

COMUNICAÇÃO
MÍDIA
E CONSUMO

Editores-chefes: Egle Müller Spinelli, Marcia Perencin Tondato

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Assessoria Editorial: E-papers Serviços Editoriais Ltda.

Revisão: Elisa Sankuevitz (português)

Tradução: Fabiana Ribeiro do Nascimento

Capa: Luiz Basile

e-ISSN 1983-7070

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

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CATALOGAÇÃO NA FONTE

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

Ano 18, v. 18, n. 53 (set./dez. 2021)

Quadrimestral

ISSN 1983-7070 online

Acesso em: <http://revistacmc.espm.br>

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

CDU – 659.1

ESPM

Rua Dr. Álvaro Alvim, 123 Vila Mariana São Paulo SP Brasil

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revistacmc@espm.br

Comunicação, mídia e consumo

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

Publicação quadrimestral
ano 18 • volume 18 • número 53 • set./dez. 2021
versão eletrônica da revista disponível em:
<http://revistacmc.espm.br>

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

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Enquadramentos, cenas dissensuais e o aparecer antierárquico: ação política e resistência em Judith Butler e Jacques Rancière¹

Frameworks, scenes of dissensus and the anti-hierarchical appearance: political action and resistance in Judith Butler and Jacques Rancière

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Lucas Henrique Nigri Veloso³

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Resumo: O artigo apresenta uma possível articulação entre as abordagens de Jacques Rancière e Judith Butler acerca dos modos de aparecimento político de sujeitos vulneráveis em espaços enunciativos de dissenso e demanda por reconhecimento. Argumentamos que, ainda que por caminhos reflexivos distintos, ambos valorizam as resistências que desestabilizam e questionam as ordens hierárquicas as quais definem regimes normativos reguladores das visibilidades e legibilidades que autorizam e validam as experiências dos sujeitos e suas formas de vida. Aparecer é, ao mesmo tempo, a reconfiguração do sensível e a construção de novos quadros de sentido que permitem novas coordenadas de expressão e reconhecimento das vidas precárias. Isso envolve não só a consideração das vulnerabilidades dos corpos em ação, mas também as fabulações e imaginários que redesenham trajetórias sociohistóricas de sobrevivências e lutas por justiça.

Palavras-Chave: Cena de dissenso, aparecimento, enquadramentos, sobrevivências

1 Este trabalho contou com o apoio da CAPES, do CNPq e da FAPEMIG.

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Abstract: *The article presents an attempt to articulate the approaches of Jacques Rancière and Judith Butler concerning the modes of political appearance of vulnerable subjects in enunciative spaces of dissent and demand for recognition. We argue that, although in different reflective ways, both value the resistances that destabilize and question the hierarchical orders that define normative regimes that regulate the visibilities and legibilities that authorize and validate the experiences of the subjects and their ways of life. Appearing is, at the same time, the reconfiguration of the sensible and the construction of new frames of meaning that allow new coordinates of expression and recognition of precarious lives. This involves not only considering the vulnerabilities of bodies in action, but also the fables and imagery that redraw socio-historical trajectories of survivals and struggles for justice.*

Keywords: *Scene of dissent, appearance, frameworks, survivals*

Introduction

This article intends to build a reflection around the aspects and changes of ways apparition of subjects in the public scene, interfering in the coordinates of what could be representable and the forms of utterance. An interference in the social and political operation that define what will be legible and intelligible, establishes resistances that change frames of meaning, rhythms and scales of meaning, enabling other forms of apprehending the visible and its sensitive organization. Jacques Rancière and Judith Butler, even though they had different paths, have developed reflections around the “devices of visibility that regulate the statute of bodies and the type of apprehension and attention they deserve” (RANCIÈRE, 2012, p. 96). Both have been dedicating themselves to promote an ethical approach of the political appearing (*aparaitre*) of bodies, identifying what type of gaze and implication this “appearing” raise along those who observe and interrogate the frameworks that make discourses, gestures, images, bodies visible and readable.

According to Buttler (2011), the framework, taken as a frame that makes vulnerable individuals visible, negatively contributes for intensifying its precariousness and its erasure. Because of that, its reflection on the recognition and the ethics of justice involves problematizing framing in search for cracks which indicate that the frame does not determine in a precise manner what we see, think, recognize and apprehend.

Through different routes, Rancière (2012, 2013, 2019) approaches the argument elaborated by Butler when he defines “appearing” of subjects in the scene of dissensus through an intervention, disturbance and reorganization of perceptive shapes given, to the point of making so that individuals, words and objects can no longer be inserted in the sensitive framework defined by a network of meanings, nor find their place and time anymore in the system of police coordinates where they usually are located.

When observing the devices of visibility that define and impose constraints to the forms how bodies are represented in image, Rancière (2007, 2012, 2019) and Butler (2015) call our attention to the mechanisms of

regulation the statute of bodies represented and the type of attention conceived to them. Frameworks articulates a form of biopolitics or biopolitical government of collective bodies, restraining behaviors, modes of agency and possibilities of action. The framework promotes a type of power that involves the forms of (in)visibility and (i)legibility of subjects and groups, regulating the space and the forms of appearance.

The biopolitical use of collective bodies work in the production of frameworks that refuse precariousness, valuing emancipation and autonomy, preserving, at the same time, control over the possibilities of being and existing in society. Frameworks set a way of neoliberal governmentality that structures the eventual field of appearing and action of subjects. According to Judith Butler (2015, p. 14), frameworks (or interpretative frames) “do not determine unilaterally the conditions of appearing (in the sense of a performative apparition about a public scene) of subjects and events. However, its goal is to demarcate the sphere of apparition”. Therefore, becoming visible in a communicative scene of dissensus involves not only the choice of frameworks of shared meaning and values – through which individuals will be identified, known and named – but also the instauration of a conflictive relationship of searching for recognition, legitimacy and autonomy. Being visible, in this case, articulates the existence of a public image to an inter subjective and reciprocal process of utterance, of speaking and listening, accommodation and strangeness.

Our intention, in this text, is to explore the invention of the controversial scene of “appearance” and interlocution, in which is inscribed the gesture, the word and the body of the speaking subject, and in which this subject is constituted in a performative, poetic and argumentative manner, through the connection and disconnection among the multiple names and forms of “presentation of self” that define them. We come from the idea that, both for Butler and for Rancière, “appearing” is not only acquiring visibility, but involves altering the way subjects are perceived and recognized by the others, what demands a dislocation of gaze, a different form of imagining otherness and considering forms of

life that appear in front of us. In the terms of perspectives presented here, appearing means to alter the ways of disposition of bodies, temporalities, spatialities and textualities, in other words, the gesture of reorganizing the field in which the experience itself is lived.

Defining schemes of appearing and the apprehension of precarious lives

When we add the contemporary productions of Judith Butler (2004, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018), we verify that one of the pillars that base her sociological, political and ethical theory is the proposition that embodied human existence is necessarily, even if not sufficiently, conditioned by precariousness. This notion is based by the author through the attestation that the condition of preservation and potentialization of any existence considered as life is conditioned, since the beginning by relations of material, symbolic and affectionate dependence of other beings beyond an individual or himself. In other words, even if we experience multiple dimensions of existing in an individual manner, individuality or singularity is precarious and opaque by finding itself always supported by relations that exceed a self. In this sense, the notion of precariousness puts in foreground the rationality that necessarily conditions our existence as social beings.

Precariousness, as a notion that seek to comprise a necessary ontological dimension of humanity, cannot be thought out, according to the author, as a purified essence or a quality detached from the social and political conditions that cross, obstruct or foster the preservation and development of human lives. This situation is revealed in an especially problematic manner when we attest that, especially in our western everyday life, deficiencies, absences or negations of relations and social structures of existential support, often aren't even "apprehended" as invariably necessary for the preservation and fomentation of a few populations, groups or individuals. Due to that reason, the asymmetrical distribution of precariousness produces, to Butler, asymmetrical ways of

precarity which calls us with urgency to question the pretended foundations and social conditions that are produced, reiterated or intensified by that; an issue of moral, ethical and political nature par excellence.

When questioning about the socio-political crossings that modulate differentially the precarity, Butler proposes that these are an effect of a processual social reiteration of certain “frames of intelligibility” and “norms of recognizability” which allow and prioritize the preservation and promotion of some lives and forms of existence, while legitimating or naturalizing violence and death of others, these that often are not even considered worthy of grief. Such frames selectively sculpt the experience of subjects, in a way that

“We cannot easily recognize life outside of the frameworks in which it is presented, and these frameworks are not only structuring the way which we come to know and identify life but constitute conditions that support that same life” (BUTLER, 2015, p. 44).

For Butler (2004, 2011, 2015), the frameworks would help us distinguish the lives we can appreciate and value from the ones that wouldn't be deserving of being considered. The terms, categories, conventions and general rules that operate in devices of framework shape and transform, for instance, a living being from a subject prone of being recognized through a specific form of apprehension, in other words, a form of knowledge associated to feeling and perceiving, without using concepts. It is about knowing how these norms operate to make certain subjects recognizable people and making others decisively harder to recognize. The problem, according to Butler (2015, p. 20) “is not only knowing more people in existing norms, but rather considering how the existing norms attribute recognition in a different manner”. It is possible to say that there is an approximation between Rancière's perspective and Butler's approach when we talk about searching another sensitive order that allow us to fight against the ranking and subjection. Both topicalize form as a type of control which defines and marks what and who could be audible, visible and readable:

The silent interpretative scheme which distinguishes worthy lives from the unworthy of consideration works fundamentally through the senses, differentiating the screams we can hear from the ones we can't, the visions we can see from the ones we can't, (...) which means that a fight must happen against the forces that seek to regulate the commotion and affectation of different forms. (BUTLER, 2015, p. 83).

The premises, judgements, disagreements, values, affective predispositions, etc. which allow social actors to recognize and understand the facts and perceptions reveal how the framing is set as a central organizing idea in processes of unveiling and discursive construction of a political problem and the subjects articulated by those. However, the framework is not capable of fully contain what it transmits and, because of that, it ruptures every time it tries to give a definitive organization to its content (BUTLER, 2015). In this process of continuous rupture, the terms through which subjects are named and known are produced, dislocated, questioned and altered. It is about, according to Butler, knowing how the operations of appearance work that make certain subjects and groups recognizable and valuable, while others are clearly removed from respect and consideration.

It is important to point out that, even though precariousness and vulnerabilities are differentially and asymmetrically distributed in a certain social context, therefore marking lives as worthy or not of existence, preservation and potentialization, the author's reflection intends to surpass the historic opposition to which these notions were associated with others, such as agency, creativity, insurgency and political resistance. According to her, when vulnerable and precarized subjects are apprehended from the production of a space of appearance outlined by its political action, reveal a resistant power of putting in question an unfair social normativity (VELOSO, 2018).

Therefore, the practical reiterations of "intelligibility schemes" which compose framings and "norms of recognizability" linked to them, do not determine the destiny of a corporeality, identity or a subject in a certain social context, even though it conditions roles, functions, social

actions and modes of existence. Butler finds the power of resistance in the performative reiteration, in redefinitions and dislocations that fracture hegemonic social orders:

The performative is not a single act used by an already established subject, but one of the most powerful and insidious forms in which a subject is called to become a social being through diffused places and is inserted in the social through a set of powerful and diverse interpellations. In this sense, social performative is a crucial part not only of the affirmation of the subject, but also of the consequent political questioning and the reformulation of the subject itself. The performative is not only a ritual practice is one of the most influent rituals in formation and reformulation of subjects. (BUTLER, 2005, p. 256).

In this sense, “performativities” produced by corporealities crossed by vulnerabilities, violence and damages, such as the caused, for instance, by individuals, groups and social movements in their daily interactions or in protests, enable the emergency of an act of objection to injustices that are supposedly updated and naturalized in a given context. “These collective forms of resistance are structured in a very different manner from the idea that a political subject that establishes their agency while subjugating their vulnerability – this is the masculinist ideal which we must continue to be opposed” (BUTLER, 2016, p. 24).

The author gives special emphasis to the need of understanding political “performances” not only through the interaction effects of multiple scales that produce, but also through networks and relationships of alliance or opposition, human, non-human and/or extra-human, which enable or create obstacles so that corporealities discuss the perceptible social field or “space of appearing” (BUTLER, 2018). It is important to point out that this “space of appearing”, despite referring to Hannah Arendt’s argument about the public square, is not considered by the author as a public sphere detached from or taken as given to a posterior surfacing of politics, mainly when we consider that public or private qualities of spaces, times and materialities are already crossed by disputes and/or

negotiations between different social groups more or less vulnerable in relation to one another.

The “appearing” can designate a visible presence, spoken words, but also representation in network and silence. In addition, we have to be able to think in such acts as a plural action, presupposing a plurality of bodies that present their converging purpose of forms that do not require a conformity strict with a singular type of action, or a singular type of claim, and that do not constitute together a singular type of subject. (BUTLER, 2018, p. 157).

The space of appearing involves the understanding of how vulnerable subjects enunciate their demands and, at the same time, their vulnerabilities, exposing bodies that need support, but not in the sense of “eliminating” what the hierarchic order points negatively as “precariousness”. The political appearing in spaces supposedly or potentially public expresses, thus, a “performative contradiction” that not only puts their own social norms at stake, but also the own socially shared meaning of their own vulnerabilities:

There is a plural and performative bodily resistance at work that shows how bodies are being manipulated by social and economic politics that are decimating the means of subsistence. But these bodies, when showing this precariousness, are also resisting to these same powers; they play a form of resistance that presupposes a vulnerability of specific type and are opposed to the precariousness. (BUTLER, 2016, p. 20, our translation).

The spaces or scenes of appearing are effects of the alliances and agencies that are guided by the care and responsibility with the other more vulnerable. According to Butler, subjects and corporealities can, even though in brief and infinitesimal instants, introduce cracks in the social time-space that comprises them, through tensions, dislocations and/or even reconfigurations of labeling, values, social esteems and even the aesthetic of the “normalized” and ‘normalizing” gaze which, in other contexts, are reiterated by the norm.

Butler's "space of appearing" takes into account the exposure of individual and collective bodies, revealing her relational constitution dependent of alliances that can be established "among people that live together with that purpose, it doesn't matter where they are, which means that as with any action happens in a localized place, it also establishes a space that belongs to the alliance itself" (BUTLER, 2018, p. 73).

When mobilizing the notion of "space of appearing" proposed by Hannah Arendt (2009), Butler can affirm that the "appearing" in the (supposedly) public scene is the condition necessary for democratic politics and the emergence of existences that affirm that are alive and worthy of living, objecting their supposed invisibility and unworthiness of grief. Notwithstanding, it is important to emphasize that spaces or "scenes of appearing" of affecting and being affected, of a mediation of appearing that promotes an exposition and dispossession of self from the other, either by a gesture, scenic performance or collective protest:

[...] we appear to someone and that our appearing has to be registered by the senses, not only our own, but somebody else's. If we appear, we must be seen, which means our body must be seen, and our vocalized sound must be heard: the body must enter in the visual and audible field... Appearing is not a necessarily morphological moment when the body takes a risk of showing up not only to speak and to act, but also to suffer and move, to engage other bodies, to negotiate an environment someone depends on, to establish a social organization with the goal of satisfying needs. (BUTLER, 2018, p. 175).

If Judith Butler goes beyond Hannah Arendt (2009) when she says that a "public sphere" is not a space you simply enter, as an "Agora" that waits that a people or citizen to speak up and express themselves, speak or express themselves through the reciprocal justification so that they can be seen and heard, it is necessary to think still about the material, symbolic and affective supports so that the subjects have the condition to "appear" in other contexts beyond those who tend to reiterate their forgetfulness, alienation and exclusion.

Therefore, there is no way to promote apparition without questioning the asymmetrical forms of power that delimit the sphere of the visible. That does not mean to dismiss the logics of management, governmentality and control that come from institutions and their strategic rationalities. However, it implies recognizing that there are moments in which norms can be broken, adapted or replaced by others. In Rancière's words, subversion disestablishes and interpellates the order of the police qualifying them, making them less police-like, even though it continues to be management (PRADO, 2019).

We point out that Butler and Rancière are interested in the ruptures that can be made in the system of visibility, in other words, in how it is possible to subvert the dominant order and seek moments in which other possibilities of appearing of subjects may emerge, even if temporary. They characterize the subversion as an aesthetic and performative process through the appropriation and torsion of forms of doing, making and being. While Butler emphasizes the appropriation of new forms of being through the inexact repetition of norms, Rancière emphasizes the appropriation of times and spaces through dis-identification and subjectivation. And both highlight that politics can't be transformed in management, it must be reinvented, without the unquestioned use of the moral grammar that ranks subjects and their bodies and allows conflict to find places of expression in the public world.

