; HEPP, 2016; HEPP; BREITER; HASEBRINK, 2018; HEPP; 2019).

Raising the notion that the order of interaction in a mediatized group underlies the availability, criterion and the technical functionality imposed to the medium where the interaction occurs, this essays approaches the qualitative procedures coming from the ethnomethodological studies in the field of Communication Sciences and Media Studies. We find gaps to quantitative crossings, when limiting markers of interaction, named brackets of interaction, coming from the Goffmanian literary revision. We consider that the technical functionalities, permeated by the route of communication of these human groupings centered in media, scripting mimesis of language through writing, speech and gesture, being measurable brackets of opening and closing of figurative actions, centered in thematic boards of representation games.

The first section of this article approaches the interaction studies developed by Erving Goffman (2012a) to the approaches on mediatization, suggesting that the representational game purified by the thematic framings are the link between face-to-face and mediatized interaction.

7 The translation “deep mediatization” is offered by Editora Unisinos which chose for a more literal sense from Couldry and Hepp (2016) in *A Construção Mediada da Realidade*. The author did not have access to the book because the closure of the article coincided with the graphic production of the book.

8 According to Hepp, Breiter and Hasebrink (2018), citing Karanasios et al. (2013), the neologic term *datafication* refers to the growing digitization of media with software-based technology..

Later, applies the notion of interaction anchorages, coming from the Goffmanian proposition of studying boards of interaction, to the empirical evidences coming from the technical functionalities of WhatsApp groups. In the end of the second section, a methodological matrix is expressed, in the intent of guiding future quantiquitative studies focused on WhatsApp groups and other apps with similar representative features. We insist that the prominent dominion of private technology companies providing communication services among users must be extended to the independent or academic studies in the field of Communication Sciences and Media Studies.

### **Thematic frameworks in the figurational approach of mediatization**

Thematic framework is the act of analyzing frames of interaction. In the cutout of this study, we intent to understand the intertwine of members configurates as a constellation of actors that figure in representational games dramatized to the weave of relevant themes in a mediatized group. The basis proposed by Hepp, Breiter and Hasebrink (2018) and Hepp (2019) in the figurational approach of mediatization studies have a considerable appreciation for the procedural configuration perspective, by Norbert Elias and social figuration, by Erving Goffman. The authors update these theoretical perspectives in consideration of the importance of understanding media as a communicative transmedia intertwining. Double influence re-reads concepts of how media dynamics are processed and intertwined in everyday life – inspired in the theoretic basis of figurations, in Elias (2011) – and around the incorporations of daily figurations of media – in Goffman (2012a) – expanded to the analysis of frames (*frames of relevance*) and the thematic framework. By thematic framework, we evidence the understanding, in Hepp (2019, p. 139), of the new intertwined human groupings by platform of collectivity “based in common relevance (taste) boards being mediated by platform in certain constellations of actors (HEPP, 2019, p.139, our

translation). In the inspiration of the conception of thematic framework being one of the characteristics of the figurative approach in the era of deep mediatization, Hepp and Hasebrink (2015) argue the importance of the re-reading of Goffman.

Maybe the most complex point in *communicative configurations* is the *thematic framework*. By using this term, we refer less to the “framework analysis” as it is known in the media and communication content research. Our term is much more based in the foundation of the social theory and in the analysis of frames drafted by Erving Goffman [...] (HEPP; HASEBRINK, 2015, p. 84; our highlight)

In the understanding of the analyses of conversational frames, Goffman refers to a social board as a mental scheme that allows users to organize experiences. Goffman (2012a; 2012b) supplies key elements to understand the symbolic structure in everyday interactions and take in the face-to-face dialogue communication the proper empiric nature to observe the interactive system of relationship between people – especially the position of games and roles in which the actors are positioned in the thematic cutouts of reality. Examining the ranges of everyday activities, he finds cognitive and symbolic evidences that permeate interactions of social agents. In *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, book released in 1974, the author understands a limitation that the phenomenological studies dealt about the “multiple realities” and the “province of meanings”. These modules, discussed by William James and Alfred Schutz, allowed Goffman to expand the idea of organization of experience, refusing a distinction between the reality of everyday life and the other dominions of reality. “Speaking here about “everyday life”, or, as Schutz says, the “world of fully aware practical realities”, is simply a shot in the dark” (GOFFMAN, 2012a, p. 50).

Goffman expresses, with a foundation, that the participants of a social situation move around two main questions, when daily confronted. “What is happening here?” And “In what circumstance we think that things are real?” (2012a, p. 31). This notion, in a mediatized group, is linked to the set of technical features of representation. The act of

inserting oneself or abstaining oneself from certain themes will depend on the relevance conceived to the frames of framing a certain interactional flow as thematically important or not. “The practices, the relevance boards and the power relations filled with tension within the constellation of actors are always a part of the construction of the subject (HEPP, 2019, p. 150, translation). Although he had criticism about Schutz proposition, Goffman proceeded as a persistence, giving continuity to the empirical comprehension of the need of actors of the “definition of situation” – which was initially employed by Schutz. Hanke (2018), while remembering Thomas Theorem – “If people define certain situations as real, they are real in their consequences” – are deepened in the Schutzian approach on relevance structures, the mechanism of socio-cultural incorporation of knowledge, imbricated by the dichotomy “*in-group/out-group*” (HANKE, 2018, p. 150).

The borders between the formats of organization of the “world” of daily experiences and “the world of worlds” employed by James and Schutz, under Goffman’s point of view (2012a, p. 28), even though they were fundamental for the distinction of their varied dominions of reality, were lacking the methodological plan of elaborating on the constitutive rules of daily activity. The activities are a model for the transformation that Goffman sees in the ideas on “literality”. The understanding about this concept, with the support of the boards of analyses, puts in context the idea of transformation as a process in which an everyday activity is associated to a primary model of frames, interchanged into “copies” submitted to modalization and remodelling. In a primary scheme, Goffman exemplifies that certain social frames, coming from daily scenes of surprises, prowess, messes, coincidences and jokes, transform to the touch of the interactional meeting, in other words, “literalize themselves”, creating copies of reality by the maintenance of transformed frames of interaction: copies of reality. These everyday scene convert into something significant that in other moments would be without meaning. Especially, in a mediatized group, by the technical features available, these transformations can be intensified.

The interactional order is one of the points of intersection of the parameter of comparison of the face-to-face communication of the mediatized group. By interactional order, we understand the forces of frame ritualization and vulnerability (PERSSON, 2018, p. 26). In a mediatized or physical group, it gets more notorious when the consensual work of members in understanding “what is happening here?” And “in what circumstances will this be real?” Guides the “clarification of board”, as Goffman (2012a, p. 415) points out. This complementary relation and similar dichotomy in other objects of sociologic study, for instance the Weberian concepts of charisma and rationality, follows Goffman in a methodologic optics, when vectorizing the transformative types of interaction boards. There is the second argument for the comparative scheme of this article – the singular characterization of frames.

In Goffman’s analytic proposition, the primary schemes, characterized by a particular *schemata* of interpretation – of recognizing a determined event as part of an activity – can intensify the representational similarities of a theatrical board by the transformations of frameworks, from the levels where the actors are more familiarized with the codes of interaction, titled keys<sup>9</sup> to the fabrications, in which, by an asymmetrical relation, at least one of the actors does not know the conventions of interaction. In other words, in addition to instrumentalizing the empirical instruments in distinction of fabrication and interactional keys, the sociologist punctuates the third analytical prism, titled layerings, which intensifies the dramatic scripting of a re-keyed frame, being re-transformed by internal laminations (side-by-side keys) or external (bigger complexity of fabrications). What characterizes the quanti-qualitative proposition of this article are the markers to identify the formation of frames, titled by Goffman as anchorages or brackets, delimitators of a scene, announcer of the beginning of finishing and frameworks (GOFFMAN, 1986 [1974]; NUNES, 1993; GOFFMAN, 2012a; PERSSON, 2018; CAVALCANTE, 2019). The next section opens up the second

9 Assumed by Goffman (2012a, p. 72) as a set of norms referring to the terms “keys”. Made viable by the processo f transcription called *keying* and *rekeying*.



argument of comparison between face-to-face communication and mediated communication, according to what was proposed in this article, materializing the delimitations, anchorages, into technical features of WhatsApp, in order to find the frames conceptualized by Goffman.

Although taken as a great empirical source of elements of face-to-face interaction contained in stories extracted from American mainstream newspaper, popular books and biographies, comic books, scripts from theatrical plays and other materials for literary critics, as well as everyday conversations, Goffman has inspired the comprehension of frame studies to media studies (PERSSON, 2018; MACKENZIE, 2019; PUENTE BIENVENIDO, BRUNA, 2019). Bringing the new branches of mediatization in his study defies the barriers *quali versus quanti* imposed in his time. As much as Goffman's observations are strictly qualitative, the fixation in understanding patterns impulses this experiment to reapply these concepts. Within the Goffmanian proposition to mediated groups, the interactional orders of vulnerabilities of frames of collective experiences, easily can conduct the actors of scene – and the researcher immersed in the group – illusion, delirium or mistake, as reminded by Goffman (2012a, p. 545). The smaller the amount of information of frames of interaction, the smaller is the chance of vulnerability of ruptures. This order can also occur in mediated groups. The “closest” the group is, the more definable their conduct system tends to be, imbuing a proportional relationship between vulnerability and rituality as transformative forces of thematic frameworks. In generically opened groups, the chances of fragmentation of boards are higher. Even so, the application of the proposed anchorages will apply.

### **Quanti-qualitative vectors for studies of interaction anchorage in WhatsApp groups**

This section is dedicated to conceptualizing the interaction anchorage as markers to everyday literacy, reinvigorating the Goffmanian conceptualization of parenthesis or anchorages (brackets) to interactions

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in mediatized groups. The notion of mediatized group as associated to the figurational approach is reinforced. Seen as a space where computer-mediated communication occurs in the context of deep mediatization divided by a constellation of actors, their communicational practices intertwined and the media repertoires and thematic frameworks of “tastes” and identifications. Therefore, a mediatized group is the front stage for the yes and the no of the thematic dynamism of interactional relations. The imperative hypothesis of this article is that the technical features of medium are masters of strength of transformation of an interactional order, precisely about the vulnerabilities and ritualities of their representational uses in the communicational process.

From end to end, the interactional order of the group is figured by continuous thematic frameworks to the game of balance between ritualization and vulnerability. One interaction in the WhatsApp app can occur since there's a contact with the data of the agenda in the mobile phone of a person. The intention of the act of saving a telephonic contact can give clues of imminent scenes of interaction. Getting in touch with a third party, this act precedes the formation of the board. It also happens, since the signed contact until the contrary act, that the exclusion of contact can mean a rupture of the imminent board. In a group, the direct communication with a contact, either saved or not, is conducted by the “@”, followed by a number identification. Something similar happens when you enter a WhatsApp group, due to the fact of a link have a access key, to then, use a number of features available with the intent of establishing a connection with one or more humans of interaction. By tapping, the user can choose, from hypertextual elements of computer writing, to audio recording or image registry through photos and videos. In the second touch, followed by the vulnerability, with the breach of link, there's the rupture of the group interactional order. This differentiation of message format guarantees the first vector of analysis proposed in the work reported.

The Goffmanian anchorages of report of participating or leaving an interaction by i) Gossips of “see by the one who saw”; ii) Voyeurisms

of “look without anyone looking”; and iii) Espionage of “read without anyone seeing”, today, are delivered to media features. These boil down an interaction formed by text messages, sound or images, anchored to the possibilities of visualizing the status of typing and reading messages. The status of typing, such as notifications and message data, are also a technical feature that allows the actor to follow or not the dynamic of interaction. It is proposed to find patterns on what is considered anchorage of manners upon which the definition of situation of interactional order can be ritualized by the actor of a mediatized group. The technical features of status, data reading and types of messages are here considered quanti-qualitative delimitations. More than the establishment of the interior character of a frame, as observing everyday scenes, Goffman assured in his proposition of frame analysis a bigger attention to rituals (as rules) of interaction through the prism of content format, of the “definition of situation”.<sup>10</sup> The sociologist argues recurring to the word ritual by understanding that his system of rules would depend of the ways in which the person was aware, when shaping symbolic meanings of their acts (PERSSON, 2019, p. 31). Identifying them, categorizing them in text, image and audio of an interaction of a mediatized group, also reinforced the definition of forms of communication, core of the approach of communicative figuration, as seen in the section immediately before this one.

The expression of differentiation of formats (text, image and audio) can anchor the frames to be qualitatively analyzed after the first quantitative crossing through categorization in useful and useless messages – in which useful would mean textual components – and omitted messages (emitted by notifications of the group system). The interpretation of structural base of a text in a message will be the parameter to study the formulations, keys and layerings of the process of transformation of the interactional board. It is recommended defining a calculus for the textually analyzable messages (useful), composed by textual characters

10 In the foreword of *Frame analysis*, Bennett Berger understands that “‘defining the situation’, shaped the meanings generated” (GOFFMAN, 1986 [1974]).

of any type, from there pondering average, median and standard deviation of the amount of textual characters per message. The two following crossings come from this definition to understand the variations proposed by the bracket scheme. Qty\_Charact\_Total = Total of characters of the message

The anchorage of shapes are quantifiable internal parenthesis for qualitative framework, suggested by the investigation of types of incidence of messages of an interaction tensioned by the rituals of observing the functionalities of notifications and status of reading of a message. The emission of any type of message sent to a group can be anchorable to a imminent board, through the features of notification and information about the data that a user can come to use. The total incidence of messages, categorized under textual, sound or image, in the long term of a mediatized interaction – pondered the qualitative evidence around notifications, status of typing and reading the messages received by the actors – are markers of a figurative scene. This is translated by the frequency of message exchange in a group, anchored by the features of status and notifications in WhatsApp.

The second vector of analysis is regarding the transformational depth of interactional boards, observing the (re)transformation of a thematic framework, contextualizing what Goffman used to call as layerings. It is the act of rekeying a previous key or re-transforming in a complex formulation. In other words, intensifying the vulnerability of a board in ambiguities, complicating the effort of framing the participants. What is the intention of sending this link? Was it ironic, the use of this symbol? Why did they emphasize my name in the group? Should I send an e-mail now? These are some of the questions that, by the incidence of anchorage of layering, may arise by the participants, making the board more blurred than it would be.

The symbologic network of WhatsApp is permeated by emoticons or emojis which, beyond their multiple meanings, in its significant are neologisms resulting from the fusion between the words (SAMPIETRO, 2016) emotion and icon in English for the first definition and

resulting from the fusion between image and characters in Japanese for the second one. Nine categories of emojis are on WhatsApp currently, totalizing around 110 options of symbols: people, animals, foods, sports, means of transportation, electronics, signals and flags. Emojis follow the Unicode pattern, which allows a computer code system to manipulate, read and interpret every symbol used, therefore, it can vary according to each mobile operational system. *Stickers* – customizable stickers – are images in their essence, however, they denote the same symbology of an emoji. They express emotion or denote the instants of mood variations of a personality. Constantly, the company increments innovations in their technical features, for instance, what happened in 2017, with the status feature, which contains messages (text or static/moving image) with a 24h duration, available to all contacts saved in the mobile phone book of a user.

*Emails, links* (“www...”), symbols (*emojis/stickers*) and contact mentions (“@Fulano”), in this study, are gathered as potentializing elements of anchorage of a mediatised interaction. Specifically, these are anchorages for the framework of layering, potentially reproducing keys or complex fabrications, as defined in the previous section. Layering are internal or external re-tonalizations. Both are anchorages of interaction by being delimited to the scene of the board and practicing them. Being technical features, they announce and express representational acts, a link of the act of pointing to a external path, the use of emojis of expressing emotions or gestures, a “@someone” when approaching the actor of the contact. As mimic technique of language, they are disposed as markers of internal activities in a stage. “In fact, players and the equipment used in very different activities can employ the same service in an intimate intertwining of use” (GOFFMAN, 2012a, p. 310). They are like frames, according to Goffman, because they shape the interaction board as form, but also interfere as content of the board. “These markers, such as a wooden frame in a painting, are presumably not a part of the external world of activities, but are before both things, internal and externa, an oxymoronic condition [...]” (GOFFMAN, 2012a, p. 312).

They are timely anchorage of openings and closings and special delimitating anchorages.

In a mediatized interactional order, as a gesture of face-to-face communication, a certain emoji can be a marker of the beginning of a thematic board (and thematizable). By an interactional anchorage, these markers call a certain representational board and are permeated by strips of activities, such as a “[...] Flow of activity in course, including here the sequence of events” (GOFFMAN, 2012a), relevant to a certain constellation of actors in a mediatized group. Being a WhatsApp, in the condition of emoji replacing a gesture in the intention of communicating with two or more people, there can have patterns marked by this determined set of emojis. A lot of hearts sent in a certain month, in comparison of a six-month interaction, for instance, can mean something relevant, a significant board of a determined theme. The use of this emoticon can also anchor external laminations, in other words, very complex fabrications related to the use of ambiguities, of power relations or evidence of illusion or self-illusion – called vulnerability to the Goffmanian notion. We reinforce that an emoji can also be shown as an element of Goffmanian ritualization in the group – permeated by normalization, exaggeration and simplification, as synthesized by Persson (2018, p. 34), while summarizing the concept of ritualization in Goffman’s works. Quantitatively, we can see that in the hypothetical period focused there were a bigger standard deviation of emoji characters. Qualitatively, the same period can be the symbolic intensification of messages about Valentine’s Day. Thematically, frames about this date were permeated by heart emojis in a ordinary June marked by short gaps between the exchanged messages. This is the exercise proposed in the few lines allowed to the study on relation.

Understanding the stages of (re)transformations of boards by vulnerability and ritualities, categorizing them in fabrications and key frames via re-tonalizations in layers, qualitatively, may demand the process of separating “the bad from the good”, of anchorable elements by layering symbology of expression, for instance, emojis in the underlying text.

This hypothetical and minuscule framework will help in the comprehension. “*Are u going to the party tonight?* (Actor 1); [www.linkoftheparty.com](http://www.linkoftheparty.com) (Actor 1) “👤” (Actor 2); Silence in the group”. In the three strips of activities occurred, including the silence in the mediatized group, if there were a pattern in this type of communication by the actor, there possible might have an insight that that was a relevant frame. How does this pattern can be seen? By the practice of data mining, through the feature “export chat” which WhatsApp (still<sup>11</sup>) allows the researcher to do. In the following scheme, two calculations will help delimitate<sup>12</sup> frames for qualitative readings. The example given of the minuscule frame, quantitatively, can be read: “[Text character] (Code for Actor 1); [Symbol character] (Code for Actor 1); [Symbol character]” (Code for Actor 2), [Long gap].” This structure can be recurring in the group and the pattern will be more concise if it is more generic. This datatization of interactional nature may be one of the most clear characteristics of deep mediatization. Other than that, the possibility of seeing in the constellation of actors of the group of actors of those in the example repertoire of the media, becoming available since reading links, intrinsic in the approach of communicative figuration. “Therefore, it becomes clear that we can only properly understand the internal dynamic of information repertoire if we also pay attention to the inter relation of their representations” (HEPP, 2019, p. 95; translated).

Four applications gather the concept in internal and external layering to the anchorage of boards of interaction. In a WhatsApp group, calling a participant by his/her name, set in “@someone”; the extensions of intention pronounced by the reference to links in their www; the direct directioning to the center of the contact contained in the presumption of emails extended to future relations of their “@”; and the components, par excellence, of the dramatic scripting, symbols or emojis of “=”)

11 In Germany, this function was deactivated in 2020. That opens a long debate on the Laws for Protection of Personal Data, something that this article will not cover.

12 We recommend delimitating eventual patterns initially for data mining of a a computer file of “txt” extension, processed by a software of data modeling such as Microsoft Power BI (paid) or open code *softwares (free)* such as *Python* or *R*.

randomly distributed, are new configurations of laminations. Internal, considered in the result of the quantitative formula. External, excluded in order to preserve the model of a supposed “mediatized face to face interaction”. The calculation of quantity of net characters ( $Qty\_net\_char$ ), which excludes calls ( $Qty\_char\_call$ ), links ( $Qty\_char\_links$ ), e-mails ( $Qty\_char\_emails$ ) and characters of emoji or symbols ( $Qty\_char\_emoji/symbol$ ) out of the total quantity of characters. Excludes to firm the anchorages that these anchorable elements can layer in a board to be debated:

Beyond the anchorage layering, increase the importance of seeing a text for its lexical aspect, without interference of numbers, punctuation or laughter. Formulations and keys are possibilities of transformation through which primary boards go, in Goffman’s understanding. The article would not comprise these specificities, but these are some of the examples of these transformations: Make believe, competitions, ceremonies, technical reconstitutions and repositions are examples of keys of a board. Playful mistakes, tricks, vital proof, paternal elaborations, deceit, forged proof are examples of the formulations analyzed by Goffman. In a mediatized interactional board, that can be observed by the structure of message composition. Initial and final words, therefore, may give tone and formulation to a thematic framework. This is the third analytical proposition of the study. We understand, in this step, that is the opportunity of explicating formulations and keys of actors in a mediatized group. A formula is proposed to identify the textual integrality of messages exchanged with the potential of elements of formulation and keys by the actors.