In Butler's terms, the political act needs to reveal itself as a certain mode of life produced as a possible reality through its action within the norm, but an action that reiterates it and recreates it at the same time. In Rancière's terms, the political act must reveal the mechanisms of constitution of a certain truth, which evidence the contingency of any hierarchic order. According to him, the subject is always positioned between identities, between forms of police and political regulation, searching a reconfiguration of the field of their experience and their condition of enunciation, "especially in certain contexts where the so-called dissonant noises are in the borders of these forms of governance

that act through the manufacturing of identity locations” (PRADO, 2019, p. 209).

The dis-identification is a process that joins and separates identities, showing how they are already coated, already named in the breast of hierarchies through social technologies of management of time and space. Therefore, it is a process that allows that subjects escape evaluative and bio legitimator discourses that prescribe and determine their existence and expectation of change. Resisting identity fixation is to distance oneself from a condition of prepared recognition. To Rancière, as we will see next, disidentification is a process of subjectivation in which are questioned and re-disposed the codes, times and spaces that defined and made an individual or group intelligible until then. It is an affirmation of an alternative rationality that can assure re-existences and survivals.

The dissensus scene and the political insurgence of “*apparâître*”

The concept of “appearance” in Rancière (2018b, 2019) is not restricted to something superficial or to the way someone or something manifests publicly. Appearing (*apparâître*) is an aesthetic and political gesture that promotes another form of structuring the “thinkable”, involving the alteration of a regimen of perception, of reading and listening through which diverse elements are juxtaposed and get in friction in a way of allowing a dislocation of our position in relation to the way we apprehend, perceive and respond the demands of the other and the events of the world.

Appearing is an aesthetic experience of rupture with a pre-figured order which programs our perception and our reason to cater in a consensual way to these appeals. Therefore, “appearing” is a practice that resets visibility and intelligibility which mediate our interactions with otherness. This gesture is insurgent, because it defies the hierarchy that links the gaze and the listening to devices of control and predictability.

In a wider sense, it would be possible to affirm that Rancière is interested in thinking about a repositioning of bodies, in how to produce

dislocations and cracks in the naturalized ways of apprehension and explanation of events, in how to invent “a way of interrupting the machine of explaining things” (RANCIÈRE, 2018b, p. 17). According to Rancière, the type of operation that can change the “distribution of the visible and thinkable” (RANCIÈRE, 2019, p. 50) is to set the scene.

The scene can be defined as a creation of a possibility of enunciation of subjects that go beyond fixed places and times by the consensual hierarchic order (policial order⁵). In other words, in a scene of dissensus, it is possible to perceive how it is possible how, in reiteration of norms and codes of control and conduct, there is the potentiality of following historic processes and the attempts of producing moments of dislocation of the sensitive regime that defines legibilities and intelligibilities unequally destined to subjects that question a social identity imposed to them. To go beyond social identities and previously defined scripts outline a conflict that can promote opportunities to “invent a scene in which spoken words become audible, objects become visible and individuals become recognized” (RANCIÈRE, 2020, p. 124).

I think that the issue of scene is also very strongly linked to the issue of appearance, to the fact that appearance is not the contrary to reality, but the scene of manifestation. Theatricality is the construction of another universe of appearances: the fact that making appear what wasn't or making appear in a different from what appeared under a certain mode of visibility and intelligibility. Theatricality is strongly linked to that, knowing that everything is played in presentation of what it appears (theatricality from insurrection) (2018b, p. 17).

The scene promotes, thus, other possibilities of arrangements and articulations among temporalities and spatialities in a way of altering the dynamics of appearing of subjects and events, reorganizing the field of visible and excluding it from a consensual representative order. According to Rancière (2019, p. 48), what is important in this scene is the fact that

5 “I defined police as a form of sharing sensitive, characterized by the imaginary adequacy of locations, roles and forms of being, by the absence of vacancies and supplements. (...). Police, to me, does not define an institution of power, but a principle of sharing the sensitive within which strategies and techniques of power can be defined.” (RANCIÈRE, 2010, p.78).

it builds a visibility and an “appearance” through attempts of framing, assembling and distributing experiences and their registers questioning the historic and social form taken by these arrangements, tensioned between the cut and the construction or weaving of a “common”. The situation made present through the scene produces a type of cut or discontinuation which shows the arbitrariness or the violence of the current sharing of sensitive and the possibility of difference. However, this cut is not a result of an instantaneous interruption, detached from social-historic processes of fight and conflict: “We are not dealing with the radical discontinuity that makes what was impossible yesterday possible tomorrow” (RANCIÈRE, 2018b, p. 31). The scene puts in evidence a singularity and connects the interruption of the policial order to wider processes that generally are made illegible through mechanisms of separation between everyday life of subjects and the unreachable of a impenetrable totality represented by the neoliberal governmentality. But it is important to remember that the scene of dissensus is not necessarily related to this specific form of policial sharing of the sensitive, just like there are different policial regimes, different types of scene are mounted to evidence specific hierarchic arrangement;

The notion of scene comprises two ideas: the one of a cut and the one with a certain architecture of what is given. (...) The issue is: what is given to perceive? What location the individuals have that are given to see in this architecture? (RANCIÈRE, 2019, p. 49).

As we will see later on, it is this idea of “architecture of what is given” that allows an approximation between Rancière’s and Butler’s perspectives: the scene promotes alterations in the frameworks that structure the architecture of the visible. These alterations are a product, simultaneously, of the emergence of processes of political subjectivation and the work of reflection of those who dedicate themselves to the operation of setting a scene through the approximation of documents, images, words, historic registrations that bring up the political and historic movement of insurgency. The experienced scene, produced and unfolded by the operation of subjectivation exist as a singularity that may or may not be redirected in the work of setting.

Certain subjects that are not considered create a common controversial scene where they put in discussion the objective status of what is given and impose an exam and discussion of these things that weren't visible or considered before. (RANCIÈRE, 2010, p. 125).

When explaining how the scene compose the method of equality, Rancière (2018b) reinforces that their epistemological role consists in refusing a causal logic of explanation that privileges the search for something hiding under appearances. The scene allows that is at stake in the singularity chosen to be contemplated, it associates the setting of events that are located in a discontinuous temporality, from the choice of a certain form of rationality: "I thin that in the thickness of a singular event we can read the set of bonds that define a political, artistic or theoretical singularity" (RANCIÈRE, 2018b, p. 22).

The work of building a scene is shared between experiences of political subjectivation and thoughts that evidence the political agency of social and intellectual actors that wish to evidence a "poetic of knowledge", altering the coordinates of the field in which experiences unfold. Such poetics comprehend the method of scene as conjunction, while ethical and aesthetic gesture of putting bodies, gestures, gazes, words and meanings together in a way of producing a fiction that reveals a form of rationality that cannot be explained by what is "out of scene", but by the disposition and setting of elements that compose them.

Fiction in the sense that the scene that I build, I invent. Even if I come from a text, I reinvent it as text of a character that observes a book or watches a show. I invent it with verifiable elements, but there is always a moment of *mise en scène*. In general, it is the same thing I did in Night of the Proletariat, where there is, at the same time, a huge mass of files and scenes that are, in fact, conjectural. I offer them as they were told, or I tell them again under the form of a probability. There is always a game from the possibilities in which the event offers, as data, to build a scene, a form of enunciation, a space of the viewer. (RANCIÈRE, 2018b, p. 125).

Therefore, we emphasize how the notion of scene is linked to the creative work, creating fables and resistant to the fictional narrative,

because it promotes a multitude of worlds and forms of experimentation that are not our own, and, because of that, allow us to think, tell the world and reflect about it in another perspective. Fiction allows “other ways of identifying events and actors and other forms of articulating them to build common world and stories. (RANCIÈRE, 2017, p. 13).

The setting allows the approximation of heterogeneous temporalities, spatialities, corporealities and languages, whose tension and shock can falter the incoherences of representations and the way they usually bring, at the same time, conflicts and their peaceful solutions.

The scene is what exposes the most different ways one thing can be perceived: it is always, to me, the moment in which things can falter, be shaken or reversed. (...) There is subjectivation, to me, when there is a reset of coordinates of a field of experience. That is what’s at stake in the scene. (2018b, p. 31)

The rationality of fiction derives from differences and ruptures that produce in the breast of a supposedly homogeneous continuum led by the causal and hierarchic order of organizing and inhabiting time (CALDERÓN, 2020). The scene allows, therefore, the fictional ordination of a singularity through which can reveal “what was indexed under the register of one possible reality, presenting to this ordinary and already consensual real a de-hierarchization and another possibility of showing up” (RANCIÈRE, 2019, p. 55). The scene and its setting produce moments of *rêverie* (*daydream*):

Moments that explode, dynamite the continuous time, the time of winners: allowing the opening of another time, a common time, born in the breaches operated in the first: not a time of dream that would make the suffered time fall into oblivion or project a heaven to come, but a time that is presented in another manner, giving a different weight to such instant, connecting it to an Other articulating other instants (RANCIÈRE, 2018c, p. 36).

Just like Butler, we see that Rancière is concerned with the way antagonic bodies and enunciations appear on the scene, because they define

it “as conjunction, as operation of putting bodies, perspectives, words, gestures and meanings” (2018a, p. 29). Appearing has an emancipatory dimension, because it involves another way of thinking a distribution and organization of bodies and capacities, modifying a field of experience and building a common alternative world in relation to the one which the identity positions, expectations and temporalities were already signed and distributed. Altering the conditions of appearing is also fracturing the device that controls which bodies and which appearances are worthy of being considered legitimate to the detriment of appearances perceived as abject and despicable.

Final considerations

In our point of view, a first possible approximation between Butler and Rancière’s approach about the conditions of political appearing of subjects about a scene of conflict is related to the way they define such conditions, pointing out deep asymmetries in the ways of apprehension and intelligibility, making the processes of recognition and minimization of injustices harder. Both bet in the importance of altering schemes of legibility and intelligibility of the world so that we can imagine and effectively build a common non-hierarchic order, that recognizes the dignity of existences.

Derived from this first approximation, a second interface between Butler’s reflection (2016, 2017, 2018) and Rancière is found in the political power of “spaces of appearing” of bodies, their experiences and forms of life, taking into special consideration the support networks, agencies, alliances and performativities that constitute and introduce difference in their interactions and social struggles.

We believe that Butler and Rancière bet in the appearing as an operation of resistance which alters legibilities and intelligibilities. Butler’s subversive gesture gives focus to the presence of a corporeality that invents a different response to the one expected or foreseen. In Rancière, the modification of coordinates of experience which inscribe bodies in time and space begins when a vulnerable body gets to access the

“unmeasured moment” (RANCIÈRE, 2017, p. 155), in other words, the “moment of shaking that is conserved between nothing and everything, that gets in this border in which lives are falling into nothingness rise” and are taken from the infraworld of time of reproduction and hierarchy. In our point of view, the political gesture narrated by Butler in the construction of alliances open a deviant time and space hiatus, revealing vulnerable subjects that create, many times in the midst of an atrocious suffering, “another way of inhabiting time, another way of sustaining a moving body and spirit”. (RANCIÈRE, 2018c, p. 34).

Butler and Rancière define their public apparition of subjects as a shock that rips bodies and their potentialities of stigmatizing frameworks and causal and deterministic manners of narrative ordination of history. Both question the sensitive rules of apprehension and intelligibility of bodies, building what was programmed to be seen. Appearing comprises, for both, the breach of expectation, the expansion of the enunciative experience, “altering the statute of the visible, the way we look at things and how we move through them” (RANCIÈRE, 2019, p. 51).

The combination between the appropriation of norm in Butler and the dis-identification in Rancière shows us how subversions can derive the appropriation of times and spaces that previously weren't legitimately designated to subjects within the policial order or schemes of biopolitical control: in these appropriations, subjects were dis-identified and/or allow dis-identification with a position that was previously defined in the current hierarchy, modifying the relations traced between elements that locate them in a social order.

Such “new relations” derive from, according to Rancière (2019), the reconstitution of the conceptual network that makes an utterance thinkable and that modifies the conditions of their appearing. The appearing (and the scenic space it calls for) consists in, thus, producing an arrangement, a reframing, a reorganization of perceptive forms given, a re composition of the order that sustains a given narrative, a set that evidences a gap, a space that makes possible to inhabit the “in-between”. The survivals linked to the space of apparition are produced in the

continuous fractures and remodeling of visibilities and intelligibilities, in the construction of alliances between bodies and imaginaries, that are related to the political power that precarious lives have of producing a “performative contradiction” directed towards the agents of governmentality and subjection (VELOSO, 2017).

The scene of appearing is set by excess, by supplement, by what surpasses places and times fixated by the political order and by biopolitical and necropolitical frameworks. Because of that, not only in protest and large-scale agencies, but this scene is also explicitly understood as a form of experiencing time potentially in any scale and territoriality, in macro and micro events (MARQUES & PRADO, 2018, p. 29); it is the excess that characterizes the “scene of dissensus”, as the emergency of the “without part” and the process of dis-identification (RANCIÈRE, 2012).

When focusing the embodied vulnerabilities that constitute a social action, the scene of apparition in Butler considers the access and restriction to networks of material and symbolic support introduce difference in the own formation and “performativity” of a political action and in what sense these dynamic elements are updated, objected and/or re-appropriated (WOODFORD, 2017). In this sense, mapping how political subjects experience their vulnerabilities, violence and damages can lead us to understand network alliances themselves, and the opposition they form and the effect they produce in the politics performed, for instance, in a collective protest.

Under this aspect, mapping performativities and dis-identifications is also a movement of mapping their own social structures of “intelligibility” and “recognizability” that are updated, reported or uttered as fairer in a certain context. The embodied exposition of self, always crossed by vulnerabilities, have both the possibility of reiterating dominant normative schemes, producing unpredictable and perverse effects, and exposing socially naturalized flaws, violence and injustices (VELOSO, 2017).

Under this bias, Rancière and Butler call us to study political processes in their “becoming”, in other words, de-naturalizing terms such as agency, subject and politics as a priori notions that universally categorize

or explain rationalities, corporealities, agencies, practices and territories that are agonistically related in a fight for justice. Both reveal how survivals relate to the efforts made in moments of collective insurgence, of people in alliance, to rebuild a common form of life. Therefore, at the same time that a scene of appearing is installed in a space-time of rupture, there is

[...] an effort to install a duration of these moments of reconstruction of a common form of life in experiences of production, exchange, circulation of information, transmission of knowledges and the offer of care that weave networks of a solidarity in the conflicts of today, which is also the anticipation of a future form of life, a common form of life free of the hierarchy of time and abilities (RANCIÈRE, 2018c, p. 46-47).

What calls our attention is the fact that Rancière highlights the articulations and bonds of belonging that give origin to experiences rich in multiple lines of escape that allow subjects to constitute and appear as agents of their lives. Like Butler, he points out how affections and bonds weaved through conflict reinforce how subject evidenced everything they do to keep their dignity, their integrity, how they continuously fix the ordinary world, so that they could build conditions of self-preservation being a part of a “common free from the hierarchy of times and abilities”.

This is an important issue, since the way subjects weave together the network of maintenance of life, they will articulate the weave of solidarity, of belongings, the trace of humanity that insists on being disrespected. The articulations produced by insurgences allow life to keep its weave, its shape, at the same time that helps subjects to find a rhythm, a viable style that resists pain, suffering, attack. It is like they were barricades made of vulnerabilities and resistances that, glued together by the affection, work together to make amends and a continuous creation of fables of life that threatens to break every minute.

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In the current article, all authors took active part in the discussion of results; and made the revision and approval of the final version of the work.

Date of submission: 08/11/2020

Date of acceptance: 11/3/2020

Aproximaciones socioantropológicas al estudio de los grupos de Whatsapp y Facebook

Abordagens sócio-antropológicas para o estudo dos grupos de Whatsapp e Facebook

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Resumen: *Este artículo presenta un análisis comparado de la bibliografía sobre los intercambios comunicativos que se producen en los grupos de carácter público en WhatsApp y Facebook. La metodología aplicada ha sido la búsqueda sistemática de artículos científicos en Web of Science y Scopus, y de los textos disponibles en castellano y portugués en Google Académico, lo que nos ha permitido seleccionar un corpus final de 56 artículos científicos, que hemos organizado y sintetizado en función de los enfoques teóricos, temas y métodos. Concluimos que las diferencias encontradas en las metodologías de investigación responden a que nos encontramos ante escenarios tecnológicos en los que se producen interacciones que tiene distinto significado para los actores, más próximo a la conversación en los grupos de WhatsApp y al relato en los de Facebook.*

Palabras clave: *WhatsApp; Facebook; grupos digitales; etnografía digital; affordance*

Resumo: *Este artigo apresenta uma análise comparativa da bibliografia sobre as trocas comunicativas que acontecem nos grupos públicos no WhatsApp e no Facebook. A metodologia aplicada foi a pesquisa sistemática de artigos científicos*

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na Web of Science e Scopus, e dos textos disponíveis em espanhol e português no Google Scholar, o que nos permitiu acessar a um corpus final de 56 artigos científicos, que temos organizado e sintetizado em função das abordagens teóricas, temas e métodos. Concluimos que as diferenças encontradas nas metodologias de pesquisa respondem ao fato de estarmos diante de cenários tecnológicos nos quais acontecem interações que têm significados diferentes para os atores, mais próximos da conversa nos grupos de WhatsApp e da narração no Facebook.

Palavras-chave: *WhatsApp; Facebook; grupos digitais; etnografia digital; affordance*

Introducción

La proliferación de grupos digitales circunscritos a un territorio o una temática concreta demuestra que estos se han convertido en escenarios privilegiados para la comunicación pública. Los colectivos sociales crean estos grupos usando, sobre todo, la red social Facebook o bien la aplicación de mensajería instantánea WhatsApp, decantándose por una u otra opción en función de la fortaleza de los vínculos, el encuadramiento temático o las características del contexto que rodea a sus miembros (DURÁ-LIZÁN; TRAVÉ-MOLERO; NOGUÉS-PEDREGAL, 2020).

A pesar de su relevancia social, son escasas las investigaciones en torno a los grupos digitales de redes sociales, ya sea como objeto de estudio o como campo de investigación etnográfico. La necesidad de adaptar la metodología y técnicas a los nuevos entornos tecnológicos (ÁLVAREZ GANDOLFI, 2016a; ARDÉVOL; GÓMEZ-CRUZ, 2013), las incertidumbres éticas y legales (BARBOSA; MILAN, 2019; ESTALELLA; ARDÉVOL, 2007) e incluso cuestiones relacionadas con la autenticidad de los datos (HINE, 2015), pueden ser un freno a la investigación.

Esta revisión bibliográfica busca organizar, resumir y contrastar las perspectivas, temas y metodologías predominantes desde las que se ha abordado la incipiente investigación sobre la naturaleza de los intercambios comunicativos que se producen en los grupos de WhatsApp y Facebook.

Hemos dado prioridad a las perspectivas socioantropológicas, que aportan a la investigación de la comunicación el interés por las redes de socialización que articula y la comprensión de los sistemas comunicativos como procesos intersubjetivos en los que se producen significados sociales. Además, estos enfoques suelen asumir, de forma más o menos manifiesta, las prácticas comunicativas mediatizadas digitalmente como resultado del encuentro entre las potencialidades de la tecnología y las lecturas que hacen los usuarios de ella (DAVIS; CHOUINARD, 2016).

Priorizamos, igualmente, las aproximaciones etnográficas –o metodologías afines como el análisis de discurso–, que permiten acceder a las

formas de interacción y a los significados profundos que se generan en los grupos creados en las plataformas digitales, y que ponen el foco en el contexto social como fuente fundamental de sentido. Dejamos a un lado las áreas aplicadas como el marketing, la salud o la educación.

Los textos han sido seleccionados, en primera instancia, a partir de las bases de datos de reconocida calidad científica Web of Science y Scopus. A continuación, hemos realizado una búsqueda intensiva de los artículos disponibles en castellano y portugués en Google Académico, ya que la producción en estos idiomas sobre el tema es reducida y la herramienta de Google permite acceder a un volumen mayor de documentos. En total, hemos analizado un corpus de 56 artículos científicos escritos en inglés, español y portugués. De ellos 30 estudian intercambios comunicativos en grupos de Facebook, 24 en grupos de WhatsApp y dos lo hacen en grupos creados en ambas plataformas. En cada uno de los textos hemos identificado los principales enfoques, temáticas, así como las metodologías y técnicas aplicadas.

A partir de este trabajo, hemos categorizado los textos en dos grandes bloques: (1) los artículos que estudian el *flujo de conversación* que se genera en WhatsApp y (2) los textos que estudian los *relatos* que se producen en Facebook.

El estudio de las interacciones conversacionales en los grupos de WhatsApp

El acceso a los grupos creados en WhatsApp, generalmente vinculados a comunidades cerradas, es especialmente difícil y controvertido para el investigador y puede ser la causa de que este objeto de estudio aún sea marginal. De hecho, es frecuente que las investigaciones en torno a la aplicación se realicen en contextos accesibles y relacionados con los propios ambientes universitarios. En este ambiente, se han investigado mediante la administración de cuestionarios los procesos a través de los cuales los jóvenes universitarios hacen suya esta tecnología y los sentidos que adquiere en su socialización (AHAD; LIM, 2014), la

relevancia que el sentimiento de apego tienen en la motivación para participar en grupos de WhatsApp formados por familiares (KURNI-ASIH; RIYADHSYAH, 2018) o cómo la discusión de los jóvenes en torno a noticias de actualidad en grupos de WhatsApp estimula en ellos el interés por la política (VERMEER et al., 2020).

Virginia Fuentes, Marta García y María Aranda (2017) han estudiado las dinámicas comunicativas en los grupos de WhatsApp vinculados a materias universitarias, usando como técnica los grupos de discusión. Destacan el dinamismo que introduce WhatsApp en la comunicación grupal y argumentan que a través de esta aplicación se modifican “las maneras de proceder y relacionarse, los elementos considerados necesarios para la inclusión/exclusión de las personas, los códigos empleados para la comunicación y el propio sentimiento de identidad y/o pertenencia” (2017, p. 167). Sin embargo, advertimos que esta investigación tiene una naturaleza sincrónica por lo que las posibilidades de dar cuenta de dicha modificación son limitadas.

Más allá de los entornos académicos, Kenton P. O’Hara y sus compañeros (2014) investigan los grupos de WhatsApp relacionados con la residencia mediante grupos de discusión, y detectan que los encuentros cotidianos y el ‘hacer juntos’ dan sentido y sustentan la existencia de estos grupos. Este proceso se ubica dentro de lo que Rich Ling y Chih-hui Lai (2016) denominan ‘micro-coordinación 2.0’, concepto que designa la modalidad de coordinación que se produce con la incorporación de la conectividad digital a los teléfonos móviles. Estos autores también destacan que los chats grupales están formados normalmente por personas que comparten un marco contextual común. En esta línea se ha investigado la coordinación de los trabajadores rurales de Kenya e India en los grupos de WhatsApp creados por empresas distribuidoras (MCGREGOR et al., 2019). Estos investigadores desarrollan un análisis etnometodológico de las conversaciones que se producen en grupos de discusión, en los que los propios participantes explican el sentido de sus interacciones en el entorno digital.

Las investigaciones antes citadas sobre grupos de WhatsApp todavía se basan en lo que los miembros dicen que hacen, en encuestas, entrevistas o grupos de discusión, pero no investigan las prácticas concretas, es decir, los momentos de producción de los mensajes y las interacciones que tienen lugar en estos escenarios. Cristina Vela Delfa y Lucía Cantamutto (2016) defienden el uso de la observación participante de los intercambios que se producen en esta aplicación para conocer sus características estructurales y organizativas, así como el modo en que influyen en los sistemas de relaciones sociales en los que se insertan.

Algunas etnografías usan como campo indistintamente WhatsApp y lugares presenciales de interacción. Desde este enfoque metodológico, Robson da Silva Braga (2016) ha indagado sobre el modo en que los nordestinos afincados en Rio de Janeiro usan WhatsApp para coordinar sus quedadas en la ciudad. Según el autor, la creación de lugares de encuentro promueve vínculos que les permiten fortalecer su identidad regional. Con esta misma dimensión territorial urbana y un trabajo de campo en línea y fuera de línea, se ha estudiado la coordinación y participación en materia de seguridad en grupos públicos de WhatsApp en sectores urbanos de los Países Bajos (MOLS; PRIDMORE, 2019) y de Córdoba en Argentina (TORRES, 2017).

Esta función de coordinación es clave para colectivos cohesionados y organizados en torno a causas o proyectos. Así, Nicolás Aguilar-Foreiro (2017) estudia las tácticas de apropiación tecnológica de H.I.J.O.S. Bogotá, organización que reivindica la reparación a las víctimas del conflicto en Colombia, combinando técnicas propias del trabajo de campo con el análisis de los discursos digitales. El autor describe los diferentes espacios dedicados a la comunicación con un enfoque multilocal, y destaca que

las tecnologías digitales y los mundos virtuales tienen enormes potencialidades no solo para la circulación de contenidos y la coordinación de acciones colectivas, sino también para propiciar el encuentro on/offline, promover el intercambio de información, consolidar los vínculos

humanos y, en especial, canalizar las energías de la confrontación (AGUILAR-FORERO, 2017, p. 144).

Por su parte, Janine de Kássia Bargas y Rousiley Celi Maia (2017) han investigado el proceso de aprendizaje colectivo en el que participan jóvenes de comunidades tradicionales de Brasil que forman parte de un grupo de WhatsApp sobre el *Processo Seletivo Especial* de la Universidad Federal de Pará. Usando como técnicas la observación participante y la sistematización de las conversaciones, detectan que el grupo tiene las siguientes funciones: 1) proveer información, aumentando la confianza que existía previamente entre los miembros; 2) la expresión del posicionamiento, que permite ajustar entre sí las diferentes opiniones; y 3) la expresión de sugerencias, a fin de facilitar la solución de problemas del grupo.

Las posibilidades ofrecidas por la aplicación WhatsApp para observar y analizar las conversaciones han despertado el interés por la naturaleza de estas, como vemos también en la investigación etnográfica, desarrollada mediante entrevistas en profundidad y observación participante en línea, de las funciones de las interacciones –intercambio, competencia, cooperación, conflicto y coerción– que se producen en un grupo de profesores de Indonesia (KURNIASIH; RIYADHSYAH, 2018).

Algunas características como la rapidez del intercambio de mensajes, el carácter privado e informal, el escaso rastro que dejan las interacciones, así como la posibilidad de difundir mensajes en red, convierten a la aplicación WhatsApp en una herramienta fundamental para difundir con éxito peticiones de justicia en la India, mediante las cuales la población civil solicita el apoyo local y la autorización administrativa para dar caza a grandes felinos que han atacado a humanos (MATHUR, 2019). La aplicación de mensajería agiliza el proceso, al permitir que se produzca sin que trascienda a la opinión pública, ni adquiera estatus oficial.

Con un enfoque etnometodológico apoyado en la observación en línea, Marco Túlio de Souza (2018) describe las prácticas de coordinación relacionadas con la oración en un grupo de WhatsApp, y

concluye que el uso de esta aplicación por parte de comunidades religiosas transforma la vivencia del tiempo discontinuo y el espacio exclusivo característicos de lo sagrado, aproximándolo a la vida ordinaria.

El interés en el análisis de contenidos ha estado estimulado en Brasil por el repentino éxito de WhatsApp en la campaña presidencial de Jair Bolsonaro, que reveló que pese a la aparente simplicidad de la aplicación de mensajería es posible movilizar contenidos de carácter ideológico a través de ella (CHAGAS; MODESTO; MAGALHÃES, 2019; EVANGELISTA; BRUNO, 2019; RESENDE et al., 2018).

Debido a la potencialidad de WhatsApp para fijar por escrito conversaciones informales, encontramos análisis conversacionales que desde el campo de la sociolingüística detectan las estrategias empleadas para plasmar por escrito aspectos característicos de la comunicación oral, como *los emojis*, el uso de interjecciones, la repetición de letras y signos, el uso de mayúsculas, marcadores conversacionales no semánticos o las partículas de risa (PÉREZ-SABATER, 2015). A esta escritura fonética que resulta de la trasposición del lenguaje oral al escrito, se conoce también como ‘internetes’ (DOS SANTOS; SILVA, 2018). En ocasiones estos análisis se centran en algunos aspectos concretos de este fenómeno, como las ‘reacciones confirmatorias’ (PADILLA HERRADA, 2017), las piezas humorísticas (DONCEL, 2016), o las partículas de risa y los emojis (KÖNIG, 2019).

El análisis de discurso como método etnográfico en los grupos de Facebook

Las investigaciones en grupos digitales de Facebook se abordan con mayor frecuencia desde el análisis de discurso, con el objetivo de conocer de qué modo se desarrollan los procesos de producción ideológica e identitaria en estos entornos. En este sentido, una parte de la literatura científica se ha interesado por la producción de identidades alternativas construidas en torno a nuevas producciones culturales, como los fanes de series de televisión (TUR-VIÑES; FERRÁNDIZ, 2014), seguidores

de la cultura *otaku* (ÁLVAREZ GANDOLFI, 2016b) o los *otherkin*, que se identifican con una naturaleza no humana (PROCTOR, 2018).

Varios investigadores han aplicado el análisis de discurso para conocer los procesos de producción de ideologías políticas en los grupos creados en Facebook (ACOSTA, 2012; MARICHAL, 2013). Especial atención han despertado los grupos creados por minorías para fortalecer la identificación colectiva en torno a un idea política, como es el caso de aquellos que promueven estilos de vida energéticamente sostenibles (REVILLA, 2020), los grupos de jóvenes activistas salvadoreños (HARLOW, 2016), la reivindicación de los docentes filipinos contra el denostado estatus profesional del maestro contemplado en la reforma educativa (ARZADON, 2016), los grupos con una orientación feminista en España (SÁDABA; BARRANQUERO, 2019), o aquellos producidos por las mujeres sudanesas que proponían una nueva narrativa sobre las políticas del cuerpo (ALI, 2019).

También se ha prestado interés a los contenidos que se producen en los grupos de Facebook creados en torno a ideologías reaccionarias. Así, Daniela Meneses (2019) realiza una etnografía y un análisis de discurso del grupo *Con Mis Hijos No Te Metas PERÚ-Oficial*, que se opone a la reforma educativa del gobierno peruano y a la *ideología de género*. Del mismo modo, se ha observado que la interacción en espacios abiertos contribuye a normalizar los discursos racistas en un grupo de Facebook que se posiciona en contra de la migración y los refugiados (EKMAN, 2019), así como la construcción del discurso de odio en las campañas presidenciales de Colombia (TABARES HIGUITA, 2018) o la creación de visiones reduccionistas de la historia nacional mexicana (ITURRALDE CHAPARRO, 2019). También se han explorado –en este caso mediante una etnografía clásica basada en entrevistas– la imagen negativa sobre la juventud que se construye en un grupo orientado a la discusión comunitaria en una ciudad australiana (CLIFFORD; SMITH; CHRISTIE, 2020).

Un campo de observación interesante son los grupos formados por colectivos que se caracterizan por estar viviendo un proceso especialmente

activo de construcción identitaria. Es el caso del estudio de la performatividad de género en personas transfemeninas, mediante el análisis de los mecanismos de auto-representación de las participantes –discursos y fotografías–, en un grupo de Facebook creado expresamente con este fin (GUTIÉRREZ MARTÍNEZ, 2016). La investigadora detecta que el sistema de relaciones que desarrollan en la plataforma coincide y refuerza su red de relaciones presenciales habituales.

Por medio de una etnografía visual, se han examinado también las prácticas performativas en grupos de Facebook que permiten a los jóvenes chilenos proyectar una imagen positiva ante otros participantes coetáneos (RIQUELME; SOLÍS; GALLEGOS, 2018), o la correlación entre la forma en que los jóvenes cubanos usan Facebook y su propia visión de la vida (MARRERO SANTANA; JIMÉNEZ HERNÁNDEZ; RODRÍGUEZ BRITO, 2017).

Hemos encontrado un número significativo de investigaciones que abordan la producción identitaria en relación al territorio. En este sentido, los grupos creados por migrantes son un campo especialmente fecundo para observar los procesos de manutención de la identidad territorial simbólica, a pesar de la distancia física. Así pues, se ha investigado el uso que mexicanos asentados en Barcelona hacen de esta herramienta con el fin de contactarse y mantener su identidad mexicana (RAMÍREZ PLASCENCIA, 2020), las estrategias de compensación en términos de representación de la minoría Rumana en Turquía (GÜZEL KORVER; KESKIN, 2019) y las transformaciones que se producen en la identificación de los migrantes italianos asentados en Toronto (GIUS, 2019). Estas aproximaciones suelen compaginar la etnografía en línea y fuera de línea.

En otras ocasiones, los participantes de los grupos generan un relato territorial opuesto al que transmiten los medios de comunicación de masas. Así, los habitantes de la región del volcán Merapi (Indonesia) generan en el grupo merapi.info un relato que realza la tradicional forma de vida armónica con la naturaleza y la belleza de lugar, frente a la

imagen de peligrosidad dominante, como revela el Análisis Crítico de Discurso aplicado a los textos del grupo (NAZARUDDIN, 2020).

Otras veces, los miembros actualizan lugares que pertenecen al pasado con los que conservan un vínculo sentimental, como muestra la investigación desarrollada por María Lorena Capogrossi, Mariana Loreta Magallanes y Florencia Soraire (2015) sobre las vivencias en el Campamento Vespucio de Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales, usando el grupo de Facebook de sus antiguos trabajadores como fuente. Las autoras consideran que

pueden señalarse los arraigos territoriales que construyen los usuarios en Facebook a partir de lo que allí cuentan. El territorio expuesto en espacios virtuales y visto como propulsor de la idea de comunidad, puede que nos esté diciendo algo sobre aquel núcleo de personas que estuvo arraigado en un espacio físico particular y que se ha reencontrado ahora en un espacio virtual o, en otras palabras, que se ha vuelto a agrupar en una comunidad, esta vez ritual (CAPOGROSSI; MAGALLANES; SORAIRE, 2015, p. 52).