The amount of textual characters of a message, in the third proposition for the quali and quanti crossing of the analysis of anchorage is tensioned to the composition of the initial and final words of the announcements of entrance and exit to exemplify the mining of the intent of formula. To analyze the big picture of a message in a WhatsApp group requires detailing in its content by qualitative methodologies. Cutting out frames, however, talks about the complexity of timely diffused and



fragmented messages of a group interaction. Unifying lexical meanings to the textual whole, can be proceeded in this perspective. Understanding that initial and final words are anchor announcement of a debate is assuming a centrality in the analytical body to be modelled in the field of analysis. Therefore, it becomes necessary to delimitate, parallel to the qualitative depth, quantitative spectrums here considered as the amount of text characters. This calculation must maintain the integrality of a message, since it considers only the analyzable text, grammatical and lexically, The amount of text characters deepens the purity of a message – that in the sense of excluding the brands of benign formulations, specifically the playful mistakes and the alleged keys referring to jokes, both belonging to the Goffmanian conception of anchorage of boards of interaction. The net amount of characters, matter settled ahead, excludes calls, links, e-mails and emojis or symbols. The proposition of quantity of text characters results in the subtraction of laughter characters (for instance, “he” “ha” “lol”), punctuation (for example: “:”), “?”, “.”, “!”) and numbers (“0”, “13”, “2020”).

The final application on the contextualization of anchorages related to the time of the interaction can be extended to future studies. A mediatised group is constituted of a full collection for the organization of the experience of subjects involved in a purely interactive representation. The fourth vector of structuration of thematic frames in mediatised environments can be anchored by time patterns – both by the speed of the interaction and the intervals of silences in a group. In the intervals of the interaction, categorized in silence or pauses that denote the time speed of the interactive sequence, by the quantitative prism, months, days of the week and time can also be compared. According to this understanding, the short or long intervals, synthetized in silences, can be tangencialized to thematic frames that evidence i) a source of involvement of the constellation of actors in the board in which they are emerged; ii) a rupture of the board, literal or partial; and iii) an arrangement of omission of the internal acts of the interaction by the focus on the external outside the board. These contextualize the notion that:

“The issue of the internal brackets can be approached examining the way of handling time in dramatic scripts” (GOFFMAN, 2012a, p. 329).

With the intention of contributing with future studies about anchorages, the following board synthesizes the applications that the study of these discursive elements, traceable through the technical features of WhatsApp, can allow methodologically through quantiqualitative biases.

#### Board - quanti-qualitative proposition of mediatised anchorages

Convergence of the Media and Face-to-Face Interactional Order	Mediatized Anchorages	Quantitative evidences	Qualitative evidences
Modalities of attention	Text, sound, image and videos exchanged	Quantity of types of messages	Distinction of text messages, images and sounds
Layerings	Keywords in a message and “call characters”, “links characters”; “e-mail characters”; e “symbol characters”.	Quantity of net characters	Transformational depth of boards of interaction
Formulations and Keys	Initial and final words and “Laughter characters”, “Punctuation characters” and “number characters”	Quantity of text characters	Structure of textual formation of messages of na interaction
Time elements	Silence and pauses	Quantitative of messages with super-fast, fast, regular, lengthy and short and long breaks	Comprehension of time of interactions of the participants and period

Source: Own adapted elaboration from Cavalcante (2019).

## Conclusion

Understanding a constellation of actors with the support in relevance boards in its modalities of communication, by its repertoires of media summarizes the synthesis of the proposition of this experiment. Researching in hoc sensu, a mediatized group, implies understanding how their members are rearranged being configured in network. In addition, it becomes necessary to observe the figurative-representational game of this constellation of actors along with the boards of relevance that are intertwined to their media repertoires in everyday life. We therefore justify the choice of this article for deepening the concept of thematic framework to Goffmanian readings, extracting from his theory empirical evidences, especially, when relating those to technical functionalities of mediatized groups as detectable markers that prepare a representational game settled to media in new human agglomerations. Future work can use the analytical categories explored in the concepts of anchorage of interaction and understand the limitation and amplitudes that the technical features of other instant communication apps can offer in the analysis of mediatized groups.

The media research with the quanti-qualitative methodological technique makes the analysis of statistics or linguistics close and far from the barriers that for decades separated theoretical currents. Such perspectives are conducted by the processual line of observation within the research. By the four propositions of anchorages of interaction, a set of data of a mediatized group can be converted into observations made fruitful and qualifiable. These frame delimitation strategies by quantitative biases can be considered triangulable counterposed notions of anchorage under qualitative techniques. As much as this article did not dive in analysis of content of the set of information processed by the calculation of the net quantity of characters, here we point paths so that in future studies, these points can be deepened.

By the internal brackets of anchorage of a mediatized interaction, we retrieve the idea that i) modalities of attention per receiving notification, along with the possibility of visualization of status of typing and reading

the types of messages of the actors in the mediatized group, text, sound or image; ii) transformational depth of boards of interaction; iii) initial and final words of entries and exits of a message; and iv) silence and pauses in a mediatized interaction, standardly can be observed through the perspective of a portrait quanti-qualitatively triangulated.

In the glimpse of the post-human data-driven storytelling, we expect that this study adjusts the effort of free software communities, especially R and Python, that have been developing a plausible work in the free computational packs available for WhatsApp analysis. We also want that this proposition adds to the research on frames of relevance in figurations that threatened democracy.

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## Produções televisivas japonesas e sul-coreanas na Netflix Brasil: apontamentos iniciais

### Japanese and South Korean television productions on Netflix Brazil: opening notes

Krystal Urbano<sup>1</sup>

**Resumo:** O artigo discute a presença das produções televisivas japonesas e sul-coreanas no catálogo brasileiro da Netflix. Tendo em vista que nos últimos anos a empresa estadunidense tem investido na diversificação dos países produtores, para além dos Estados Unidos, busca-se refletir sobre a participação do Japão e da Coreia do Sul nessa constituição. Através de uma revisão da literatura sobre o tema, combinada com um mapeamento inicial dos títulos japoneses e sul-coreanos que figuram na referida plataforma em sua versão brasileira, ficou perceptível a empreitada em curso da Netflix de se consolidar como uma mediadora audiovisual global e a relevância dos mercados centrais do Leste Asiático e não anglófonos, na constituição do seu catálogo internacional e brasileiro.

**Palavras-chave:** Netflix; produção televisiva; contrafluxos.

**Abstract:** The article discusses the presence and expansion of Japanese and South Korean television productions in the Brazilian Netflix catalog. Bearing in mind that, in recent years, the American company has invested in the diversification of producing countries, in addition to the United States, we seek to reflect on the participation of Japan and South Korea in this constitution. Through a review of the literature on the topic, combined with an initial mapping of Japanese and South Korean titles that appear on the referred platform in its Brazilian version, it is noticeable Netflix's ongoing effort to consolidate itself as a global audiovisual mediator and the relevance of the central markets of East Asia and non-English speakers in the constitution of its international and Brazilian catalog.

**Keywords:** Netflix; television production; counterflows.

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## Introdução

The media culture lives an effervescent moment of reconfiguration that reaches every space of its communicative circuit and that has as important propelling spring the popularization of digital culture. Television productions from all over the world, with different formats, genres and languages had never been so accessible (MEIMARIDIS et al., 2020). The development of means of audiovisual production, distribution and consumption created in the last decennium in the global market, combined with the creation of new poles of influence in the television field, demonstrate significant changes in the global media landscape, in which we observe new forms of viewing for the audience, as well as an increase of diversity of nationalities in the flows of contemporary television culture. With effect, the technologic development linked to the arrival of new means of production and sharing of content is imposed as a data of relative importance for us to reflect about the space in which the television productions coming from other regions of the world, beyond USA and/or western productions, have gradually conquered the global media market (ALBUQUERQUE; URBANO, 2015).

An expressive example of this movement concerning the field of audiovisual flows is the ascension of India and Turkey, the latter was transformed into the second biggest exporter of television series in the world, losing only to the United States. Turkish soap operas and Indian cinematographic and television productions have conquered the Arabian world and other countries from Europe and the Americas (BERG, 2007; MARTEL, 2012; GOKULSING, 2004), defying the American hegemony in global flows. Just like Turkey and their strong Arabian market have been positioning themselves as an important piece in the power games of globalizing television flows, Japan and South Korea are also in this race, becoming powerful producers of television content with strong appeal in the East and South East Asia (Kim, 2008; Moran; Keane, 2004; Dissanayake, 2012), but not restricted to these regions.

In fact, the diversity existing in the flows of audiovisual culture in East Asian countries can be perceived, initially, through Hong Kong



cinema in the 1970's (Morris, 2007; Walsh, 2007), following by Japanese animations that also became very expressive internationally in the 1990's (Iwabuchi, 2004, 2007) and, finally, followed by South Korean cinema and television productions, that started to have a lot of visibility in the global market in the 2000's. More recently, the Japanese animations along with the films, television series, reality and talk shows of the most varied themes and formats started to appear in the map of global media culture flows, having their distribution expanded and potentialized through video streaming<sup>2</sup> Services, from the movement of migrant communities and transnational fandoms of these productions beyond their regional context (JENKINS, 2009; CHIN; MORIMOTO, 2013).

The presence of television productions from Japan and South Korea in circulation in Latin American countries, such as Chile, Peru and Brazil, which count with an avid consumer audience (Madureira et al., 2014; IadeviTo et al., 2010; Ko et al., 2014) and an expressive community of immigrants from South East Asia, translates this new de-centralized and culturally diverse media landscape. Brazil, as other Latin American countries, is found inserted into this scenario led by some countries that, until recently, did not appear in the mainstream of global audiovisual culture, influencing and being influenced by the relations established by this new culturally de-centralized landscape. In this sense, the global expansion of the United States platform of streaming Netflix acquires an elevated importance in the discussion about the media counterflow<sup>3</sup> of East Asian countries in the global audiovisual

2 Streaming is a form of distribution of data, generally multimedia, through packages, on the Internet. In streaming, information are not only stored by the user in their own HD, because the transmission of data is given during the reproduction to the user, who needs to be on-line.