En esta línea, se han examinado las reacciones a la pérdida de patrimonio en la ciudad de Perth, en Australia Occidental, en el grupo de Facebook *Beautiful buildings and cool places Perth has lost* (GREGORY, 2015). Según la autora, en este espacio se genera una comunidad emocional que produce capital social, con fuerza suficiente para impulsar acciones concretas.

Otros estudios se han centrado en los grupos de Facebook ligados a la reivindicación de la autodeterminación regional. En esta línea, Koldo Díaz (2015) analiza la producción de la identidad territorial vasca en el grupo de Facebook *Euskalduna naiz profileko argazkian mendian ez agertu arren* –Soy vasco aunque en la foto de perfil no aparezca en el monte–. Utiliza este grupo como fuente y como campo para conocer los mecanismos que los miembros utilizan para apropiarse en internet de un territorio del que no pueden disponer sobre el espacio geográfico, al encontrarse dentro de las fronteras española y francesa.

En esta misma línea se ha investigado, mediante una etnografía estrictamente virtual, el modo en que los turco-chipriotas aumentan su autoestima nacional al destacar en sus grupos de Facebook sus características distintivas frente a la Turquía continental (AKÇALI, 2019), y las prácticas de resistencia lingüística en grupos creados para preservar el turco otomano ante la estrategia del gobierno orientada a promover su extinción (YAZAN, 2015).

En otras ocasiones, el uso de las herramientas digitales para construir una identidad territorial no proviene de un sentimiento nacionalista o regionalista, sino que ha sido inducido por promotores inmobiliarios para generar un sensación de vecindad entre los nuevos habitantes de un área de reciente urbanización (MOSCONI et al., 2017). En este sentido, algunas investigaciones valoran la aportación de los grupos a la producción de valor en los territorios a los que se vinculan (FERRAUDI CURTO, 2018; GARCÍA HUERTAS; GARRIDO PINTADO; BOTAS LEAL, 2018).

Algunos autores han investigado las prácticas que se producen en grupos creados en ambas plataformas. Este es el caso del análisis realizado mediante grupos de discusión por Joëlle Swart y sus colegas (2019) sobre las repercusiones del intercambio de noticias en grupos creados por comunidades que comparten una misma ubicación geográfica. Concluyen que las estructuras relacionales de los miembros de los grupos, así como los objetivos y normas de estos, moldean el uso que hacen de las noticias, y destacan el lugar entre las principales motivaciones para vincularse a estos grupos de WhatsApp y de Facebook. Sin embargo, no relacionan las características de las plataformas con las diferentes prácticas que se generan en los grupos investigados.

Este diferente significado asociado a las plataformas lo contempla Jennifer Alexander (2018) al describir el papel de los grupos digitales en la preservación de la identidad étnica de la tribu Levu Lahanan en Sarawak, tras la reubicación forzada por el gobierno de Malasia a fin de construir la presa de Bakun. La investigación, que combina técnicas clásicas con la observación etnográfica virtual, revela que estas comunidades

han usado los grupos digitales en dos sentidos diferenciados: los grupos de WhatsApp permiten a los miembros de la diáspora enterarse de todo lo que ocurre en la tribu, y a través del grupo de Facebook regresan mediante su imaginación a su lugar natal, reforzando su arraigo al lugar. Como el autor advierte, la comunicación continua a través de Facebook ofrece más oportunidades para examinar los impactos sobre la identidad étnica y el vínculo con el lugar de origen.

Consideraciones finales

La aún incipiente bibliografía producida en torno al fenómeno comunicativo de los grupos digitales muestra que los enfoques, las temáticas y los métodos y técnicas aplicadas presentan diferencias, según se aborden los grupos creados en la aplicación de mensajería WhatsApp o en la red social Facebook. Dicha disimilitud se asienta en la percepción de los propios investigadores de que ambas aplicaciones ofrecen diferentes oportunidades como campo de investigación.

WhatsApp es una herramienta de mensajería móvil y por ello tiene algunos rasgos distintivos como la velocidad en el intercambio, el bajo consumo, la volatilidad de los mensajes y la percepción de una cierta privacidad o intimidad. Esto hace de la aplicación un lugar donde se reproducen “las condiciones *naturales* de la conversación presencial” (BARGAS; MAIA, 2017, p. 40). De acuerdo con esta idea, las investigaciones realizadas hasta el momento apuntan que los grupos de WhatsApp son un campo propicio para observar de primera mano las interacciones entre los actores investigados y sus procesos de micro-coordinación, o para profundizar en el análisis conversacional y en la lingüística aplicada. Por ello, las investigaciones que estudian estos escenarios se centran en la red de vínculos que se teje a través de las interacciones cotidianas de los miembros, en las funciones de estos intercambios y en los usos lingüísticos, en especial los mecanismos que dan lugar a un tipo de ‘escritura oralizada’ (YUS, 2017).

Por el contrario, la red social Facebook se caracteriza por rasgos como la persistencia o almacenamiento, la opción de realizar búsquedas y

recuperar las publicaciones en el futuro, la edición y replicabilidad de los contenidos y la existencia de una audiencia invisible que, debido a la apertura de esta red, tiende a ampliarse más allá de los límites de los conocidos, especialmente en el caso de los grupos (BOYD, 2007). Si a estas cualidades sumamos la disposición cronológica de las publicaciones en forma de línea de tiempo (UREVICH, 2016), podemos entender que Facebook sea comprendida como una red social adecuada para producir un relato, fundamental en los procesos de producción identitaria e ideológica. Por este motivo, en las investigaciones sobre los grupos de Facebook predominan los análisis del discurso orientados a conocer los elementos que intervienen en la construcción y representación de estas identificaciones.

Además, hemos podido advertir que en la aplicación WhatsApp suele estudiarse las interacciones de colectivos que comparten un entorno físico o marco contextual común, con el fin de coordinar sus acciones; esto tiene relación con el hecho de que *conversar* en WhatsApp suele implicar un alto nivel de compromiso (O'HARA et al., 2014). Sin embargo, Facebook aporta un *lugar* público y visible en el que pueden auto-representarse aquellos grupos sociales que reivindican un territorio propio, ya sea simbólico o físico, como los colectivos no heteronormativos, las mujeres, los jóvenes de las periferias, los migrados que desean conservar el vínculo con el origen, los que reivindican una autonomía territorial, o desean representar su propia visión del territorio frente al discurso único de los medios de masas, los que tratan de recrear esa topografía afectiva que ya solo existe en su memoria y en las fotografías o aquellos que promueven ideologías que no encuentran cabida en ambientes democráticos.

Cuadro 1. Resumen enfoques, temas y métodos.

	Enfoque	Temas	Métodos
WhatsApp	Significado de las interacciones	Coordinación	Etnografía clásica: grupos de discusión Análisis conversacional Lingüística aplicada
		Efecto en los vínculos sociales	
	Usos del lenguaje	Funciones del lenguaje	
		Escritura oralizada	
Facebook	Producción ideológica	Minorías políticas Ideologías reaccionarias	Etnografía clásica: entrevistas Análisis de discurso
	Construcción identitaria	Nuevas culturas Identidad territorial	

Fuente: Elaboración propia.

Dadas estas diferencias en los enfoques, temáticas y en los abordajes metodológicos, animamos a desarrollar investigaciones comparadas que contribuyan a confirmar o refutar la conclusión a la que nos ha llevado esta revisión bibliográfica: que el carácter narrativo de Facebook es más propicio para construir historias o narraciones que nutren los procesos de producción de sentido, mientras que el lenguaje conversacional de WhatsApp tiene una alta dosis de oralidad, que también resulta fundamental para producir interacciones significativas, que generan un sentimiento de convivencia y estrechan los vínculos entre los miembros de una comunidad de prácticas.

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Data de submissão: 03/08/2020

Data de aceite: 17/11/2020

Jornalismo de cultura pop: aproximações através de territorialidades semióticas no contexto digital

Pop culture journalism: approximations through semiotic territorialities in the digital context

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Resumo: O artigo tem como objetivo problematizar a emergência da cobertura jornalística voltada aos signos da cultura pop. Trata-se de um trabalho conceitual que lança olhar sobre processos mediáticos específicos, percebidos como expressões de superfluidades, que geram tensões na interface com o jornalismo. Conceitos oriundos da Semiótica, como semiose e semiosfera, associados a teorias do acontecimento, são mobilizados nesta abordagem. O artigo disserta sobre as práticas dentro do jornalismo que se ocupam do que será lido como volátil, fútil, de uma ordem mais emocional e, historicamente, atribuídos a valores construídos na ordem do feminino. No momento em que a cultura digital faz emergir plataformas específicas destinadas às celebridades, à música pop, ao universo nerd, aos filmes e séries e às novelas, defende-se, aqui, a configuração de um jornalismo que se designa como pop. No final, apresenta-se a possibilidade de se pensar essas singularidades jornalísticas como desencadeadoras de territorialidades semióticas.

Palavras-Chave: cultura pop; jornalismo; redes digitais

Abstract: the article aims to problematize the emergence of news coverage focused on the signs of pop culture. It's a conceptual work that takes a look at media processes, through rules perceived as expressions of superfluencies, which generate tensions in the interface with journalism. The article talks about practices within

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journalism that will occupy what will be read as volatile, futile, of a more emotional order and, historically, will attribute values constructed in the order of the feminine. At the moment in the digital culture creates specific platforms selected for celebrities, musical pop, universe nerds, films and series, soap operas, here is a configuration of journalism that draws itself as pop. In the end, there is the possibility of thinking about these journalistic singularities as triggers of semiotic territorialities.

Keywords: *pop culture; journalism; digital networks*

Introduction

Journalistic narratives, through history, took on different features and formats. Especially during the 19th century, when the press becomes, simultaneously, a business venture and an institution that makes a mediation between events and society, there is an editorial and a newsroom divide of what is information and what is opinion (MARCONDES, 1989; HENN, 2002). However, the graphic borders of newspapers were marked by porosity. In the first page of an 80's print, for instance, lived news that now would be considered hard news, with spectacular life stories, ad campaigns and serials. Edgar Allan Poe, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and Machado de Assis released their most famous fictional stories (now part of the canon) in newspapers. In summary, a universe of cultural codes and series intertwining in the same reading space (PINHEIRO, 2013).

Through the 20th century, the journalistic processes were getting more diverse with the consolidation of the so-called "reference newspapers" (which built strong relations of credibility with their readers focusing on hard news) and segmented publications, mainly in the format of magazines (SCALZO, 2008). Among the classic distinctions between information, interpretation and opinion, another genre was being shaped, designated as diversion, in which hard situations were incorporated to formats in which the human dimension gains the forefront (MARQUES DE MELO, 1971; ASSIS, 2014) or even in the interface with entertainment. However, in these sectors of entertainment, generating events considered smaller, but with a big popular demand, created their own fields of newswike production. We highlight, in this process, what began to be considered as pop culture. In this sense, we defend the possibility of existence of a journalism also constituted with the marks of that culture.

Defining what pop culture means is a extremely complex and contradictory task. It is necessary to adopt positions that recognize the multiplicity of lenses that can be triggered to understand such phenomena (SOARES, 2014). Films, series, soap operas, comic books, songs,

celebrities, fan culture and all the hybridization of these systems of signs that get high visibility (frequently North American, geared towards massive consumption) outline objects integrated to this field. Danesi (2015) understands that pop works as mirror, that fills symbolic needs, as certain understandings of reality, constituting themselves through specific characteristics, such as nostalgia, celebrity culture, shows and laughter. It is, in summary, a form of expressing the world (PEREIRA DE SÁ, 2016) that is materialized through events of different natures. Understanding pop as creator of meanings implies recognizing that all this power, also imbued of a problematic content, constitute semiosis – action, generation and propagation of signs (PEIRCE, 2002) – and can acquire an important event weaving³.

Events are semiotic objects that can originate news in the journalistic system (HENN, 2010). This system, and the media system as a whole, through the emergence of digital social media platforms, and more widely, digital culture, is found in a crisis (HENN; OLIVEIRA, 2015), a systemic crisis. Thinking about a pop culture journalism also demands reflecting about the forms on how this informational specificity was being historically constituted, taking into account the conceptual dimension of pop culture, signal of a gaze that goes beyond the critique normally focused on the idea of vacancy of what would truly mean culture.

Throughout history, as shown by Martín-Barbero (2009), the constitution of a culture outside the scholar axis was already seen as passible of annihilation, given the need of controlling the grotesque and what is considered inferior. Such pleasures, in their memetic condition, never could be fully contained and began to cross many practices that would come to articulate themselves into journalism: the gossip section, during the 16th century; the gossips on the royal life and the extraordinary and sensational facts that began to appear in early 17th, when the first newspapers began to circulate (MORETZSOHN, 2007), series, in the 19th

3 Free translation of designation, in French, *événementiel*, usually translated as event management.

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century – published in a partial and sequential manner in newspapers (ROCHA, 2012); the conquest of the readership when journalism began to hide under the covers of the notion of impartiality, following the logics of the modern urban-industrial society and the current scientific model. In this context of technical reproducibility and narrative transformation (BENJAMIN, 1996) cultural journalism becomes latent, engendering itself with the aspirations of the bourgeoisie of climbing the social ladder through cultural consumption and of writers-journalists that sought spaces to share their ideas. Synchronically, selecting, hierarchizing, pointing what is mere entertainment and what can bring aspects of a more reflective fruition worthy of attention, became one of the presuppositions of cultural journalism.

There are works that bring a detailed historic contextualization of cultural journalism, such as Rosseti (2015) and Piza (2004), that approach the works of Oscar Wilde, Edgar Allan Poe, Machado de Assis, as well as the consolidation of the section Literary Shop of Correio Braziliense – which arrived in Brazil in a clandestine manner, being printed in London. In the same motto, they point the important graphic reform of *Jornal do Brasil* in the 1950's, with the institution of Caderno B, and *Ilustrada*, at Folha de São Paulo, which had its apex in the 1980's. In this period, with the consolidation of a media industry in Brazil, the cultural supplements began to have a predominance in the market. Ballerini (2015), in his methodological path, interviewed over 40 cultural journalists in the country that reinforce the notion that massive production – in other words, productions that go through the logics of pop – must be “tackled” in cultural journalism. According to Bregantini (2015, p. 11) such movement tends to avoid “[...] a generalized leveling on the low side, giving more space to manifestations without quality, created by the industry with the goal of making money”. Despite not citing what would be these productions, it isn't hard to imagine them: comedy websites, celebrity websites, narrating without criticism the universe of films, songs, series and other pop culture products. She keeps affirming that the entertainment industry is not concerned with art, only with

profit, and, because of that, their repertoire is mistaken and poor. And the perspective of counterposing entertainment and art, the vacant and the abundant and a series of other value binaries will prevail in many studies on cultural journalism, as shown by the research of Golins, Cardoso and Sirena. (2014)

Cultural journalism, either by the understanding of professionals or in academic perspectives, will hardly inform, for instance, the unfolds of the controversy between Kanye West, Kim Kardashian and Taylor Swift, some trailer of Game of Thrones, the main memes of the year, what celebrities are publishing on Instagram and a series of other processes that aren't, most of the time, framed as journalism because they do not fit the essential prerequisites of the practice. Digital culture has potentialized the dimensions that lead pop to configure itself as news – intensifying and resetting journalistic issues that already contained in themselves characteristics that constitute a pop culture journalism. The first part of the article problematizes such questions, while the second movement brings notions of digital culture that outline semiotic territorialities (HENN, 2017)⁴, so, in the end, give paths through which pop culture journalism can be thought about in Brazil.

Presuppositions to think about pop culture journalism

Morin (1997) in the tenth chapter of the book *L'esprit du temps. Essai sur la culture de masse* (1967), in the 1960's, already put the role of fame in conversation through time metaphor with gods and demi-gods of Mount Olympus. According to him, Olympians could get born from imagination, sacred roles, heroic and erotic works The Olympus in which these mythological creatures are located is fluid and is, among other luxurious places, in the news, inside the newspaper. Therefore, thinking about celebrities, through their articulation with journalism, signals the way in which pop culture begins to constitute themselves as a field of emergence of events: fans, gossip, sensationalism, infotainment,

4 Considerations taken in the 3rd Journey of Research Groups in Semiotics in 2017.

pink-slime journalism, sob sister and a series of media mechanism compose the layers of what will become, in the pop context, news.