3 In this text, the notion of media counterflow applied to Far East countries intrinsically relates with the notion of a multipolar world that refers to the multiple flows of globalization.. If in the 1990's and 2000's, globalization was understood as a process of uniformization in a global scale, whose incontestable center was the United States, recent years have been comprising a diversification of globalization initiatives; Many of these new agents are located in different countries of Asia. Beyond the already consolidated cinema poles in India (Bollywood) and Hong Kong, new poles of global reach emerge in the Arab world (Al Jazeera's journalism, among other channels) television industries from Japan (with animes and doramas), South Korea (with k-pop and k-drama) and Turkey (one of the biggest exporters of television content in the world nowadays).

market, offering supplementary evidence on how television formats and contents produced in a local-regional context can expand beyond their national borders, reaching the global market (ALBUQUERQUE; URBANO, 2015).

With effect, the Brazilian catalog of the American streaming platform Netflix (PENNER; STRAUBHAAR, 2020) is presented as a favorable environment to reflect about the media counterflow of both countries in the international audiovisual market, due to currently having a vast archive of licensed and exclusive products coming from Japan and South Korea, available for their paying members.<sup>4</sup> Among these titles are films, animes, TV series, reality shows and entertainment programs added regularly, even before the beginning of their operations in the Japanese and South Korean market, in 2015 and 2016, respectively. A streaming service that, until recently, was mainly composed by titles of American cinema and television, shock with the interest and amount of exclusive content from East Asia and Latin America (MEIMARIDIS et al., 2020). By signing partnership with television channels from different regions, Netflix quickly took charge of developing and distributing content and narratives that had appeal for the audiences of these countries, as well as potential global reach, which require bigger investigations.

Coming from a de-westernizing perspective (CURRAN; PARK, 2000; WANG, 2011) about the investigation of television culture flows that are verified in the global field, the article discusses the presence of Japanese and South Korean television productions in Netflix's Brazilian catalog. Bearing in mind that in the last years the American company has invested in the diversification of producing countries beyond the United States reflects about the Japanese and South Korean participation in this constitution. Through a bibliographic review on the theme, combines by the initial mapping of Japanese and South Korean titles that are present in the platform in its Brazilian version, it became evident Netflix's ongoing endeavor of becoming the main global audiovisual mediator,

4 Netflix is today the biggest entertainment services in the world, with approximately 125 million members in over 190 countries. This audience consumes over 140 million hours of content per day, including original series, documentaries and movies (NETFLIX INVESTORS, 2019).

when producing and making available non-anglophones productions and the central markets of East Asia in their international and Brazilian catalog.

### **The media counterflow of countries of the Far East in a multipolar world**

The development of a solid media industry in the Far East can be understood both as a direct consequence of the wave of globalization from the West, which began in the 1980's, and a local reaction to it (Iwabuchi, 2007; Kim, 2008). It was, therefore, a complex process, which involved injunctions of economic, social-political and cultural nature. With relation to the first aspect, starting from the 1960's, the countries of the Far East region began to emerge as a relevant pole of the world economy (Rowen, 1998). The process was initially led by Japan, whose economy became the second biggest economy in the world in the 1980's, only behind the United States. From this decade onwards, other countries started to stand out in the economic field. South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan and Malaysia. Finally, in the turn of the century, China – which relaxed its communist model in a way to make it compatible with institutions characteristic of the market society – was asserted as one global economy –, which contributed to raise the economic relevance in the region. Even more importantly, the countries of the region expanded considerably their economic and cultural integration, not only among themselves, but also with other countries from the Far East, such as Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines (Dobson; Yue, 1997; Rowen, 1998).

With effect, the media counterflow of Far East countries can be understood as a reaction to the expansion of western media conglomerates, perceived as an evidence of the media imperialism (ALBUQUERQUE; URBANO, 2015). In the intellectual field, it was associated to an effort of relativization of the interpretative models coming from the West, through an effort of its “provincialization” (CHAKRABARTY, 2000) or

“de-westernization” (CURRAN; Park, 2000; WANG, 2011) and the proposition of analytical alternatives such as the construction of a field of interasian studies (ERNI; Chua, 2005; KIM, 2008). Concerning the media, the first reaction of the local government of the countries in the Far East was to establish many limits to the penetration of western media content, either through the prohibition of the installation of satellite dishes without authorization, the establishment of maximum quotas of foreign programs in the television of these countries or other forms of control. In a second moment, they made an effort to develop local content, with the potential of producing a sense of cultural proximity (and ethnic identification) through its audience (CHADHA; Kavoori, 2000; STRAUBHAAR, 1991). This effort did not fail to produce results, leading to the constitution of a vigorous market for the regional media culture, through the construction of a cultural heritage shared by these countries.

About that, it is important to highlight the importance of the role that the local television industries have been playing both in the dynamic sector of some of these countries and as a strategic element of regional integration (ALBUQUERQUE and URBANO, 2015). In fact, the first agent that was capable of producing television formats and contents that had a certain regional appeal was Japan – such as animations (animes)<sup>5</sup> and TV shows (dramas)<sup>6</sup> – but their position facing other Asian countries was complicated. First, due to the Japanese persistence in highlighting the cultural specificity (Japanese psyche) in their television production and, even more importantly, the huge resentment against the country, which led to some others, like South Korea, for instance, to establish official policies of restriction to Japanese cultural products (Iwabuchi, 2002) until recently. South Korea, in turn, placed their bets in a different strategy, investing in generic elements and strategies of

5 Here in this text, we understand animes as animation series in a serialized format for broadcasting in TV channels.

6 Television series produced by Japanese and South Korean industries are internationally recognized by their audience through the terms *dramas* and *k-dramas*, respectively. Unlike what happens in the western context, the term does not talk about the genre, but the format and its nationality.

hybridization (Shim, 2006) – capable of enabling a feeling of cultural proximity on behalf of a wider audience, as shown in the success case of the Korean series (*k-dramas*) in the whole region, including Japan, but beyond this country.

Even though they present historic similarities and differences in terms of strategies and incentives, the media counterflow of Japan and South Korea demonstrates how both countries seek to produce and distribute their audiovisual works through the activities of their cultural industries, in an alliance between market logics and a political project of international influence, consolidated through the concepts of soft power and nation branding<sup>7</sup> (ALBUQUERQUE; URBANO, 2015). Japan, since the 1980's, and South Korea, since the 2000's, have been developing a wide variety of audiovisual contents for the most varied tastes of consumers in the East and Southeast Asia, also expanding to the global market. With the support of bold public policies, Japan and South Korea's television industries have been capable of making strategic moves, in order to expand the distribution of their audiovisual culture in a fairly efficient way in different countries, especially with the Latin American audience (Madureira et al, 2014; IadeviTo et al, 2010; ko et al. 2014).

However, even with the growing evidence that comprise a quick change of axis in the global balance towards Asian countries, especially in the cultural field, the access of television productions of these countries still remain fairly limited to the international audience. Furthermore, the academic debate in Brazil about the flow of television content in the global market and how the audience relates with these products remains strongly based in examples that are referred to the so-called advanced western countries, especially the United States and United Kingdom (ALBUQUERQUE; URBANO, 2015). Nevertheless the products coming from these countries have effectively played a

7 *Soft power* talks about the tacit skill of getting what you want through attraction, not coercion. It is, therefore, a powerful tool to get advantages through influence of public opinion. Nation branding would be the process of image management in order to improve the reputation of a country. (NYE, 1990; FAN, 2010).

dominant role concerning their global circulation, the lessons they have to offer are far from universal.

In this context, Netflix is positioned as an important agent in the observation of this media counterflow of East Asian countries in the global market, making non-anglophone productions available in their catalogue, and more importantly, beginning to invest in local television industries from Far East countries, such as Japan and South Korea, central markets of the referred region which, in the specific context of this text, stand out.

### **Netflix and its model of global mediation**

According to Castellano and Meimaridis (2016), the American streaming platform for films and series Netflix has been consolidated as one of the main producers and distributors of audiovisual content of the global market. The company opened in 1997 as a rental service for VHS and DVDs which, in 2007, began to migrate to an online platform. In 2010, the company operation began to focus on the model of streaming, through the provision of online content, with a great offer of films, television series and other audiovisual products (XUE, 2014). Beginning in 2013, the service started to create exclusive digital content with the series *House of Cards* (2013-2018) and *Hemlock Grove* (2013-2015). Since then, Netflix works with two types of content: “original content” and the so-called “2nd run movies and TV shows”. The original content would be divided into two: original productions (such as *Stranger Things* and *The OA*) and licensed products (such as *House of Cards* and *Orange is the new black*). In turn, contents called “2nd run movies and TV shows” would be content bought for Netflix distribution after being transmitted on TV, cable or network.

Among the most important characteristics of Netflix’s mediation model, which comprises the idea of illustrating the strategy of ongoing global expansion currently happening, about the mediation of television content available in their platform are: a) the vast offer of content of the most varied nationalities and formats with subtitles and dubbing in the

local language; b) the possibility of fruition of all episodes of a show at once – what has been called binge watching – also enabling new forms of production, consumption and viewing (Ladeira, 2010; Tryon, 2013, 2015; Matrix, 2014) and, finally; c) the referred platform also have been adopting a posture of praise of their productions through discourses of distinction about the “quality” of their original productions (Castellano; Meimaridis, 2016).

About the first aspect, Netflix’s expansion was followed by the production and distribution of new contents beyond the American and/or western audiovisual market, illustrating, thus a diverse television media landscape in terms of regional representation. In Brazil, Netflix began its operations still in 2011, as part of a company strategy in attaining viewers from Latin American countries, followed by Europe and Asia, in the following years. In fact, only in 2016 that Brazil had its first co-production with Netflix, with the show *3%* (2016 - present), followed by *The Mechanism* (2018 - present) and *Girls from Ipanema* (2019 - present). However, Brazil is the non-English speaking country with the biggest amount of series in the platform, detaining 6% of Netflix’s paying members in all the world, which corresponds to approximately 7.5% million clients (PAZ, 2018). In fact, Netflix has been maintaining a constant production of original and licensed content that are not restricted to American or English-speaking countries, productions like the Spanish series *La Casa de Papel* (2017 - present) and the Mexican series *Club de Cuervos* (Netflix, 2015-2019) and East Asian countries, such as the Japanese reality show *Terrace House* (2015 - present) and the South Korean drama *Kingdom* (2019 - Present), began to participate with the seal of “quality” of Netflix’s original productions.

About the second aspect, Netflix have also been encouraging, from the beginning of their operations in the streaming format, more intense consumption practices of television productions, such as binge watching, which has been promoting a popularization of the practice and evidencing new forms of watching in the consumption of serial productions along with global audiences (Castellano; Meimaridis, 2018).

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Since the distribution and the consumption of television serial productions, until recently, were dependent of the presence and time of television schedules of network and cable TV, currently binge-watching “has been flourished in a practice increasingly relevant within the circuit of production and commercialization of television series fiction and the importance of streaming services is undeniable” (Castellano; Meimaridis, 2016, p. 204). Although it is not responsible for the creation of binge-watching, Netflix along with other streaming services, such as Hulu and Amazon Prime, along with technological advances from the last ten years (such as the arrival of the VHS technology, DVD boxes and illegal downloads of episodes), to provide in its system all episodes all at once, has modified the relation between viewer and serial television productions (Matrix, 2014; Tryon, 2013).

In third place, about the variable of quality in their original productions, the Netflix model uses widely a strategy of self-promotion anchored in a discourse of distinction, at the same time it commercializes content of network and cable television from the United States and several other countries in the world. In this sense, the presence of productions coming from Japan and South Korea and other television industries located outside the axis USA-Europe in Netflix’s international platform gains an elevated importance concerning the promotion of “visibility” of new poles of television production in the midst of global flows. Even if Castellano and Meimaridis (2016) affirm that Netflix would not be capable of guaranteeing the same prestige of all productions available in their platform, “once their system is proposed by an expressive variety of shows (...) Their original productions vary, in a canon point of view, in terms of aesthetic and narrative quality” (Castellano; Meimaridis, 2016, p. 197), it is precisely in the variable of “diversity” of nationalities of the productions in their catalog, that the referred service demonstrates their intention in consolidating themselves as a new producing and distributing model of global audiovisual productions in the context of a multipolar world.



While initiating their operations along the Japanese television market in 2015, Netflix has deepened their bonds with local networks – TV Fuji, NHK and TV Tokyo –, resulting in the insertion of several Japanese original titles and productions in its international catalog, such as the case of the drama *Atelier* (2015), the first co-production between Netflix and TV Fuji that was provided in the platform for many countries, among which the United Kingdom and Brazil. In the case of animes, the ones who stand out are *Knights of Sidonia* (2014-2015), *The Seven Deadly Sins* (2015-2018) and *Aggretsuko* (2018 - present). Relationship reality shows such as *Ainori Love Van* (2017 - present) and *REAL Love* (2018 - present) were also inserted in the international and Brazilian catalog on Netflix.

Similarly to the Japanese context, the beginning of Netflix's operations in the South Korean market in 2016, created the conditions so that the first partnerships between the referred platform and local television channels – such as TVN, MBC and KBS – began to consolidate. Original co-productions such as the dramas *My Only Love Song* (2016), *Argon* (2017), *Arthdal Chronicles* (2019 - present) along with over one hundred high-impact titles in the international market such as *Descendants of the Sun* (2016), *Memories of Alhambra* (2018 - present) and *Hae-Ryung, the Historian* (2019 - present), have been revealing an unique opportunity to propel the propagation of audiovisual content of Hallyu that comprises the ascension of South Korean pop culture in the international scenario. Along with this vast archive of TV shows, reality and talk shows like *Abnormal Summit* (2016-2017), *Hyori's Bed and Breakfast* (2017-2018), *Hidden Singer* (2012-2018) and *Chef & My Fridge* (2014 - present), have also been inserted in the international and Brazilian catalog on Netflix.

The establishment of Netflix in Japan and South Korea, in 2015 and 2016, respectively, constitutes the starting point for reflecting about a purchase and the incorporation of different Japanese and South Korean contents to the catalogs of other countries, as it is the case in Brazil, which currently has access of over one hundred audiovisual productions

coming from both countries. Even before the arrival of Netflix in Japan and South Korea, the Brazilian catalog already had dozens of Japanese and South Korean productions, according to the initial mapping of titles performed for this research, in June, 2020, the situation is presented very differently, as we will see in the next section.

### **Japanese and South Korean television productions on Netflix Brazil**

In Brazil, the presence and circulation of television content coming from the Far East can be well understood as linked to the exhibition of live action movies and series and, later, Japanese animation in the local television (network and cable TV). Between 1960's and 1990's, there were a significant flow of circulation of these Japanese content in local media, but with the advent of the internet in the 2000, this flow had decreased, even with evidence of a big demand of these shows in the country. Until that given moment, South Korean television productions remained incognito in Brazilian television schedules, coming to be discovered by forms and actors that weren't planned ahead.

In fact, it was through the pioneering movement of fansubbers<sup>8</sup> in the environment of social media in the turn of the century that happens the insertion of South Korean television content in the Brazilian internet, with K-dramas. Through sociocultural and linguistic policies, of accessibility, temporality and quality (URBANO, 2013), that were historically built throughout time, Brazilian fansubbers created the basis for fruition and consumption of Japanese and South Korean television productions through which the streaming market in action in our country would later be beneficiated. In other words, such movement seem to have created the conditions of possibilities so that Netflix and their model could be quickly embraced by the consumer audience of Japanese and South

8 Fans that translate, subtitle and distribute audiovisual content from Japan in the digital environment. In Brazil, the practice began in the second half of 1990's, expanding rapidly to the internet in the turn of the century, due to the easiness enabled by the digital environment (URBANO, 2013).

Korean television productions, with the beginning of their operations in our country (CAPANEMA, 2013).

According to the mapping data performed by Penner and Strauhbaar (2020) in the Brazilian Netflix catalog, only in 2018 “3,953 titles were available for consumption in that period, putting the country in the 10th place between the places with the biggest offer of content” (PENNER; STRAUHBAAR, 2020, p. 129). Among these countries producing original and licensed titled with exclusivity for Netflix Brazil, Japan stands out, occupying the 4th position (with 40 titles, which corresponded to 5.63% of the Brazilian catalog) and South Korea, occupying the 6th position (with 16 titles, which corresponded to 2.25% of the Brazilian catalog). However, even with the expansion of original nationalities pointed in Netflix’s Brazilian catalog in 2018, with Latin American, North American, African, Asian, European and Oceanian shows, it is possible to perceive the permanence of centrality of the English-speaking market to the corporation.

Only the United States are responsible for almost 58% of the exclusive content available. If we sum productions from other English-speaking countries (England, Ireland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand), the total reaches over 75% of everything original or licensed with exclusivity offered in the Brazilian catalog (PENNER; STRAUHBAAR, 2020, p. 138).

At the same time that we perceive a growth in the investment in Asian productions, pointing Japan and South Korea, for instance, as the more evident focus for expansion, we still notice a predominance of English-speaking productions in their constitution and business model. Because of that, we agree that “having only American content in a platform that makes an effort of positioning themselves as “global” no longer makes sense in a scenario in which the poles of peripheral culture production are rising” (MEIMARIDIS et al., 2020, p. 26). In this sense, it becomes relevant to think about the presence of these countries in the constitution of this catalog, in its Brazilian version, once Brazil

has an avid consumer audience of these productions and an expressive community of immigrants from East Asia.

In fact, even before Netflix's arrival in Japan and South Korea, in 2015 and 2016, the Brazilian catalog already had dozens of movies and television shows from Japan and South Korea, among original, licensed and acquired productions after the exhibition in local channels. In 2018, as we've seen, there was a considerable expansion of the titles available, according to the data found on Penner and Strauhbaar (2020). However, according to the initial mapping<sup>9</sup> of titles available performed for this research, until June 5th, 2020, the situation is very differently presented (Table 1). We mainly notice a bigger variety of audiovisual formats in circulation from Japan and South Korea, beyond films, TV dramas and animation series, among which we highlight reality and talk shows to be the biggest ones in the flow coming from these countries in the environment of Brazilian Netflix.

Table 1 - Japanese and South Korean audiovisual productions on Netflix Brazil

Country	Animated series	TV Dramas	Films and documentaries	Reality and talk shows	Total
Japan	94	21	61	18	194
South Korea	5	104	41	7	157

Source: table created by the author

On *Table 1*, it is possible to verify the origins of the program, according to the country – in this case, Japan and South Korea – and the format of these places of production that are provided in the platform. We perceive that Japan is currently presented as leader in quantitative terms, with 194 productions in total at the platform. South Korea, in

9 Mapping performed between May 05th and June 05th, 2020 manually in the platform's website (<http://netflix.com.br>) with the help of websites <https://unogs.com/countrydetail/> and <https://www.nonetflix.com.br/>.

turn, makes a mark in the Brazilian catalogue with currently 157 titles, approaching the quantitative terms of Japan. In total, both countries can reach the mark of 351 original, licensed and acquired productions. When we think only in terms of television productions and we take off films and documentaries of the amount, still, remain 249 titles, among which the majority is subtitled and also dubbed for Portuguese.

About the formats in evidence in the Brazilian platform until the moment of research, in the Japanese case, we notice the wide predominance of titles of animes, while in the South Korean case, television dramas have a bigger highlight in quantitative terms. In both cases, movies and documentaries occupy the second position. Television dramas occupy the third position in the Japanese case, while in the South Korean case, this position is filled by reality and talk shows. Finally, reality shows fill the fourth position in the Japanese case and in the South Korean case animated series correspond to this position. What remains evident in both cases is that Japanese reality and talk shows and South Korean animated series present as the big news in this offer of the Brazilian catalog, being a topic that require further investigation in the continuation of research.

When we relate these collected data about the presence of Japan and South Korea in Netflix Brazil to the most recent expansion of titles coming from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Philippines and Cambodia, becomes even more evident the phenomenon of expansion of titles coming from the East and South East Asia in the Brazilian platform. Even though it is not the focus of this text, it becomes primordial to point towards the presence of audiovisual productions of these other countries, which currently correspond to the total of 218 productions, demonstrating, thus, the ascension of new poles of television production in the midst of global flows. With effect, “the importance of this phenomenon is huge when taking into consideration we live in a scenario marked historically by the cultural homogenization, despite every local movement of resistance” (PENNER; STRAUHBAAR, 2020, p. 143).

## Final considerations

The contemporary world goes through extraordinary changes. For centuries, and up until very recently, the superiority of the Western Civilization over the rest of the world was accepted as a self-evident given. In this context, Europe and United states worked as an absolute referential, through which every society was measured, and the non-western or situated in the peripheral area of the West had little interest and few means to investigate one another in a direct way. However, growing evidences comprise an accelerated change of axis, in the global balance, towards Asian countries. The influence of Asian countries is felt throughout the world through its growing power of economic investment, of their technologic power and, more recently, the global reach of media products and pop culture originated from them. However, until the present moment, Asian countries remain as a marginal topic, or even completely ignored by the university teaching and research in Brazil. When they occur, the study and research on these countries are generally mediated through references to western examples and literature.