Infotainment is an expression that emerges from the fusion of the terms information and entertainment (NASCIMENTO, 2010). Paula Roberta Santana Rocha (2012) works with the expression infotainment journalism in order to understand the spaces destined to news that aim to inform and entertain from subjects about lifestyles, gossips, comedic news. Dejavitte (2006, 2007) understands that infotainment journalism is wide in its coverage, having as the main characteristic the narrative of events, which demand attention to details, and an easy and fluent style. According to the author, the raw material of this journalistic specialty is light news, which can be defined as a quick content, easy to understand, ephemeral, with intense circulation and that has fun as the main focus. Defleur and Ball Rokeach (1993), suggest, however, that the differentiations between information and non-information seem to suggest that the learning process coming from fun is not relevant, which turns deceptive to say that news are information and entertainment isn't. Berlo (1999) defends, in the same manner, the unfeasibility of differentiating entertainment and information, because, according to him, all communication that is intended to be massive can have as characteristic information, persuasion and fun.

Pink-slime journalism, or pink-slime press, can be understood, in Marshall's (2003) perspective, as a genre strongly attached to advertisement and that works to favor the interests and needs of the market. As explained by Aguiar (2008), the coverage surrounding the daily lives of people, either celebrities or not, as well as the focus in news about behavioral habits, can be framed in this conceptualization. Some strategies of this journalism are usually accused of being intrusive or being favorable to a cult of celebrities. Maria Aparecida Pinto (2016) believes that "sob sisters" (columns, generally talking about wives of businessmen) as the pioneers of what would come to be celebrity journalism or pink-slime journalism. They were journalists that would write sentimental stories, gossip columns and pieces of advice – the expression makes

reference to the journalistic genre that were allowed to women because they were productions restricted to emotions. “Serious subjects” were jobs exclusively related to male journalists. These aspects of exaggeration of feelings and playful spontaneity had also contributed for the adjectivation of gossip journalism, or celebrity journalism, as something from the female or gay universe (SOUZA, 2007; PINTO, 2016).

All these aspects, in interface with each other, appear on what is constituted as a pop culture journalism. The notion of infotainment is not central to understand which are the characteristics of this journalism, as creating a dichotomy between information and entertainment is a movement that reinforces value binaries that a pop culture journalism, in the approach proposed here, refuses. In articulation with the critique, claimed by cultural journalism, fans’ interests by information of pop culture find its materiality, in a first moment and in a more direct manner, in magazines. Mira (2001) points towards the segmentation of magazine titles after the 1950’s. In turn, in 1960’s, begins a process of publication of international magazines in Brazil. Scalzo (2008) understands that, therefore, magazines became close to people, and, in some cases, a collection item. It is in this context that begin to appear journalistic media destined to cover elements of pop culture. Magazines within the spectrum of cultural journalism linked to pop culture began to appear in Brazil through media such as *Pop*, *Bizz*, *Show Bizz*, *Rolling Stone Brazil* – cited by Soares and Monteiro (2014), in an article in which they defend an area within cultural journalism to see in pop elements beyond cultural drainage – *Billboard Brazil*, *Bravo*” *Musical Box*, *OutraCoisa*, *Revista Brasileira de Música*, *Revista MTV*, and others. Most of them are no longer being published. Cataloguing the historic circuit in which pop becomes a theme for magazines, would demand another research – which would consider other categories beyond to those who propose to develop a cultural journalism around pop culture, such as those that are/were dedicated to talk about celebrity life, gossips on soap operas, films, animations and other productions original from pop culture. The *Pokémon Club* magazine, for example, had as target audience children

and would only talk about the anime Pokémon, as ordinary as it sounded, would also work as an informational media for the audience/fans.

Gutmann (2006), when he thinks about a music event when talking about the journalism surrounding Brazilian MTV, would signal how, in certain media contexts, pop elements would begin to be set even more as news. It is in this sense that we understand the digital culture environment as powerful constituent of a pop culture journalism that (re) sets some of the issues seen so far – and others – as events that are informed and inaugurate processes of production of meaning that are materialized in different languages, constituting highly semiotic territories.

We postulate, therefore, that the dialog of the semiotic process of producing news instituted by the relation object (event), interpreter (journalism), and sign (news), with the production of semiosis in digital networks through the relation object (event), interpreter (audiences from social media) and sign (semiosis of digital networks), institute changes that extrapolate the field of journalism itself, resetting the relationship of authors (audiences and fans) with the media discourse. This observation matters to what we are proposing here, since the digital context potentialize the production of semiosis, giving space to signs that may remain marginalize of what we understand as cultural journalism. The notion of semiotic territorialities helps us, in this course, think about pop culture journalism.

Semiotic territorialities

The production of news is triggered in complex semiosis: specific language codes of platforms and vehicles along with professional and institutional cultures, form some of the facets of these semiosis which, in the consolidation of network processes, are loudly transformed (HENN, 2014; HENN, OLIVEIRA, 2015). In what is understood as contemporary semiosphere, crossed by digital processes and interfaces among platforms and networks, are established frontiers in which languages from different matrixes interact, as well as audiences, that begin to produce narratives and events itself.

In pop culture, the imaginary that is unfolded from the connection with products were also deeply modified by the digital context. The performative environment of social media platforms, or publication possibilities developed in digital culture, gave new materialities to signs that unfold in pop culture (SOARES, 2015). It becomes potentially fabricator/trigger of events – news emerge almost simultaneously to releases in cultural industries and their complexities, not only as instruments of advertisement to raise the reach of an object, but also because these issues matter and affect many people/fans.

The social media gave materialities to different experiences surrounding events: semiosis became, in some level, mappable and perceptible. In this movement, we perceive singularities, which lead us to the emergence of events, which also can exist through the marketing point of view. Among other possibilities, such chain sometimes appear through the visibility of pop culture singers. There are powers implied in a flow of many chances in their arrival, as they begin to exist, other powers are acted in discontinuation. At the same time, they point towards elements of the plan of culture: transits of history in the capitalist market, constructions of identities, imaginary and even the way how singularly music numbers/videoclips become themes of experience of happening.

Simões (2014) speaks, in this circumstances, about the power of affectation and the consequent eventful dimension that celebrities take on. The characteristics that a celebrity reverberates and embodies help build a dimension able to touch and sensibelize different audience experiences. In this process, projections, identifications and counter-identification appear to define how we are affected by known people. It is all this affectation, as proposed by Queré (2005), that is implied in an event. The same would be valid, to what we propose here, in relation to other elements from pop culture.

If “[...] more than an ideological or marketing option, a selection of events, understood as an agenda, is ruled by a series of codes whose motivations refer, even, to the roots of culture”. (HENN, 1996, p. 71), the codes acted for the construction of news in a pop culture journalism

are linked to motivations of this segment. The agenda, in this journalistic modality, is a negotiation between the pop culture system and its surrounding, activation the constitution of semiotic territorialities in which complex semiosis experience tensions, among permeabilities and closures.

Categories of pop culture journalism

With the goal of understanding what were the forms through which pop culture journalism is set up, as coverage of events, we have developed an exploratory research on the Internet, inspired by the methodological principles of Suely Fragozo, Raquel Recuero and Adriana Amaral (2013), which enabled the identification of typologies and examples through the systematization of data and field observations. Through this process, we have stipulated six typologies, which can work, in this analysis, as categories properly built and generating semiotic territorialities: pop culture, pop music, celebrities, geek/nerd, movies and series and telenovelas.

It is important to highlight that an outlet can be present in over one category, as some talk about pop music and celebrities, for instance. This article doesn't have the intention of problematizing each one of them, aspect that can be contemplated in other research developments.

The first one of them is referred to the coverage of pop culture in general, working as a macro category as it doesn't have a specific focus in a determined theme. Even so, some outlets are linked to more specific target audiences. At *Omelete*, for instance, even though there are news related to pop music, celebrities and other contents, there is a predominance of materials related to geek/nerd culture. It is important to highlight the older institutions that went through instances of a more traditional journalism, present sessions destined to the coverage of pop culture in their websites, often organized by tags. It is the case of spaces such as *GI Pop & Arte*, *Veja Entretenimento*, and others. Some constitute specific digital networks to deal with pop themes, such

as *Veja Entretenimento*, which has profiles in social media websites to share signs-news.

In relation to pop music, it is followed the same logic of different territorialities in its coverage. There is a predominance of outlets related to the universe of pop divas.

In the case of celebrity coverage, we have as news like material, often, the own performance that they develop in their social media websites. Instagram, Twitter, Facebook and YouTube work as research platform for the creation of news that interest the audiences of certain contexts of pop culture, signaling the cyber-eventful content of these practices. It is a category intensely articulated to others, as the celebrity constitutes and crosses multiple contexts in pop culture.

Referring to the coverage of geek/nerd culture, signs of pop are articulated to the universe of comic books, games, mangás, animes, and Japanese pop culture in a broader sense, audiovisual adaptations of superhero stories and a constant update of the fan practices within complex and contradictory semiospheres acted by these productions.

News on movies and series, even though they are often strongly related to the geek/nerd audiences, have a specific diversity of outlets and territorialities that give new meaning to the pop culture consumption. Scenes of an remarkable episode or a scene in a movie, sentences of characters, timelines, memes, in its popular sense, of comedic content that have a high virality rate, and many other signs appear as material that touches audiences in the field of experience, generating process of meaning production.

Soap operas appear as a different material, through which some outlets are constituted. Unlike other categories, here there is a predominance of Brazilian and Latin American productions in the news – in the examples collected, the productions from *Rede Globo* have the spotlight. The possibility of circulating specific scenes through diverse languages through which other senses are developed, also appear in this practice.

In relation to the links of production, we noticed two forms that cross pop culture journalism: fans and political activists. The first makes

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reference to a pop culture journalism developed by fans that has as focus specific productions. Fiske (2002) understands that fans are used to, given their relationship with products of cultural industries, transform meanings in cultural texts that circulate and help define fan community. The author categorizes the productions of fans into three areas: semiotic productivity, enunciative productivity and textual productivity. The first is characterized by the development of social experiences through semiotic resources of cultural products, the second one is referred to the public materialization of meanings built around products, such as, for example, building a social performance, through fashion, seeking to distinguish the relationship with a certain sign; the third one is defined by the production and circulation of valuable texts in fan culture, such as fanfics, fictional stories written by fans and that, disconnected from cultural industries, expand universes and characters. We, therefore, think that the investigation of fictional documents, the curation and provision of images about celebrities, the daily news update on a weekly show, either through pictures behind the scenes or the promotion of materials, such as posters and trailers, among other movements that aim to build informative outlets about media productions, build a level of journalistic production of fans themselves.

It is recurring in our context, in relation to productions that develop high visibility, that outlets arrive, through multiple platforms, created by fans for the publication of materials with informative content. A frequent movement that we observe for a couple of years inserted into diverse fan communities is the development of spaces that articulate the name of some product coming from pop culture with the word Brazil: Kesha Brazil, Harry Potter Brazil, Game of Thrones Brazil, Stranger Things Brazil, Sense8 Brazil, and numberless other outlets constantly updated as new productions are being released. Some are kept after the end of the narrative, even if they have a quantity of platforms reduced or reset. There still are, in relation to the develop of many institutional outlets, that begin to work as companies and aim profit, as it is the case of Papel Pop, a fan dimension strongly implied in newsrooms: fans that become

journalists because they are fans. Pop culture journalism also signals, therefore, how the fans got to make visible their sociability networks and informative/critical news, that may, even, work as activism.

In relation to the bonds of political-activist production, there is a notable presence of media collectives in a context of network activism (BITTENCOURT, 2015): groups that build narratives about events without depending of big outlets, working in an independent manner in the processes of production and circulation of contents of political-activist nature and that may, or may not, participate in street protests. Fan-made pop culture journalism has some characteristics of collectives, but here, in relation to the outlets cited, gain an activist dimension – signals an articulation with fan activism (AMARAL, 2016). This activism makes reference to how fans give visibility to political issues on citizenship, sex/gender, race, intensifying changes in levels of representation and social awareness. Critique, a characteristic hub of cultural journalism, reappears with intensity in this context, having as focus to localize barriers/advancements of pop culture narratives in the fictional treatment of women, LGBTQ people and ethnic-racial issues. Groups such as Delirium Nerd and Nó de Oito, for instance, bring such themes to the “street”, which in this context are pop culture events, such as CCXP. The board below brings a few examples of outlets that are framed in the perceived categories.

There are many guidelines through which pop culture journalism can be analyzed. It is inserted into a complex context, filled with tensions, contradictions, disputes and signals, at the same time, emptying of journalism promoted by advertisement, as defended by Marshall (2016). The author highlights that there are thousands of open possibilities regarding journalism, but the path taken has made journalists workers on behalf of profit that are concerned, to the detriment of world revolution or transformation, the number of views in pages. The news has become, for him, mainly in a context of entertainment, a product that emptied out many issues and that puts capital as the king of the discussion. Perspectives like the author’s are not wrong, but they seem to lack to leave

gaps so that we can recognize other nuances that can be triggered by practices like the ones unfolded by pop culture journalism.

Board 1 – Categories of pop culture journalism

Category	Outlets
Pop Culture	Pop Cultura; Omelete; It Pop; MTV Brasil; Papel Pop; Judão; Revista Rolling Stone Brasil; Purebreak; Domínio Pop; Rede Jovem Pan FM; E! Online; Hugo Gloss; F5; TodaTeen; Capricho; Atrevida; Tuga Pop; Momento Diva POP; Pop Cultura; Only POP; Vix Pop Brasil; Conexão POP;
Pop Music	Revista Cifras; Multishow; POPlândia; Yes POP; Stay POP; Transamérica POP; K-Pop Brasil; Portal POPTime; Central Pop; Pop Line.
Celebrities	UOL TV e Famosos; Kesha Brasil; Pablo Vittar Brasil; Oh Lady Gaga; RDT Lady Gaga; Miley BR; ofuXico; Britney Spears Brasil; Miley Cyrus Brasil; Emma Watson Brasil; Não Salvo; Te dou um Dado?; Ego (extinto); Caras BRASIL; Área Vip; RDI; Portal Famosos Brasil; Famosos na Web;; TV Fama; Portal Estrelando.
Geek/Nerd	Delirium Nerd; Preta, Nerd e Burning Hell; Nó de Oito; Universo X-Men; Marvel & DC Tretas; Mulher-Maravilha BR;; Papo de Quadrinho; Pokémothim; Esquadrão de Heróis; Jovem Nerd; O Vício; Fatal Error Nerd; Legião dos Heróis.
Movies and Series	Momentum Saga; Adoro Cinema; CinePop; Game Of Thrones Brasil; Oclumência; Observatório Potter; Supergirl Brasil; Pop Séries.
Soap Operas	Novelão; ofuXico; Gshow - O Entretenimento da Globo; Revista Tititi.

Source: created by the authors⁵.

Final considerations

There are, in the field of communication sciences, and, more specifically, Journalism, an intellectual and professional imposition that compulsorily reacts imposing what should and shouldn't be read as a "journalistic work": on one hand, researches that point out how this ghostly work has

⁵ More examples can be found in Gonzatti (2017)

lost its power to transform the world, being emptied out by power relations that only favor the hegemony, on the other, professionals arguing that is much harder to apply theories into practice, that news are a merchandise and the work of journalists is to sell it, in a third view, people actively seeking for new business models that signal the possibility of other ways for journalism, and so on. There are, in these guidelines, deviations. What “journalistic world” would be the one who spend the day covering events on Britney Spears, who develops news about the new Wonder Woman trailer, about Kim Kardashian’s Instagram, who forgets, many times, of the policies that circumscribe our daily lives and develop imaginary territorialities in which only what is “volatile” matters? Could there be something relevant, beyond the criticism of emptying out the journalism promoted by the “consumption culture”, there?

When analyzing the relationship of journalism with culture, reflecting about the transformations that come about in the journalistic work, through the emergence of social media websites, we got to map and propose six categories in order to understand what is intended to understand as pop culture journalism.

Pop culture journalism is addressed, not only, but mainly, to fans, it can be based on rumors or themes of themes that are hegemonically read as superficial, vacant, mundane, being linked to pop music, celebrity, movies and series, to the geek/nerd universe and soap operas, having their bonds of production linked also to fans, who could professionalize the practice and become institutional outlets, also geared towards profit, or even being an engine, through criticism – conflating in some level with the proposition of cultural journalism – of political activists (such as feminists and LGBT people). The powers and vacancies of the digital processes are linked. The raw material of this journalistic work is, often times, a lighter news – a light infotainment news (DEJAVITE, 2007): quick, easy, ephemeral, fun, but only that.

In order to understand different complexities triggered by pop culture journalism coverage – in a digital context – we put as possibility understanding their network settings, generating meanings that cross

different semiotic territorialities. Regarding Papel Pop, for instance, we notice, in a bigger research from which this text is a product, the triggering of meanings through the news of the outlets that show a bigger opening of gender and sexuality issues (GONZATTI, 2017). The deepening of other territories can reveal, through other problems, issues that help re(think) journalism in this context.