In this scenario, the international advent and popularization of a regional, solid and original television culture, shared between the Far East countries, reveals the importance of contemplating in a positive manner the issues related to the production and circulation of formats and genres of television industries of Asian societies in the field of studies on the contemporary audiovisual scenario. The term “positive” is not taken here in its normative sense – as a “defense from the characteristics of audiovisual production of these societies –, but in a methodological sense: it is about trying to consider them in their own parameters, not based on the subordinate reference to the western societies, as it frequently happens. Because of that, the text sought to promote an early reflection having in mind to expand the horizons of investigation about the uprising of new poles of television production in the midst of global flows, and, on the other hand, initially reflect about the presence of these productions in the catalog of Netflix Brazil. Since it is an exploratory text, having some important questions that weren't deepened, they

will later be properly explored, in the continuation and maturation of the discussion.

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## **O Hobbit no Brasil: a recepção da trilogia cinematográfica**

### **The Hobbit in Brazil: the reception of cinematographic trilogy**

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**Resumo:** *Apresentação dos resultados brasileiros referentes à pesquisa The Hobbit Project, que envolveu 46 países e que investigou junto à audiência qual a sua percepção sobre um ou mais filmes da trilogia. São exploradas duas dimensões: os dados quantitativos relacionados às 12 questões fechadas do questionário mundial, bem como a discussão de uma das questões abertas, que destaca a justificativa dos brasileiros quanto à definição do gênero cinematográfico. O objetivo é evidenciar a partir das questões fechadas, as características dos dados brasileiros para então tratar alguns desses aspectos de forma qualitativa a partir da questão aberta. Entende-se que com isso entram em relevo as principais particularidades que o Brasil apresenta em relação à percepção dos receptores sobre ela.*

**Palavras-chave:** *O Hobbit; recepção; audiência brasileira.*

**Abstract:** *In this article are presented the Brazilian results referring to the research The Hobbit Project which involved 46 countries and that investigated*

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*the audience's perception about one or more films in the trilogy. Two dimensions are explored in this article: the quantitative data related to the 12 closed questions of the world questionnaire, as well as the discussion of one of the open questions, which highlights why Brazilian audience chooses the cinematographic genre. The objective is to evidence, looking to the closed questions, the characteristics of the Brazilian data to then treat some of these aspects in a qualitative way from the open question emphasized. It is understood that with these data, we can evidence the particularities that Brazil can present in relation to the trilogy, besides the perception of the receivers about it.*

**Keywords:** *The Hobbit; reception; Brazilian audience*

## Introduction

*The Hobbit*, book written by Tolkien over 70 years ago, was transformed into a cinematic trilogy and by Peter Jackson in 2012 and 2014. Understanding what mobilized people to go to the cinema watch the journey of Bilbo Baggins, as well as verifying what fans and the general audience thought about the adaptation of the famous book was the guiding aspects of the international research titled *The Reception of The Hobbit: a Global Comparative Film Audiences Research Project (Hobbit Project)*.<sup>5</sup> The research problematized how age, gender, household income, nationality and cultural consumption, among others, cross the filmic experience.

In Brazil, the movies of the trilogy had over 9,4 million of tickets sold. Only the last part of the narrative, *The Battle of the Five Armies*, took over 3.6 million viewers to the movie theaters,<sup>6</sup> evidencing the importance that the audiovisual narrative had amongst Brazilians.

*The Hobbit Project* had as instrument a questionnaire, elaborated by the network of researchers, integrated by 46 countries. It remained online from December, 2014 to June, 2015 and it had 29 questions (18 closed questions and 11 open questions), divided into multiple choice questions and open questions, in order to capture different audience perceptions.

In this article, we compare the national results in relation to the set of other countries that were a part of the investigation. The goal is to reveal, through the closed questions and one open, the specificities of the Brazilian results.<sup>7</sup> We analyze the responses of the 1,223 respondents that were identified as Brazilians.<sup>8</sup> This number represents 3.4% of the total of respondents (36,109 subjects) of the 46 participating countries.

5 International research coordinated by Martin Baker and Matt Hills, from Aberystwyth University (UK) and Ernest Mathijs, from British Columbia University (Canadá). The Brazilian team was coordinated by Author 1 and Author 2..

6 Source: Adoro Cinema. Available at: <http://www.adorocinema.com/filmes/filme-210516/bilheterias/>. Accessed in: Feb 21st, 2019.

7 The crossings between Brazilian data and the set of other countries were performed by Fernando Gonçalves, PhD student in Sociology at UFRGS.

8 On total, 1,208 respondents said to live in Brazil.

## **Researches on reception, cultural and media consumption: a few presuppositions**

There are five most relevant theoretical perspectives about the relationship between audiences and media that dominate the scenario in Latin America (JACKS, 1996). Among them, two matrixes stand out: Cultural Consumption and Reception Studies.

The first one, proposed by Néstor García Canclini, point towards the approach of a “set of socio-cultural processes in which the appropriation and use of products take place” (2006, p. 80). All consumption is cultural, however, the author considers that in cultural consumption, the symbolic value is superposed to the use. Such differentiation is a consequence of the independence and autonomy of the artistic and intellectual fields in modernity that created independent circuits for production and circulation of art, literature and knowledge.

It is in the field of Cultural Consumption that Canclini (2006) locates the processes of media consumption, which can contextualize the analysis of reception of massive products (TOALDO; JACKS, 2013). The specificities of media consumption allow understanding it as a branch of cultural consumption, which was evidenced by Canclini (2006). Although the economic demands interfere in the production, style and circulation of media products, they have a certain autonomy that involves the dynamic of their productive processes and consumption, which makes possible to consider them as cultural goods.

About the Reception Studies, both Guillermo Orozco and Jesús Martín-Barbero propose the approach of the issue through the analysis of mediations. According to Orozco, the main implication in assuming the audience as subject is consider it in “situation”, therefore, conditioned individually and collectively (OROZCO, 1991). Another implication is that it constitutes in many ways and becomes different throughout time. These moments are transcended, because they fuse with daily practices, responsible for the negotiation of meanings, appropriation or resistance to the massive content. As a social institution, that produces meanings and gain legitimacy by its audience, the media is also a mediator. In

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addition of being an agent of reproduction of reality, it also produces reality, provoking rational and emotional reactions in the receptors. They, in turn, also make mediations of psychologic nature determined by sociocultural elements, resulting from the interaction with the environment they live in, in a constant and dialectic process.

Martín-Barbero (1987), in turn, also proposed the understanding of communication from social practices, through which the receptor is considered a producer of meanings and the daily life is a primordial space of research. The media uses, therefore, are indispensable to analyze the appropriations of the receptors, who re-elaborate, re-signify and re-semanticize contents, according to their cultural experience, the support of such appropriations. Mediation, fundamental concept to the author, must be understood as a form of overcoming the dichotomy between production and consumption, or still between logics of production and uses.

The mediations structure, organize and re-organize the perception of reality in which the receptor is inserted, also having the power to value implicit or explicitly this reality. Due to this reason, “the research on uses obligates us, then, to dislocate us from the space of media to the place where the meaning is produced” (MARTÍN-BARBERO, 1987, p. 213).

Among the many mediations that compose the Theory of Mediations, cultural competences stand out, present in his first analytical model (MARTÍN-BARBERO, 2003) and in a more recent version (MARTÍN-BARBERO, 2003). It is the capacity of interpretation and appropriation of content by the receptors, constituted by a series of configuring elements, with highlight to the cultural matrixes and the industrial formats, other mediations of model. The cultural competence is forged by cultural practices, fed by knowledge, memories, imaginaries, etc. bearing fruit in the dimension of social classes, age and gender, among other elements (MARTÍN-BARBERO, 1992).

To Martín-Barbero, the analysis of discourse of media leads to the understanding of meaning, which, although important, does not comprise

the process of production of meaning. “In order to talk about the meaning of communication, it is necessary to talk about the meaning that communication has for people. The meaning is always the relation of a text with a situation, with some enunciators in a context in time and space” (1990, p. 36).

Although the research on *The Hobbit* can also be integrated to the perspective of media consumption, the objectives that guided the investigated are affiliated to what in Latin America has been considered reception studies. We accept that through media consumption, we observe the phenomenon under a wider angle than the research of reception “because the focus directed to the relation with the media and not with the message, to use a simplified image of the process” (TOALDO; JACKS, 2013, p. 7-8).

Thus, the analysis of Brazilian data, even if supported by the same instrument that circulated in other countries without paying attention to the specificities of national cultures, is guided by the perspective of reception theories. We, therefore, consider the mediation more focused in the image of the receptor, in other words, the cultural competence to explore the possibilities of the production of meaning, emphasizing that many are very close to associating their competences to the practices of fans (JENKINS, 2013).

### **Reception in Brazil: first results**

The analysis seek to compose the scenario of the audience of *The Hobbit* in the country<sup>9</sup> focused on the closed questions in which effectively Brazilians distance themselves from the world average. To infer the statistic validity of differences or similarities found, we used the chi-squared test (BARBETTA, 2007), nonparametric test (does not need data distributed in a normal curve) used to identify possible cause relations between

9 The only criterion to respond the questionnaire was to have watched at least one of the movies from the trilogy.

nominal or ordinal qualitative variables.<sup>10</sup> About the open questions,<sup>11</sup> the focus is on how they classify and do not classify movies in relation to the cinematographic genre.

But first, some data about the profile of the Brazilian group: it was focused in the age group of 16 to 25 years old (54%) and 26 to 35 years old (27%); 57% of men and 43% of women.<sup>12</sup> About the profession, 52% are students, 20% are independent contractors and among other occupations, 9% are creative, 8% administrative and 5% entrepreneurs. About the educational level, most of the audience is in university (45%), predominance that can be explained by the bigger internet access that this segment has in the country.<sup>13</sup>

About the quantitative data, the panorama in which there are significant distinctions among Brazilians and other nationalities is presented next.

10 In statistics, the results can be considered meaningful when they have a smaller probability than 5% ( $P - \text{Chi-square}$  smaller than 0,05) of resulting fluctuations derived from the size of the sample or other random disturbances.

11 “What motivated your choices on questions 4 [Which option best define the type of movie that belongs to the Hobbit trilogy] and 5 [Is there any of these answers you would not choose?].

12 According to Mídia Dados (2016), 70% of Brazilians between 15 and 19 years old go to movie theaters at least once a month, followed by 54% of 20 to 29 years old. About gender, there is a difference between the respondents and the profile pointed by Mídia Dados: 52% women against 48% men.

13 “Among the users with higher education, 72% access the internet every day, with a daily average intensity of 5h41, from Monday to Friday” (BRASIL, 2015, p. 7).



Table 1 –: Answers to question 3 “Choose up to three reasons to watch the trilogy films”

Options		Brazil (%)	Other countries (%)	N (Others)
I wanted to see the special effects (48 frames per second,, 3D)		16,6	12,4	203
I'm connected to the Community that has been waiting for the movies.		27,1	34	331
I love all the work from Tolkien		73,8	70,2	903
I like to see big Productions when they are released		20,4	13,2	250
There were so many buzz that I had to watch them		17,3	7,2	212
I knew the books and I wanted to see how the movies would be like		60,3	52	738
I love Peter Jackson's movies		17,5	26,7	214
An actor I like is in the movies:		18,6	25,3	228
	Richard Armitage	3,8	5,8	47
	Benedict Cumberbatch	7,4	9,9	90
	Martin Freeman	7,5	13,4	92
	Evangeline Lilly	2,2	3,6	27
	James Nesbitt	0,2	1,2	3
	Aidan Turner	1,7	3,1	21
	Hugo Weaving	2,9	4,4	36
	Another? Please specify	2,5	4,2	30

Source: Research data, 2018.

Among the reasons that led Brazilians to the cinema, the biggest differences are regarding the expectation created around the trilogy (Brazil 17.3%, others 7.2%); the interest on big productions (Brazil, 20.4%, others 13.2%); the book bringing up interest (Brazil, 60.3%, others 52%); to the experiences on special effects (Brazil 16.6%, Others 12.4%); and the admiration for Tolkien's body of work (Brazil 73.8%, others 70.2%)<sup>002E</sup> The opposite, i. e., the lowest indexes of Brazilians in comparison to other countries are: interest in Peter Jackson (Brazil 17.5%, others 26.7%); the idea of community generated by the books/films (Brazil 27.1%, Others 34%); interest in a specific actor (Brazil 18.6%, Others 25.3%). In 7 of the 14 actors present in the questionnaire we identified some significant difference in the responses, but in all of them, Brazil is lower in the indications of the other countries.

It is possible to infer that the spectacle may be implied in the bigger interest of Brazilians, since the expectation generated, the fact of the film is a blockbuster and the special effects were more determining to them, reinforced by the low interest for the director of the film, actors, and connection with communities surrounding the film.

As Brazil stands out from the other countries due to the previous reading of Tolkien's books, next, we explore the answers about the book *The Hobbit*.

Table 2 – Answers to question 17 “Have you read *The Hobbit*?”

Options	Brazil (%)	Other countries (%)	N (BR)	N (Others)
Someone read it for me	0,5	1,7	6	609
I read it once	29,8	27,1	364	9.471
I read it more than once	41,2	44,9	504	15.667
I am reading it	3,6	3,1	44	1.076
I haven't read it	12,9	13,1	158	4.573
I plan to read it	12	10	147	3.490

Source: Research data, 2018.

About the book, Brazilians distance themselves in the options “someone read it for me” and “I read it more than once” which were less chosen by them. In turn, the option “I want to read it” is more mentioned among the respondents here.

**Table 3** – Answers to question 18 “If you did, what did you think about the book?”

Options	Brazil (%)	Other countries (%)	N (BR)	N (Others)
I didn't read it	24,9	22,5	305	7.865
Awful	0,1	0,2	1	53
Weak	0,5	0,6	6	200
Ok	1,4	5,2	17	1.818
Good	18,9	30	231	10.483
Excellent	54,2	41,5	663	14.467

Source: Research data, 2018.

**Table 4** – Answers to question 4 “Which of the options best define the type of movie of The Hobbit trilogy? Choose up to three”.

Options	Brazil (%)	Other countries (%)	N (BR)	N (Others)
Fairy tale	4,2	8	51	2.791
Films in series	15,7	24,6	192	8.576
Famous actors	2,2	4,5	27	1.564
Part of Tolkien's legendar world	70,4	61,3	861	21.380
Multimedia franchise	7,3	11,3	89	3.944
Action-adventure	31,5	24,1	385	8.393
Peter Jackson movies	15,5	22,6	189	7.894
Literary adaptation	44,1	23,8	539	8.303
Movie that follows a character	5,2	3,7	64	1.300
Blockbuster	13,9	19,4	170	6.754

Source: Research data, 2018.

When rating the trilogy, the highlights in Brazil were the following genres: “a part of Tolkien’s legendary world” (Brazil 70.4%, others 61.3%); “literary adaptation” (Brazil 44.1%, others 23.8%); “action-adventure” (Brazil 31.5% others 24.1%); and “film following a character” (Brazil 5.2%, others 3.7%). On the other hand, Brazilians rated less in the following classifications: “series of films” (Brazil 15.7%, others 24.6%); “multimedia franchise” (Brazil 7.3%, others 11.3%); “Peter Jackson film” (Brazil 13.5%, others 19.4%) “blockbuster” (Brazil 13.5%, others 19.4%); “famous actors” (Brazil 2.2% others 4.5%); and “fairy tale” (Brazil 4.2%, others 8%).

The diachronic relation with the book stands out among Brazilians, either in the previous reading of the book, in the following of Tolkien’s body of work or in the fact that they rated it as a film that follows a character. A slight trend in categorizing the film as action and adventure was also identified. Other data that reinforce previous answers: Peter Jackson apparently do not move them, nor the actors. As well as they don’t associate the movie as a blockbuster or a multimedia franchise, even though it is a superproduction that led more Brazilians to the cinema than the rest of the world, as indicated in Table 1. It is important to highlight that the rating as “fairy tale” was also less indicated by Brazilians in relation to other countries.

Table 5 – Answers to question 5 “Is there any of the answers you would not choose? Choose up to three”.

Options	Brazil (%)	Other countries (%)	N (BR)	N (Others)
Fairy tale	46,7	28,6	571	9.968
Fantasy world	2,9	1,4	35	472
Series of movies	5,8	3,6	71	1.262
Famous actors	26,6	19,6	325	6.854
Family movie	13,1	15,5	160	5.403
Action/adventure	3,5	5,8	43	2.009
Peter Jackson’s movies	7,4	3	90	1.56
Literary adaptation	6,1	10,5	75	3.657
Film that follows a character	13,1	38,2	160	13.341
Blockbuster	21,9	13,3	268	4.652

Source: Research data, 2018.

About the classifications they didn't agree on, the data show that Brazilians were above average in the following categories: "fairy tale" (Brazil 46.7% others 28.6%); "blockbuster" (Brazil 21.9%, others 13.3%); "famous actors" (Brazil 26.6%, others 19.6%); "Peter Jackson movies" (Brazil 7.4%, others 3%); "series of films" (Brazil 5.8% others 3.6%); and "world of fantasy" (Brazil 2.9% others 1.4%). In that same question, other countries were ahead of Brazil when they didn't agree on "film that follows a character" (Brazil 13.1%, others 38.2%); "literary adaptation" (Brazil 13.1% others 10.5%); "action/adventure" (Brazil 3.5%; others 5.8%); and "family movie" (Brazil 13.1% others 15.5%).

Data shows that, in general, Brazilians were coherent in their answers, because the most indicated options to classify the film in question 4 (Table 4) were the ones that they rated less in the next question.

Table 6 – Answers to question 12 "Have you ever participated in some of these other activities linked to The Hobbit movies?"

Options	Brazil(%)	Other countries(%)	N (BR)	N (Others)
Fan art production	5,6	7,8	69	2.707
Blog creation	5,5	8,4	67	2.934
RPG	21,7	9,8	265	3.432
Collection of objects	26,2	21,6	321	7.519
Online comments	39,4	30	482	10.470
Games	32,9	23,4	402	8.146
Fan film production	1,2	2,1	15	747
Visits on set location	3	5	37	1.727
None of these	30,4	33,4	372	11.638

Source: Research data, 2018.

About the activities related to the universe of films, two options of game stand out: "RPG" (Brazil 21.7% others 9.8%) and "games" (Brazil 32.9% others 23.4%). Other alternatives cited were "online comments" (Brazil 39.4% others 30%) and "collection of objects" (Brazil 26.2% others 21.6%). Other countries distance themselves from Brazil in other

three activities, two of them linked to generation of content – “creation of blogs” (Brazil 5.6% others 8.4%) and “production of fan art” (Brazil 5.6% others 7.8%) in addition to “visits to set locations” (Brazil 3%, others 5%). There are also differences among those who didn’t participate in any of these activities (Brazil 30.4%, others 33.4%).

The data lead us to believe that the practice of game is more present among Brazilians, and the production of content is less popular. About the visit of locations, we suppose the low index is due to the distance between Brazil and New Zealand.

Table 7 – Answers to question 13 “What role fantasy stories play today?” Choose up to three options”.

Options	Brazil (%)	Other countries (%)	N (BR)	N (Others)
They are a form of enriching imagination	76,4	67,3	934	23.483
They are a form of experimenting and exploring emotions	44,8	29,3	548	10.239
They are a source of hope and dreams to change our world	25,8	35	315	12.200
They are an escape from reality	41,5	54,6	508	19.035
They are a form of shared entertainment	28,5	25,3	349	8.831
They allow us to explore different attitudes and ideas	35,8	28,8	438	10.061
They are a form of creating alternate universes	42	45,9	514	16.029
Did not play any role	0,7	2,2	9	759

Source: Research data, 2018.

There are also distinctions about the role of fantasy stories because Brazilians indicate that “they are a way of playing with imagination” (Brazil 76.4%, others 67.3%); “they are a way of experimenting and exploring emotions” (Brazil 44.8%, others 29.3%); “they are a way of shared entertainment” (Brazil 28.5% others 25.3%); “they allow us to explore different attitudes and ideas” (Brazil 28.5%; others 25.3%). On the other hand, the average among other countries reveal that fantasy embodies a

role of alternative to what's real/concrete, when they indicate "they are a form of escaping reality" (Brazil 41.5%, others 54.6%); "they are a form of creating alternate worlds" (Brazil 42%, others 45.9%); and, in a smaller scale, there is also this trace in the answer "they are a source of hope and dreams to change our world" (Brazil 25.8%, others 35%).

**Table 8** - Answers to question 14 "Was it important to follow news and debates about the movies?"

Options	Brazil (%)	Other countries (%)	N (BR)	N (Others)
Not at all	14,8	17,7	181	6.171
Slightly	18,3	25,1	224	8.763
Reasonably	29,7	29,3	363	10.225
Very	25,5	17,8	312	6.204
Extremely	11,7	10,1	143	3.523

Source: Research data, 2018.