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Date of submission: 5/12/2020

Date of acceptance: 4/1/2021

Contexto de uso e acesso a notícias em smartphones por estudantes de pós-graduação em Comunicação na Espanha

The context of smartphone use and access of news by graduate students in Communication in Spain

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Resumo: *Este trabalho objetiva compreender o contexto de uso e o acesso a notícias no smartphone por jovens. A pesquisa foi conduzida em 2019 com oito estudantes de pós-graduação residentes em Múrcia, Espanha, a partir da coleta do consumo de bateria ou dados móveis dos aparelhos dos participantes e entrevistas semiabertas individuais. Com base no estudo, identificamos que os aplicativos de mensagens instantâneas e de redes sociais são os mais utilizados pelos estudantes. As redes sociais digitais também foram indicadas como principal fonte de informações, em uma ação que nem sempre é proativa ou contempla a atenção total dos usuários. Ainda, aspectos como a capacidade técnica dos smartphones, gratuidade de acesso e tipo de conteúdo ofertado possuem relação com o contexto de uso dos aparelhos e consumo de notícias, indicando desafios ao jornalismo nesse cenário.*

Palavras-chave: *smartphone; contexto de uso; acesso a notícias; jovens.*

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Abstract: *This paper seeks to comprehend the context of smartphone use and access to news among youths. The study was conducted in 2019 with eight graduate students living in Murcia, Spain, based on battery and mobile data consumption on participants' mobile devices and individual semi-structured interviews. Through the study, we identified that instant messaging applications and social networks are the most popular among students. Digital social networks we also mentioned as the leading source of information, in an action that is not always proactive and involves complete user attention. Furthermore, aspects like the technical capacities of smartphones, free access and the type of content offered related to the context of device usage and news consumption, which point to challenges for journalism within this scenario.*

Key Words: *smartphone; use context; access to news; youths.*

Introduction

In the last two decades, we've experienced social, cultural and technological changes related to smartphones. From a device with limited resources in the early 2000s, the mobile phone today resembles a pocket computer, with tools that enable the execution of different tasks on the touch of a finger. They also became identity elements, especially to young people, as a way to create bonds and demarcate autonomy (CASTELLS, 2006). These transformations follow a rhythm of contemporary society, which lives in a "mobile life" (ELLIOT; URRY, 2010), characterized by the need of being in constant movement.

Different sectors were impacted by these transformations, including journalism, which needed to adapt their routines, products and distribution to fit into new technologies and keep the increasingly fast and mobile pace of society. Despite the uncertainties of this scenario, smartphones can be taken as an opportunity of innovation, with the possibility to experiment narratives and formats and test new business models. To do so, in addition of exploring the device and its potentialities, it is vital to know the profile of users to project more assertive solutions aligned with social practices.

This research aims to contribute in this direction when seeking to understand the context of use and access to news in smartphones by young people. The study was conducted in 2019 with eight graduate students living in Spain, counting with the data collection of battery consumption or mobile data of the devices of the participants and semi-open individual interviews. The activity was done during a period of International PhD by the program Capes PrInt⁵.

The study integrates the PhD research of one of the authors, who elaborated a proposal of parameters to a autochthonous mobile journalistic language through an applied research (ALEXANDRE, 2021). Despite the particular interest, we believe that the study contributes to

5 Available at: <http://www.unisinos.br/global/pt/print/apresentacao>.

expand and strengthen the field of studies in journalism and communication, reflecting and tensioning the issue at stake.

Initially, we approached the process of news in smartphones. Then, we presented the methodological procedures and data from the screen captures and interviews. Finally, we've developed our considerations about the research.

Smartphone and news consumption

Due to characteristics such as pervasiveness, ubiquity and permanent connectivity, mobile devices are constantly linked to people's routine, integrating and shaping social practices and being appropriated by individuals for the manifestation and (re)formulation of their identities – especially smartphones, smaller and easier to carry (AGUADO; CASTELLET, 2013; AGUADO; MARTÍNEZ, 2014; PELLANDA, 2010).

In the beginning of the smartphone era, Fidalgo and Canavilhas (2009) highlighted that mobile phones were transformed in identity elements indispensable to individuals. According to the authors, the relation with the device is increasingly more accentuated between the young population, that sees in cellphones a way of social insertion, which is also corroborated by Castells (2006), who affirms that youth culture has found in mobile phones a tool to express the need of safe autonomy and ubiquitous connectivity.

The social practices related to these devices, combined to the technical specificities of smartphones, introduce different logics to the access of media contents in comparison with other supports. We observe that, after a long period of centrality of media, marked by the collective consumption, the media ecosystem lives the era of mobile and individualized consumption, whose highlight is attributed to the user and the platform (CANAVILHAS, 2012). Individual demands and preferences of access to news ended up prevailing, changing different habits related to journalism.

If in the first attempts of mobile journalism the access happened in periods of interstice and when other media weren't available

(WESTLUND, 2013), studies show that currently the news consumption in the device is bigger in comparison to other digital supports, is given especially through social media platforms and replaces or complements other media (KNIGHT FOUNDATION, 2016; NEWMAN *et al*, 2020).

The smartphone also expands the possibilities of an active consumption of information, in which the content stop being passively consumed to be shared, transformed, commented and used to interact with others (AGUADO; FEIJÓ; MARTÍNEZ, 2016). The user can not only interact through the channels made available by the outlets but also make information travel in digital social media and produce and distribute their own content.

With users always on (PELLANDA, 2010, 2016), content follow people's routines, at any time, anywhere. There's a wide offer of information and outlets dispute even more the audience's attention with other sources – some not even journalistic – in addition of sharing space with other products and services, as signaled by Pase, Pellanda and Cunha (2019). According to the authors, even the technical capacity of the device is a limiting agent, because the restricted storage space can lead to a user choosing to keep one app or the other installed.

A relevant issue about journalism consumption in mobile devices is referred to the profile and habits of the audience. In a research with Americans in 2012, Thorson *et al.* (2015) had observed that older users tend to be more faithful to press, using less smartphones and tablets to access news and attribute more credibility to the professional journalism. Younger users, on the other hand, are the ones who use devices the most, but are less concerned with the credibility of the source they access.

Another research, developed in 2011 by Casero-Ripollés (2012) with Spanish people from the age between 16 to 30 years old, identified that the mobile phone is a support of consumption of information consolidated amongst the participants, however, there is a fragmentation of access across different media, without focus on one or other media. The

research explicit that the low consumption of information by young people in newspapers is not related to a low “appetite” for news, but to a lack of relevance of publications made by newspapers for the younger audience, reinforcing the absence of connection between what is reported and young people’s personal experiences and interests.

A study produced by the Flamingo consultancy for the Reuters Institute also exposes the complex relationship between young people and news. With participants from the United States and the United Kingdom with ages between 18 and 35 years old, the research evidence that mainstream media is not the main source of information of this audience, who has less chances of directly accessing news apps and websites and spends most part of their time on line in digital social media and entertainment websites. The exposure to news usually occurs in an indirect manner, in which is not necessary to search for information, they arrive to them. According to the research, there is a mismatch between the way mainstream media outlets see the news and how young people see news content. They continue to be interested in information, however, news need to add value as individuals, supporting the desire to make progress in life, as well as entertaining and engaging them (FLAMINGO, 2019).

With the goal of understanding the context of use and access to news in smartphones by a specific group of young people, expanding the research in the area, the next section is detailing the methodological procedure of research.

Methodological Procedures

The activity was conducted in Murcia, Spain, between the months of November and December 2019 with eight students of a graduate course in Communication. As the study integrates a PhD research, the choice for this profile of participant sought to be aligned to the other processes developed in the thesis, which also counted with a usability test and data collection with university students (ALEXANDRE; AQUINO, 2019a, 2019b) The selection of this specific group, in turn, was related to the previous contact with students during the activities of the international

PhD in the country, which enabled the approximation and invitation for the participation in the research.

Initially, there was a conversation with students through the class' WhatsApp group, in which we commented the execution of the research and we requested if they could inform their e-mail addresses for sending more detailed information on the study. In a group of 15 students, 10 gave their contacts. We sent an e-mail explaining the goal and the steps of research and eight students responded the message indicating their agreement to join. After that, we had a face-to-face conversation to confirm the acceptance and clarify any doubts. The final sample was formed by eight students, three women and five men (six Spaniards, one Colombian and one Panamanian), with ages between 22 and 33 years old (Chart 1). The research did not identify names, since we sought to preserve anonymity and we have the focus of smartphone use, not the subjects themselves.

Chart 1 – Profile of research participants

Identification	Age	Gender	Original Country
User 1	22 years old	Female	Spain
User 2	33 years old	Male	Colombia
User 3	23 years old	Male	Spain
User 4	24 years old	Female	Spain
User 5	24 years old	Male	Spain
User 6	23 years old	Male	Spain
User 7	28 years old	Male	Spain
User 8	24 years old	Female	Panama

Source: Created by the authors (2020)

The data of smartphone use were obtained through weekly screen captures of section, which indicates battery consumption or mobile data expenditure of their devices, as illustrated in the example (Image 1). On Fridays, between November 15th and December 13th, 2019, we asked each student to send a screenshot via WhatsApp. Since the collection was individual and voluntary, there were cases in which the capture

surpassed seven days or were made in reference to the day, not the week. There were also situations in which the image registered only a few apps used, not being possible to keep the pattern of tab of information for all of them. In addition, there is a disparity in the way the data is presented according to the model of the cellphone and version of the operational system. Despite the divergences, we preferred to approach the entirety of participations, keeping in mind that the proposition is not to generalize the results, but to expand the knowledge about the context of smartphone usage by young adults.

After the reception of the screenshots, data were organized by week and participant. Through this tabulation, we excluded from the sample apps related to the smartphone's operational system (Android System, Google Play Services, Keyboard, System Interface, and others) in order to consider only the apps proactively used by the participants. The remaining apps were organized into seven categories (Chart 2) to facilitate the analysis of the information, and we generated a weighted average⁶ of the individual and collective use per week per category. Through the collection, it was possible to identify which apps were used the most by the users.

6 The calculation to generate the average corresponded to the sum of values of the app usage in the week for all the users divided by the total sum of the use of all the apps that week. For instance, on week 5, for Instagram, the sum of all participants was 204,75%, while the total sum of the apps used throughout the week was 800%, in which Instagram corresponded, therefore, to 25.59% of the total.

Image 1 – Example of data of smartphone usage



Source: Screenshot captured by the authors (2020).

Chart 2 – Apps used per category

Category	Apps
Social Media	Facebook Instagram Tinder Twitter
Browsers	Chrome Firefox Google ⁷ Safari
Instant Messengers	Messenger Telegram WhatsApp
Games	Discord Game of Sultans Lichess Pokémon Go Spirit Board Twitch
Shopping	AliExpress
Services	Appy Builder BBVA Blablacar Caixa Bank Gmail Keep (notes) Maps Outlook Univ. de Murcia Whoosh!
Streaming	Música Netflix Prime Video Spotify TV Colombia YouTube

Source: Created by the authors (2020)

7 Google as considered a browser because it gave access to other sites within the tool.

In order to complement the collection, we realized individual interviews with the eight students. As Rosália Duarte (2004) emphasizes, the interviews are a crucial tool for mapping practices in specific social universes, allowing a deep dive in a certain reality. Complementarily, Jorge Duarte (2011, p. 63) highlights that this technique of research doesn't allow the quantification of a phenomenon, in which their goal is more related to "[...] learning through the identification of wealth and diversity, through the integration of information and synthesis of discovery than the establishment of precise and definitive conclusions".

According to the authors, we assume that the results obtained do not correspond to an objective view on the theme, once the knowledge is produced through the interpretation of subjective stories of experiences of the source (DUARTE, 2004; DUARTE, 2011). What is narrated to the researcher reflects the subject's point of view, how he observes and experiences reality, and individuals are not always aware of how they act towards certain situations. Therefore, we understand that the interviews do not supply a complete and precise perspective of the context of smartphone usage, but combined with the data of the mobile phones, they allow to expand the understanding of the theme.

In this study, we developed semi-open interviews (or semi-structured) which, according to Martino (2018), are guided by a script of questions, but open space to the interviewee adds other elements referring to the theme. According to the author, "semi-open interviews are used when the goal is to know the thought of the interviewee about a certain subject, giving freedom to their own remarks and changes of pace, but without losing the specific research framework" (MARTINO, 2018, p. X).

Face-to-face conversations with students took place between December 05th and 13th, 2019, in classrooms and in the hall of the Communication Course of the university where they study, according to the choice of the participants themselves. The interviews had about 14 to 28 minutes and were guided by a previous script with 23 questions related to smartphone usage and access to news.⁸

8 The questionnaire can be accessed in this link: <https://bit.ly/35hTDQ3>.

Notes were taken during each interview and the interview was audio-recorded. Later, the content was transcribed and analyzed in conjunction with the screenshots. Information was also contrasted with the results of Digital News Report 2020 (NEWMAN et al., 2020) with the goal of establishing parameters with the reality of the world and Spain of on-line news consumption.

Results

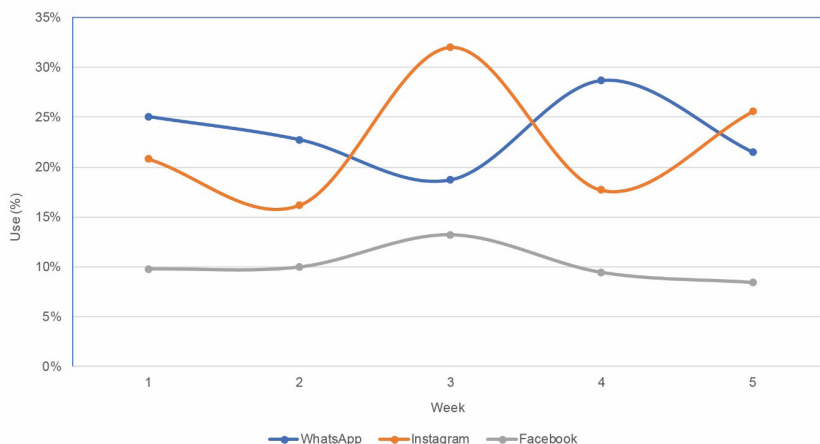
From the interviews, it was possible to identify that the contact of the participants with the mobile phone started in the teenage years (age 12 to 16) – with the exception of User 2, older, that had his first cellphone with 23 years old. The first smartphone, device with more resources and connectivity, arrives to the students two to four years later, following the own development of the mobile technology, that becomes more accessible to the population in the years 2010 (PELLANDA et al., 2017). In the date of the study, four users (1, 4, 5 and 8) also had tablets, signaling as the most common use the consumption of audiovisual content.

Despite making use of the 3G and 4G connectivity, students use more and prefer the Wi-Fi connection due to being more time in environments that offer this type of network and as a form of consuming fewer mobile data. Some declared that there is the concern with the type of content accessed via 3G and 4g, avoiding the visualization of videos, for instance.

According to the students, smartphone access happens in different times throughout the day, especially in their free time, like waking up, before bed, gaps between activities and in transportation. In the mornings and at night are the preferred moments to consult the device, since that in the afternoon they are in the university. Users 1 and 4 prefer to use the laptop to, respectively, conduct other activities in this support and because the size of the screen is more comfortable. In turn, Users 2 and 8 said that the consult to the smartphone is continuous, being one of the reasons the distance from their original countries, in which the device works as a way of communicating and getting information.

Questioned about the main activities performed with the smartphone, students highlighted communication, with emphasis on the use of WhatsApp, Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook. This indication corresponds to the data collected in the devices, which show that the apps that consume battery the most (which we can understand as the most used) are WhatsApp, Instagram and Facebook. Chart 1 illustrates the use of the three apps in five weeks⁹. The results also meet the study of Digital News Report, in which WhatsApp, Facebook and Instagram are among the five digital social media and messengers most used in Spain and in the world (NEWMAN et al., 2020).

Chart 1 – Apps with more app consumption/mobile data



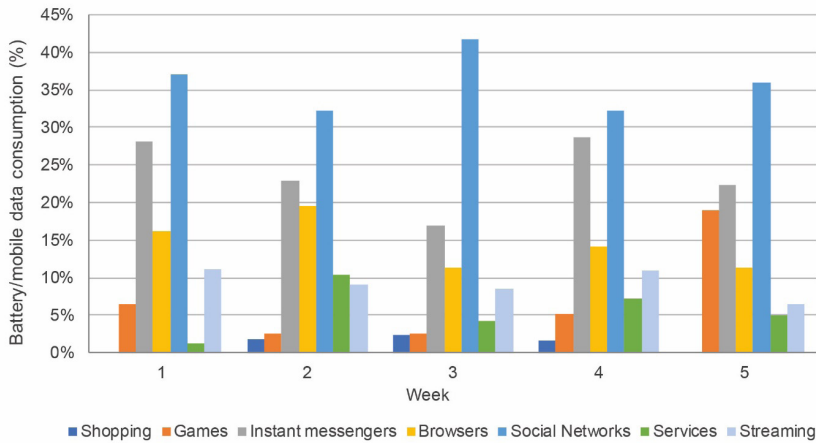
Source: Created by the authors (2020)

Screenshots show that the eight apps that consumed batteries and/or data the most in this period were WhatsApp, Instagram, Facebook, Firefox, Google, Twitter, YouTube and Pokémon Go. Observing the total set of apps by category, social media and instant messengers were the

⁹ In the analyzed period, there wasn't a registration of use of Instagram by User 1 and Facebook by Users 3, 4 and 8.

most used by students, followed by browsers and streaming platforms (Chart 2).