About the importance of following stories and debates on the trilogy, Brazilians were distanced from the average of other countries, indicating more times the answer "very" (Brazil 25.5%, others 17.8%) and less times "slightly" (Brazil 18.3%; others 25.1%) and "not at all" (Brazil 14.8%, others 17.7%). Such data would indicate a bigger interest in the connection with communities created around the movies, however, they contradict the answers found on question 3 (Table 1): Brazilians are below the average of other countries in the option "I'm connected to the community that was waiting for the movies".<sup>14</sup>

## Audience competences

In order to understand some competences, coming from Martín-Barbero, we articulated two questions: a quantitative (Table 4) and another qualitative (Question 6) that explored the reasons that justified the classification of the movie. It is important to point out that only the answers

that classified the movie as “part of Tolkien’s legendary world”<sup>15</sup>, “fantasy world”<sup>16</sup> and “action/adventure”<sup>17</sup> were analyzed, because they are the three most prominent classifications. In this analysis step, only the Brazilian data was taken into account, not having any comparison with the other respondents.

In terms of recognition of the filmic work, one of the competences observed, the data show the dominion of the narrative universe, because 70.4% (861) classified the trilogy as “part of the Tolkien universe”, 44.1% (539) as “literary adaptation”, 15.7% (192) as a “series of films” and 15.5% (189) as a “Peter Jackson movie”.

On the other hand, reinforcing the technical, aesthetic and production aspects, 30.3% (370) classified as “spectacular scenarios”; 13.9% (170) as a “blockbuster”; 9.3% (114) as “digital innovation cinema”; 7.3% (89) as a “multimedia franchise; and 2.2% (27) for presenting “famous actors”.

About genre, 64.2% (785) classified it as a “fantasy world”; 31.5% (385) “action/adventure”; 5.2% (64) “story that follows a character”; 4.2% (51) “fairy tale”; 3.4% (41) “family movie”; and 2.4% (29) as a “children’s story”.

In the less indicated classifications, we have a confirmation of the previous answers, since the less indicated options are ahead. “Children story” with 60.3% (738), “fairy tale” with 46.7% (571) and “famous actors” with 26.6% (325).

The analysis of the justifications evidences how much the cultural competence (MARTÍN-BARBERO, 2003) goes through the production of meaning of the respondents. It is expressed in the perceptive and appropriation capabilities and is built based on the three dominion fields: a) work: relation with it and with the universe around it (news, fun facts, fandoms), which entails in the construction of a repertoire of specific and specialized knowledge (narrative, audiovisual, literary, etc.) b)

15 This classification was marked by 861 subjects, however, only 691 respondents justified their choice on the open question.

16 785 respondents classified that way, but only 135 explained such choice..

17 Got 385 indications, from which 306 subjects fundamented their choice..



the genre grammar: knowledge of the cinematographic genre identified and; c) the “cinematic experience”: habit of consumption that conforms the construction of personal taste, not guided by a specialized repertoire.

Next, a more thorough discussion of the three dominions.

#### a. work dominion

Evidenced in answers such as “part of Tolkien’s legendary world”, even though it is also present in other classifications. Data shows that the various expertises that marked the production of meanings are previously built to the assistance of the movie and confirmed by the audiovisual, cinematographic, literary knowledge, etc.

We perceived that the reading of the book *Is* indicated as the main source of construction of knowledge, which justifies a more competent audience due to the long-term relationship with the author’s stories and universe. In a few justifications, the notion of fan is relevant, corroborating with the impression of competence diachronically built. *‘I’ve read the book, I’ve watched the movies, I’m a fan of Tolkien’s work and I know what it is all about. But, again, movies and books are different things. The book is more childlike, the movies are “heavier” with all the battles’.*

The competence to transit between the literary and audiovisual fruition seem to be determining in some cases. If there are answers that evidence that these are distinct products, there are demonstrations of inter relations created by the own receptors. The movie was taken as an audiovisual representation of an universe that was restricted to the reader’s imagination. *“From now on, these actors gave face and body to the characters that before I could only imagine the appearance, voice and body expression”.*

In an attempt of exploring the types of dominions that are implied in the meanings given by Brazilians, we arrived to the following dimensions:

- **Movie buff:** with a repertoire of cinematographic knowledge that involves notions of narrative, script, frame, photography, etc. Data around the production, budget, location, box office and special effects also corroborate for the construction of this type of expertise. A more elevated degree of technical dominion was evidenced in

the answers, which would configure another type of almost “professional” receptor, who knows even the name of the cameras used, or the specificities of the direction of photography. This “expertise” in relation to the technique is manifested through the criticism to the audiovisual product of the saga.

- Literary: previous knowledge on literature, not necessarily or exclusively related to the trilogy, connected with their experience with the film adaptation.
- “geek”:<sup>18</sup> Specialization and participation that transits between being a “fan” of Tolkien’s work and/or the work of the director Peter Jackson, Knows the specificities of the narrative both in the book and the film adaptation, signaling the difference between them. Knowledge on the author’s/director’s life, his other works, etc. in addition to the opinion about the movement of adapting these works, both Lord of the Rings and The Hobbit.

#### **b. dominion of the Genre Grammar**

A very specific type of dominion, which appears to consubstantiate many expertises related to the knowledge of Tolkien’s fictional universe. Very present in the classification of the movie as action/adventure, but also in a smaller scale in answers that indicated “fantasy world” and “part of Tolkien’s legendary world” as possible styles.

Even if in the set of data this dominion is less visible, it calls the attention for the importance that some give to the strength of the story and the fantasy atmosphere created by the author. In these answers there is no argument or justification about the classification attributed, since, for them, the trilogy is *obviously* a part of Tolkien’s universe, because the author created a signature, a unique style of producing fantasy, easily recognized for those who already know. There are no rational arguments to classify the film as “part of Tolkien’s legendary world”, for instance. It’s as if the stories of Tolkien/Peter Jackson had created a subgenre.

18 Reference to those who fit into the “fan” category.

*“Tolkien’s work (and Peter Jackson’s adaptation) has a unique aesthetic, which defines the films almost as a separate genre within the fantasy cinema”.*

There is also a type of more logical argumentation, in which the movie was classified “fantasy world”, replicating the classification of the book, which is also a dominion of genre grammar, even if in the literary sphere.

Another type of dominion is implicit in the disagreement regarding the classification of the trilogy as a child story, because in this understanding the intention of the literary work, created as a bedtime story for the author’s sons, is lost in the strength that the adventure acquires in the narrative. *“The Hobbit is primarily a children story. Watching his film adaptation, after The Lord of the Rings, that would no longer be possible. It is an action/adventure movie because it is an action/adventure movie!”.*

Data indicate that this dominion can be built based on formal knowledge, but mainly by experience, regarding the consumption of these works. *“Some say the books were written for children, but it’s not like that: the movie is not a fairy tale, but a fantasy world”.*

### **c. dominion of Cine experience**

Identified in the three classifications, however it is more prominent in the justifications about the film being “action/adventure”. The personal experience, opinion and taste are mobilized and many times this preference transcends the universe of the saga (literary and cinematographic) and lies under the fantasy genre as a whole.

The justifications transit between less elaborated answers, rating it only based on “personal opinion” or evolving for the movie’s particularities, such as special effects, locations, fantasy worlds that enable a different cinematographic experience. There are also mentions to the peripheral characteristics of the story. *“I like the fantasy world, especially those from Tolkien who created this supernatural medieval world, and I keep pausing the movie in places such as the countryside of Erebor, the elven woods, Valfenda, the County, I wanted to live in a comfortable shed of a Hobbit (lol).”*

In this dominion, the production of meanings can be related to very particular appropriations, as “transporting oneself” to the fantasy world and flow aesthetically in it. *“Another thing that calls my attention in every movie adaptation of Tolkien’s work are the representations of the landscapes described. I love to visually walk in a forest of Ents or in a field where Gandalf and Scardofax run, it is simply marvelous”*.

It is also possible to infer that the type of relation that some establish with the cinematographic work seem to incorporate the dimension of desire, which, in the socio-cultural perspective of consumption (GARCIA CANCLINI, 2006), is one of the theories that can explain it. In this case the reception of the film as scenario of objectivation of the desire has in the film experience and the imagination of fantasy a fruitful space of elaboration of dreams. *“The idea of an ancient world without modern technology and strong appeal to magic with medieval scenarios and fantastic beings has always attracted me... It is something so strong in my imagination that sometimes I think I can go to this place... Be a wizard or a knight... to pick up treasures and ancient knowledge... keeping a code of honor and conduct and always defending those who need it”*.

Finally, even though we are far from run out of mobilize meanings since over 1,200 Brazilians answered this questionnaire, it was possible to outline a panorama of how much the cultural experience and the level of involvement with the films and the work that gave them origin are implied in the configuration of cultural competences, as postulated by Martín-Barbero (2003), who outlined the uses that are given to this media products.

### **Final appointments**

The scenario that is formed from the analysis of reception of the trilogy by the Brazilians points towards a good reception and a great involvement with the narrative universe, since not only the movies had an intensity in consumption and approval, but also other narratives linked to them in other platforms.

This consumption goes through material issues, of access to technologies and devices of circulation of this content that, linked to the Brazilian social-economic reality, can be determining in the forms of fruition of the narrative. Probably also goes through cultural dimensions, in which the classifications and interpretations of films tend to be subordinate to the national cinematographic tradition, one of the agents of construction of the Brazilian imagination.

These circumstances, however, only reinforce how much movies have been well received by this audience, since not only positive manifestations around the details of production and distribution, but also a search for approval of this narrative, mainly about articulations of information in the form of debates. The dominion of information dispersed in the most diverse formats of a work makes viable a bigger circulation of these elements for recognition of common factors, which was evidenced by the audience of *The Hobbit*, as a result of research performed by the Brazilian team.

This interest and sharing of information reinforce the affectionate involvement of this audience with the work and give traces of formation of a community capable of articulating the cultural product along with a repertoire and local criterion of interpretation.

When approaching the forms of evaluation of the film, the research revealed the knowledge of fans around this narrative universe. Brazilians showed an intimacy with it, in its varied formats, which is reinforced by the data related to the involvement and forms of engagement around the work.

We highlight in the set of data the indexes of fan engagement and the near absence of anti-fans or a group of fans with more criticism and/or dissatisfied with the film, supported on the fact that in every dimension analyzed by the respondents the posture was predominantly positive in relation to Peter Jackson's work. It is important to point out, however, the faded correlation established between the book and the director in the issues that enabled this perspective, especially in the open question analyzed here. They evidence, in this case, the affective dimensions of

probable fans, much more articulated to Tolkien's work – both referring to *The Hobbit* and *Lord of The Rings* – and the fantasy narrative. This aspect reinforces a national scenario articulated to the global landscape of valorization and appreciation of this type of audiovisual narrative, evidenced in the success of the two trilogies of Peter Jackson all over the world, as well as other narratives such as *Harry Potter* and the recent world phenomenon *Game of Thrones*.

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