Chart 2 - App usage by category



Source: Created by the authors (2020)

According to the interviews, the battery use of the smartphone is not a concern for most participants. They said to have moderation when it is close to the end, recharging the device as soon as possible. However, storage space is or was a problem for five students, which emphasized that they have uninstalled an app to install another one.

All the interviewees informed they have app notifications activated with social media, WhatsApp, and e-mail. Only User 6 pointed out he didn't select which ones they would like to receive, and considered that some warnings could be suppressed. However, the other participants elected which notifications are shown, emphasizing the importance of having the ability to receive them or not.

Regarding news, all of them responded they like to be informed about what happens around them or about specific themes. However, none of them uses news apps to get informed – two have apps installed (Flipboard, pre-installed on the phone, User 5, Menéame, User 7) but they

don't use them. When questioned whether they would download a news app, three students (Users 5, 6 and 8) responded they wouldn't, because they'd rather get information in other channels. Others evaluated they could download it if the app presented content related to their interests, was light, functional, and optimized for the mobile device, and counted with resources such as offline visualization, personalization and interaction with other users.

The main source of information is the internet, in digital social media, being Twitter and Facebook the most cited. This behavior is also identified in the Reuters Institute study, which shows that gen Z (young adults from 18 to 24) use less news websites and apps and have more than double the possibility of accessing information on social media (Newman et al., 2020) Among the reason they could explain the biggest consumption of these platforms are the sociability and the ability of performing different actions in one environment, as highlighted by User 1: "Facebook, for instance, makes easier for me not only to get in touch with my friends, and, in my spare time, publish memes, jokes, things, images and photos, but also has its news section." And because I'm linked to these specific profiles, news come to me. It is like having different things in one app, and it doesn't take too much space"¹⁰.

In social networks and instant messengers, journalistic content is also accessed through friend recommendation. In these situations, following the participants, not only the interest for the theme of the information is considered, but including the reliability of who is sharing, in other words, they evaluate whether the person usually shares real links or not.

Besides the internet, four students watch TV (in general, when they are at home, with their families) and one user listens to radio in transportation. For five users (1, 2, 5, 6 and 8) the access to news happens more via smartphone due to its instant nature and easiness of access, while the

10 In the original: "Facebook, por ejemplo, me facilita no sólo estar en contacto con mis amigos y a partir de su punto de ocio subir memes, chistes, cosas, imágenes y fotografías, sino también tiene su apartado de noticias. Y al estar vinculada a esos perfiles específicos, pues me llegan las noticias. Es como que en una sola aplicación tengo bastantes cosas y no ocupa un espacio".

other three (3, 4 and 7) reinforced they would rather use the computer due to convenience and comfort.

Based in these answers, it is possible to understand that news consumption isn't always intentional, in which students have contact with events when scrolling through the social media feed. When the theme is interesting and they are willing, they access the complete link of the information or make a web search, as we can see in the interview of User 2: "If I access a news on Facebook or Instagram it is because I found it on my feed, it seemed interesting and I clicked on it. But it wasn't because I was looking for it. [...] If I'm searching for an information I need or I want to know, I search for it myself¹¹". Still, according to the speeches, the access to journalistic content happens more on demand, in the moment and place where they wish and about specific subjects.

Despite mentioning journalistic websites, they consult and/or follow on social media, such as Agência EFE, El Tiempo and El Mundo, seven students responded they don't have favorite news outlets. The access has more to do with the theme, but there is a concern with the authenticity of the content and credibility of the source, in which participants reported they seek for the information in more than one channel, as told by User 5: "I usually compare different sources. For instance, imagine there is news on Donald Trump. Well, I maybe see what ABC, El Mundo and El País had to say about it. And all of that gives me an idea of what really was the news"¹². There was also a reference to websites that make fun of news, such as El Mundo Today and El Jueves, which do not have a commitment with the truth, but they seem to base themselves in real events – what would compare, in Brazil, with Sensacionalista¹³, for instance.

11 In the original: "Si yo accedo a una noticia por Facebook o por Instagram es porque las encontré en el muro y me pareció interesante e ingresé. Pero no es que yo las haya estado buscando. [...] Si yo voy a buscar una información que necesito o que quiero saber, lo busco".

12 In the original: "Utilizo mucho comparar distintas fuentes. Por ejemplo, imagínate que hay una noticia sobre Donald Trump. Pues a lo mejor ver lo que ha dicho el ABC, lo que ha dicho *El Mundo* y lo que ha dicho *El País*. Y todo eso me hace hacerme una idea de realmente cuál ha sido la noticia".

13 Available at: www.sensacionalista.com.br.

The issue of reliability in the source reached in the research with the students is also verified on Digital News Report 2020, which registered that less than half of the participants trust the news they access (42% in Spain, 46% in all of the countries of the sample), with number increasingly smaller when we talk about information circulating social media. The trust had a more accentuated fall in the coverage of Spanish political events in 2019. Although research had registered a high level of reliability in all the world in the media coverage related to the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 (NEWMAN et al., 2020).

According to interviews, the time of day dedicated to the access of news by youth in smartphone conform with the moment in which the use the device the most, morning and night, especially during their free time and/or in transportation. When they are not in traffic, the consultation happens more at home, because, for students, it sets as an environment where they are more comfortable, relaxed and have more time and freedom. Just like in the question about the use of the mobile phone, Users 2 and 8 had indicated they view information in their mobile anywhere, at any time of the day.

Students responded to prefer news in text followed by photos, reinforcing as the main reasons the easiness in adapting the reading to their pace, the possibility of reading anywhere and time and the best contextualization of information. Video is also indicated as a format of interest because they are attractive and they present a summary of information, being preferred short videos of up to one and a half minute. User 3 clarifies why he prefers texts: “Because that way I can read [the news] in my own pace and, also, in text, I can consume it anywhere [...]. However, when we play a video, or see images, but the text part is missing, which in this case would be audio, and the audio cannot be heard anywhere”¹⁴. In turn, User 7 says he’s interested in the mix of both formats: “The text because the information is more detailed and more, how can

14 In the original: “Porque así puedo leerla [noticia] a mi ritmo y a parte también en texto yo puedo consumirla en cualquier sitio [...]. Sin embargo, video, reproduce el video y solo ve unas imágenes, pero te falta la parte del texto, que en este caso sería audio y el audio no lo puedes escuchar en todo sitio”.

I put it? impartial. While the video is more attractive [...]”¹⁵. Politics, environment, culture and games are the favorite themes among the participants, being politics the most cited theme (five users).

For five interviewees, it is crucial that an app or news website accessed through smartphone is fast, simple, light and easy to use, enabling a comfortable experience anywhere, anytime. Three students reinforced the importance of journalistic precision, with truth and well written information. Still, was pointed the possibility of personalizing the navigation.

Advertisement (excess and format of ads) was highlighted by four students as an element they don’t like in journalistic content they consume in the mobile telephone, as exposed by User 4: “When the banner jumps at you right in the middle of the screen, I really don’t like it. Because, sometimes, I mean, it bothers you when you need to see the screen and sometimes it opens without warning. So it redirects to the page and it makes you lose time and data”¹⁶.

The student’s responses had varied when asked about what they miss in the news available on smartphones: Five students said not to remember any specific points. The others, in turn, had cited that the productions could count with an offline content, attribute a bigger highlight and space for interaction with the vehicle and among users and that the personalization of access could be more precise. Two participants emphasized that they do not see issues in the way information are presented in the mobile device, but rather in the journalistic practice and approach.

Completing the data, all students had said on interviews that they don’t pay to access journalistic productions. User 6 had revealed he wouldn’t pay to consume news on his smartphone because he already finds the information he wants in a free form. Users 2 and 8 maybe would pay if it was something that interested them a lot, because they

15 In the original: “El texto porque la información es más detallada y más, ¿cómo decirlo? Imparcial. Mientras que el vídeo, pues, es más atractivo [...]”.

16 In the original: “Cuando salta el banner ahí justo en medio de la pantalla, eso sí que no lo gusto. Porque a veces, o sea, molesta cuando tienes que ver la pantalla y a veces da sin querer. Entonces se redirige a la página y te hace perder tiempo y datos”.

can also view what they need without having to pay. The remainder evaluated they could invest around 3 euros a month (answers varied between 1 and 5 euros) to access, however, just like Users 2 and 8 pointed out, the content would have to be of their interest, with journalistic quality (Users 1, 5 and 7), approach of general and/or specific themes (Users 1, 3 and 4), with project thought for the mobile environment (User 7) and similar structure to Netflix (User 5).

In fact, the portion of society that pays to access journalistic content on the internet is still very small, as shown on the Reuters Institute research. Only 12% of Spanish people pay for online news and a great part of the interviewees around the world are feeling satisfied with the information available for free (NEWMAN et al., 2020). According to the study, the most important factor for those who sign journalistic content is quality, reason that was also pointed out by the students of our research.

After the approach of research results, it is possible to identify some aspects about the context of use and consumption of news on the smartphone, highlighted next.

Considerations

The study developed contemplates a specific reality of a small group of students and with data that could not be generalized and employed for the comprehension of of all young adults use their smartphones and access news in their device. After the singularity, we identified aspects reinforced by other research, as Casero Ripollés (2012), Alexandre and Aquino (2019a), Flamingo (2019) and Newman et al. (2020), that expand the knowledge on the theme and allow us to reflect and question strategies for mobile journalism.

It is necessary for us to ponder that, because they are Communication students, maybe the participants are more familiarized with the use of smartphone and access of news in this device – this is an assumption, not empirically confirmed. This observation also reinforces the care in

avoiding generalizations and the importance in making other studies that investigate the thematic.

Another aspect of the sample that needs to be pointed out is about the fact that two students are from Latin American countries, living in Spain only to finish the course. During the interviews, both reinforced the use of message platforms and social media as a way of communicating with their family and friends. One of them had also emphasized the access to media outlets of their original country as a strategy to keep up with the events of the region. Therefore, the increased use of some applications such as WhatsApp and Instagram by the two young adults could be related with the search for keeping the relationship with their motherland. However, it is crucial to highlight that we didn't observe in the interviews and data collected other significant differences in relation to other students.

In a general sense, the wide use of instant messengers and social media evidence that the basic role of the phone of communicating and interacting with other people is essential for the users. However, it is about an interaction that depends on Internet connection and has specificities related to the digital environment, such as the appropriation of more textual and visual tools, including emojis, and characteristics of the so-called network conversations, such as the spread, searchability and permanence of interactions (RECUERO, 2012).

It is also through the network that students affirmed they get information, data that corroborates with research that point towards the consumption of news in these platforms (KNIGHT FOUNDATION, 2016; NEWMAN et al. 2020). In this context, journalism is inserted into a scenario of hyper competition, sharing the audience's space and attention with other types of content, tasks, and sources, and beginning to compete not only with other journalistic companies, but also with different products and services (CHARRON; BONVILLE, 2016; PASE; PELLANDA; CUNHA, 2019).

In addition, the biggest use of digital social media as source of information is concerning due to algorithm-based logics of distribution¹⁷, excessive personalization and the propagation of fake news. The circulation of posts in some social networks, such as Facebook and Instagram, is guided by algorithms, which limit the organic reach of pages, making information visible based on user behavior and commercial interests (BARSOTTI, 2019). Therefore, as much as the individual decides which journalistic outlets to follow, the spontaneous access to content will always be conditioned to the network dynamic.

Complementary to that, Pariser (2012) highlights that the personalization of access through social media algorithms could end up inserting individuals in what he calls “filter bubble”, in other words, the universe with which they identify and interact the most. According to the author “if the personalization is excessive, it could impede us from getting in touch with breathtaking experiences and ideas, destroying prejudice, changing the way we think about the world and about ourselves” (Ibid, p. 15).

In addition to these issues, there is a lack of trust in the news and the global phenomenon of misinformation, in which digital social media are the main channel of circulation of fake news (TANDOC JR.; LIM; LING, 2017). Such scenario is set as a challenge to the news outlets in which it is necessary to develop tactics to reach the young and digital audience, highlighting in the midst of so many sources, producing qualified journalism and finding alternatives for the distribution of content in social media.

Through the publications filtered by the digital social networks, there is still another form of selection of content by youth itself. Research showed that the consumption of information depends more on personal interest for the theme and availability of information (being free and having a pleasant layout, for instance), than the outlet where the publication was made, results that reinforce data from the studies of Thorson *et al.* (2015) and Flamingo (2019).

17 Algorithms are a set of automatized instructions which, based on specific calculations, transform data in their desired results (GILLESPIE, 2018).

The technical aspects of the device and the Internet connection also have reflections on the use of the smartphone and access to news, in which participants are concerned with the capacity of storage of their devices, type of content viewed in each network (preferring lighter files when they are connected to mobile data, for instance) and usability. Therefore, journalism for smartphones must invest in content and in form, be well produced, attractive, be easy and have quick access and be adapted to the characteristic of the mobile device.

Research had also evidenced that apps should not be main bet to arrive to this audience, since not all devices have space to support more apps and there is not an exclusive relationship with a journalistic brand. Participants prefer to check news on social media and websites accessed through the browser, picking the source that best delivers the information and performing the access according to their availability and desire. To generate the download and use of an app, personalization and segmentation are fundamental characteristics, because, as some students previously pointed out, the overall coverage of events is already performed by different outlets.

Another relevant aspect corresponds to the business model, in which none of the young adults had said they paid to get news and revealed to be bothered with the way ads are shown in the content they access. If they need an information and find limitations, they seek other sources. For the participants, who show to make use of streaming platforms such as Netflix and Amazon Prime (whose access are exclusive to paying members), it is more natural to pay for entertainment than information. Again, it is taken the possibility of investing in segmented and personalized productions – specificities that also were enhanced as necessary for the payment of a journalistic service.

We believe the investigation developed allows us to reflect about the issues and think about propositions for a mobile journalism. However, we reinforce the need to make other studies that comprise the consumption of news in mobile devices and the relationship between individuals and their devices, enabling to tension even more the issue and expanding the understanding regarding the theme.

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Date of submission: 8/5/2020

Date of acceptance: 5/9/2021

Estratégias de transnacionalização de conteúdos originais de televisões não lineares da América Latina: o caso de *Assédio*, da Globoplay

Transnationalization strategies of original content from non-linear televisions from Latin America: the case of *Assédio*, by Globoplay

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Resumo: *Examinamos estratégias de transnacionalização e comunicabilidade em Assédio, série original Globoplay, a partir de uma metodologia que combina análise da televisualidade à hermenêutica da narrativa. Tomamos Globoplay como um agente em processo de transnacionalização ainda incipiente, apesar de adotar elementos de uma gramática do transnacionalismo. Com o estudo de caso de Assédio, observamos uma complexificação da narrativa, o uso do tempo linear com diferentes funções e composição estilística elaborada para figurar a violência sexual contra mulheres. Estes fatores demonstram que a série adota princípios de um apelo local-global capaz de afetar tanto audiências expandidas a outras localidades quanto manter vínculos com o lugar de origem e sua audiência nacional familiarizada.*

Palavras-chave: *análise da televisualidade; hermenêutica da narrativa; gramática do transnacionalismo; série ficcional*

Abstract: *We examined transnationalization and communicability strategies in Assédio, original Globoplay series, based on a methodology that combines televisuality analysis with the hermeneutics of the narrative. We take Globoplay as*

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an agent in the process of transnationalization, which is still incipient, despite adopting elements of a grammar of transnationalism. With the case study of As-sédio, we observed a complexification of the narrative, the use of linear time with different functions and stylistic composition designed to figure sexual violence against women. These factors demonstrate that the series adopts principles of a local-global appeal capable of affecting both expanded audiences to other locations and maintaining links with the place of origin and its familiar national audience.

Keywords: *televisuality analysis; hermeneutics of the narrative; grammar of transnationalism; fictional series*

Introduction

In this article, we explore strategies of transnationalization and communicability in *Assédio*, released in 2018 by Globoplay, in their initial investments in the sector. The methodology combines analysis of televisuality to the hermeneutics of the narrative³ and gives an effort of complexification of narrative, use of time with different roles, a more elaborated visual composition to represent sexual abuse against women and an offer of a cultural experience with a world in which history takes as reference, where patriarchal and sexist structures prevail.

We had concluded that *Assédio* adopts principles of a local-global appeal and a grammar of transnationalism, among which we highlight the refined visual aesthetics, the combination of genres associated to the treatment of “serious matters”, the exploration of a plot capable of affecting audiences that transnationally expand and firm bonds of another nature. On the other hand, the series keeps connections with the original location through formal and cultural choices with which the national audience is familiar.

Transnational TV: transnationalism and non-linearity

In order to reflect about current TV, Jenner (2018) adopts the concept of transnational television that describes a TV whose production is performed since the beginning with focus on transnational audiences, and, facing the transformations it promotes, develops strategies of negotiation, production, distribution and promotion capable of propelling products whose reach crosses borders and the consumption is experienced in new space-time dimensions. There are two main characteristics to this type of TV: transnationalism and non-linearity. To Vertovec, transnationalism refers to:

3 *Assédio* integrates the project “Latin America stamp of export of televisual fiction: market, communication and experience in the streaming era”, developed by researchers from Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Mexico, who analyze Netflix original, regional streaming services and on demand video of transnational cable companies (2016-2019).

[...] connections sustained and continuous exchanges among non-state actors based beyond the limits of national borders – corporations, non-governmental organizations and individual sharing of common interests (by criteria such as religious beliefs, common cultural and geographic origins) – which can differentiate them as “transnational” practices and groups (in reference to bonds that work beyond the State-nation). (VERTOVEC, 2009, p. 187-93 – our translation).

The concept is appropriated to so-called transnational channels, since it takes into account cultural, historic and political aspects and reaches what Straubhaar (1991) defines as “cultural proximities” to deal with bonds to connect nations that do not share borders or historic connections. In this process thought for TVs and their new logics, we see that the “new players in the market of strong vertical integration – from production to distribution and sales – [...] renew and reinforce the strategies of super sale and the transnationalization of their symbolic content [...]” (BUSTAMANTE, 2017, p. 20 – our translation).

In turn, non-linearity is regarding new technologies of distribution that generate new strategies and have in the selection of content their main task. Lots (2017) adopts this notion of prioritizing protocols of distribution through the internet and streaming services, called Portals. However, to Lotz “the access of on-demand videos offered by cable services is hard to categorize. It also depends on the technology of internet protocol, even though it is linked to the industrial practices and conventions characteristics of cable TV” (2017, p. 10 – our translation).

We use “non-linear TV” to comprise other poles beyond streaming as on-demand video services linked to cable channels. These systems use industrial and political practices of distinctive distributions, but our focus is on the strategies of the new age of audiovisual production. These definitions point that transnational TV invests in the construction of content capable of, at the same time, expressing national sensitivities and adopting strategies of the “transnationalism grammar” (JENNER, 2018), focused on the paradigm of quality TV, in a transnational value system which Breidenbach and Zukrigl (1998) describe as reference

in a global culture (democracy, human rights or feminism), and in multilingualism.

Assédio was produced by a streaming service of an important media conglomerate in Latin America, and we are interested in capturing in what extent, when it proposes to enter the global market of audiovisual production, the regional sector appears to be capable of dialoging with these principles, as well as developing their own strategies for the transnational investment.

Televisuality and narrative: methodological combination for fictional analysis

Our methodological proposition adopts the concept of strategy of communicability through the redefinition based on Martín-Barbero (2013), synthesized as “forms through which a text is presented as a proposition of experience and interaction, whose dynamics evidences the mediations at stake through a double event: visual and narrative (ROCHA, 2020). We combined an analysis of televisuality and hermeneutics of narrative in four moments: analysis of the transnational and non-linear television media; analysis of televisuality; narrative hermeneutics and indexes of cultural experience through fiction (ROCHA, 2020).

The analysis of media comes from Williams (2016), whose notion comprises, beyond technological capabilities, textual definitions industrial practices, audience behavior and cultural understanding, as well as revisions and updates made as the televisional media presents new challenges and demands a scrutiny of different dimensions that set it as a cultural and technological form (LOTZ, 2017; SPIGEL, 2004).

The analysis of televisuality (ROCHA, 2019) articulates visuality (MITCHEL, 2009) to the televisional style (BUTLER, 2010) to observe interactions between visual and verbal representations in the composition image/text. Televisuality allows us to identify what in the interactions refer to historic-cultural (in)determinations which conform visual experiences of the viewers.

The analysis of the narrative brings an unconventional hermeneutic approach which de-centers the discursive portion of the analysis and gives place to daily dimensions which the discursive reorganizes in junction with other narrations which are manifested as anachronical interactions that stimulate the interpretative gaze towards communicative exchanges that escape a conventional approach centered in the text or intertext. Through this “communicative hermeneutics”, Martín-Barbero (2013) takes on the narrative as mediation among subjects and their practical experience and drafts a model of analysis, which inspires us to investigate in the narrative structure of series: intrigue and the form of enunciating the story; devices of writing/reading dialectics; use of time and narrative roles; symbolic operation of the characters.

The last step is referring to the potentialized cultural experience through the interaction with fiction. We propose to evidence how the relationship with fictional series can mean an opening to culture experiences created between the viewer and the world, mediated by the story that is told.

Globoplay: a transnational television?

Globoplay was released in November 2015 as an on-demand platform in a cross media format to comprise TV Globo’s contents. Successor of the former Globo TV+, created in 2012 as an option for consumption of the live shows of the channel (MUNGIOLI et al, 2018), Globoplay received new investments in 2016 that initiated a repositioning of the brand, made possible in 2018, with changes in the logo and colors of the company (SANTOS NETO; STRASSBURGER, 2019), and in the provision of contents itself. With shows exclusively released on streaming (the “Globoplay Originals”⁴), it is in total 13 fictional serial productions.

With increasingly big investments, the service stopped working as a way to catch up network television and triggered strategies to conquer their own place in the market. One of them was recycling content of

4 In addition to the fictional serial productions, it offers as original products three comedy series, one talk show, one game show, a variety show and twelve docuseries.

the traditional schedule (mainly telenovelas) combined with original productions that give them a characterization as an unique player in the Brazilian audiovisual market since its arrival (MEIGRE, ROCHA, 2020). The advantage of Globoplay lies in belonging to a national media conglomerate and extracting from the “mother company” a good part of their content. This strategy seems to be a win-win-win: it fills the requirements of composition of catalog, expands windows of exhibition and the contact with national audiences (used to the consumption of melodrama) and potentially reaches audiences beyond borders who are also used to consuming these productions. In this sense, it is similar to the movement experience by Blim in Mexico (BALADRON, RIVERO, 2019; RIOS, SCARLATA, 2018), benefited by the flow of content coming from Televisa, which shows a certain strategic recurrence among the big Latin American media corporations when they begin in this market.

Another strategy are the agreements settled between Globoplay and third parties for the licensing of productions (series, films, and documentary acquisition) and the offer of live shows in the “Agora na Globo” tab. Such actions put the portal in a different position to other streaming services with on demand videos. When it offers live shows, the latest news, and telenovelas, in addition to the highlight given to the original content, Globoplay seems to become a type of hybrid between network TV and streaming, in a connective television logic (BUONANNO, 2007) which adopts a double movement. In one of them, they seek to strengthen themselves in the national market, given the projection of the Group and contemplating the committed audience of the network channel. In the other, it is geared towards the transnational market, in a way of reaching sectors that find in the Globoplay originals content to suit their interests, even though this initiative is in their initial steps.

Since it arrived to the United States, in February 2020, the service did not reach new countries, with the projection of arriving in Europe still in 2021, taking as a differential of its catalog a set of over 80 original works. In an interview for a North American portal, the chief executive of Globoplay, Erick Brêtas, said Europe was the big goal for this

year, negotiating an interest of inserting themselves in the market in a global manner, in every other continent in a gradual and pulverized manner⁵. Having as differential the consolidation of the Globo brand and the strength of communication of the Group (BRÊTAS apud ALBUQUERQUE, 2020), the efforts of Globoplay show an aim directed towards transnationalization and, in this perspective, we locate Assédio, considering the already visible transnational face of the portal to identify their visual and narrative structures and the institutional decisions which involved their accomplishment.

Assédio was the first original production at Globoplay to have a proposition of interaction between the streaming and broadcasting models and adopted a balanced casting with known names of TV (Adriana Esteves, Antonio Calloni and Paola Oliveira) and a cast of new faces (Hermilla Guedes and Elisa Volpato). Working as a new player in the market, Globoplay makes decisions (including casting decisions) in accordance to the business advantages guaranteed by the consolidation of Grupo Globo and their visibility – both internally and externally. This factor also helps in the transnational plans of the service, even if their precocious territorial expansion is faced with the supremacy of Netflix. But it is important to recognize that the global streaming giant faces challenges with the regional markets:

However, in almost every country, Netflix competes against players that entered this arena and have a leadership position in their original country and for which the platform is progressively losing market participation. It is the case of Cablevisión Flow, Cable TV company of the Clarin Group at Argentina, which in less than two years got to have 10% of market participation in the country. There is also a similar trend in other countries with cases like Globoplay in Brazil, Caracol Play in Colombia and Blim in Mexico. (BALADRON, RIVERO, 2019, p. 122 – our translation).

In Netflix's case, the company used strategies of transnationalization when it arrived in Latin America. In Brazil, having arrived in 2011,

5 Available at: <https://noticiasdatv.uol.com.br/noticia/mercado/com-82-programas-em-desenvolvimento-globoplay-vai-chegar-a-europa-em-2021-49728>. Accessed in: May 28th, 2021.

Netflix had invested in series without being introduced as a competitor for the local media companies. With Americanized formulas, it became another “competitor” to cable channels and processes of piracy. In order to conquer and expand the national market, it provided entire series that were successful in network TV (*Friends*, *Fresh Prince of Belair*) and biblical telenovelas from RecordTV (MEIMARIDIS, MAZUR, RIOS, 2020). Later, the company began to invest in the production of original content, keeping the rights of global distribution of products, integrating vertically, and obtaining full control over the content and its distribution (BALADRON, RIVERO, 2019).

According to Baladron and Rivero (2019), Netflix’s investment in hybrid products, with local and global appeal simultaneously, is one of the strategies that evidences the expansionist character of the company (through the theme choice, building of narrative, places to shoot and casting composition), aiming towards local markets and possibilities of circulation beyond the original countries of these shows. Similarly, Rios and Scarlata (2018) developed a comparative study in order to evaluate how the on-demand video services Stan and Blim were inserted, respectively in the Australian and Mexican market. Despite the singularities that set these two services apart – while Stan arrives before the rise of Netflix in Australia, Blim appears when Netflix was already the favorite in the Mexican market –, the authors ponder on how in both cases there an efficient capitalization about the global condition of Netflix were, through the production and distribution of content for their geographically localized audiences.

Seeking support in cases of other global peripheries, such as Mexico and Australia, works as a support to reflect about the particularities of the process of incipient transnationalization of Globoplay. Being in less territories – while Netflix is on over 190 countries and Blim in 17 countries (RIOS, SCARLATA, 2018) – linked to a specific media group and aiming to keep going in the production of original content, the on-demand video service expresses in its journey the challenges of the sector in Latin American contexts. In a region marked by inequalities in the offer of

services in general, with unequal structural contexts, the players reflect the perennial asymmetries of the continent in their definition of center and periphery, centralization and exclusion facing technological innovations (BALADRON, RIVERO, 2019) in addition to the imbalance, obstacles and controversial agendas that surround the structuration, for instance, of the streaming sector in Brazil (LADEIRA, 2017).

Because of that, we took Globoplay as a service in the process of transnationalization, adopting narrative, theme, and style resources consistent with their most recent proposition of geographic expansion, through the political economy of communication in which prevail mixes between decision geared towards the local audience and investments and projections for the transnational market. Following the first movements of transnationalization of Globoplay is critical for us to apprehend the paths of local audiovisual production and their next challenges. After introducing the show, we will reflect about the narrative and style dimensions of a theme with transnational potential: violence against women.

Assédio: markers of identification of the series

Fictional work of “drama” and “crime” (or “criminal drama”), *Assédio*, 2018, is a Globoplay original in partnership with O2 Filmes, with one season with 10 35-minute episodes. Inspired in the life of Roger Abdelmassih, the doctor Roger Sadala (Antonio Calloni) is a specialist in human reproduction that sexually abuses his patients. Abused in different moments, the patients are located by the journalist Mira (Elisa Volpatto), who gathers them to give their statement. The narrative reveals numberless statements exemplified in the cases of Stela (Adriana Esteves), Eugênia (Paula Possani), Maria José (Hermila Guedes), Vera (Fernanda D’umbra) and Daiane (Jéssica Ellen). In a support group, they expose the doctor, who goes to jail, but years later is authorized to be under house arrest.

Time and melodramatic archetypes in the narrative of *Assédio*

Based in the book *A Clínica: a farsa e os crimes de Roger Abdelmassih*, by Vicente Vilaradaga, the intrigue of the book is the trauma of sexual abuse against women told by the stories of victims of the abuse of Roger Abdelmassih, renowned doctor in the area of human reproduction., **b** The story adopts two narrative focuses to complexify the story: biographies of women that long to be biologically mothers and the everyday life of the doctor Roger Sadala, in his personal (submission of his wife over him, aggressive fits against family members) and professional life (sessions with couples, public recognition and fame). In the story, the journalist Mira Simões is the dramatic link that gathers statements from victims and links the stories of women looking for the condemnation of the abuser/villain.

The stories follow a linear progression, and, in the first half of the season, each episode gets the name of a character that conducts the story, obeying the chronology of abuse. The form of enunciation in this first half is the drama and can be apprehended through different resources. One of them is the titling of episodes which, when receiving names of characters (Stela, Eugênia, Maria José, Vera, Daiane, Eva), allows the narrative to individualize the pain and express the way in which each suffering of each woman was experienced, alone coping with their traumas. The other is the choice of narrating the stories in a first-person account built as a statement of victims to the journalist. The third one is the choice of crossing narrative focuses on the plot, because the feeling of imbalance between the doctor's successful career and the pain of the victims increases the dramatic burden in relation to the violence suffered by those women.

The second half of *Assédio* traces the legal process of reporting, processing, judgement, and arrest of the doctor. From there, the narrative, despite the dramatic profile, prioritizes the genre crime as form of enunciation through which the story is told. Individual griefs are collectivized in a common search for justice and the names, used as titles in the first

episodes, give place to the set of actions taken by women and begin to name the episodes 7 through 10: *Vozes, O processo, O Julgamento e A busca*, referring to the collectivization of the women's actions until the arrest of the doctor.

The experience with linear time fills an important role in relation to the world that the narrative takes as reference. In *Assédio*, the chronological time is marked by visual resources that allow us to identify the diegetic time, taking as base in real time of the events suffered by women. Therefore, the episodes have visual indicatives of the narrated time, which enables the audience to recognize the time of the crimes. With the indication of the year on screen, the audience is not only located in the diegetic universe but is also capable of tracing a chronologic line of abuse, in a way that, throughout the episodes, the viewer understands that the crimes weren't punctual, but extended through years. The time chronologically organized in a linear crescent reveals not only the time of the crimes, but the long-lasting behavior of the doctor, in addition to the long journey faced by the victims facing Roger's impunity.

The mix of temporalities is another aspect of the use of time in the plot. Even though the emphasis is in the present of the narrative, the insertion of the past and psychological time contributes for the manifestation of the suffering of victims in flashbacks and flashforwards to reinforce the abuse, show how women were affected, as well as advancing in the investigation and the relationship between them.

In the narrative composition of the characters, we identified the roles of the villain, of the heroine and the victims. As villain, Roger is built as a man of questionable character, with notable social appearances and ulterior intimate acts. Sadala shows an almost sacred tenderness for his wife, mother, children, and grandchildren, but has intempestive acts with family members, in addition to extramarital affairs. In episode 8, for instance, after the death of his wife Gloria (Mariana Lima), Roger gathers with the family to pray. In the next scene he was seen, he's at his mistress Carolina's (Paolla Oliveira) house. In another moment of the show, giving a statement to try to escape the complaints, he says:

Roger: I became a symbol, you feel me? I'm not myself anymore, Roger Sadala. Excellent doctor, a family man, responsible citizen, no. I became the bogeyman, evil itself, the devil. But I'm not a symbol of shit, or rather, yes, I am. I am the symbol of life. How many babies nature didn't give and I did? I am Doctor Life, that's me.

In turn, Mira Simões acts as the heroine, ready to take on risks to help women. In her journalistic work, Mira receives anonymous reports against the doctor, and she tries to find clues that incriminate him until she forms the bases to formally accuse him. The journalist neglects her personal life and the care of her child when, for example, forgets him in the car because she left in a hurry to write a story on Sadala. The role of vigilante/savior is emphasized by the child's father, when they are distressed at the hospital after removing the son out of the car:

Tomas: Shit, Mira. You don't see anybody, not even your own son. Where were you? No, you don't even need to tell me, you were saving the world, right, and forgot about him, of our son, of my son. Do you know how many kids die like that? You should. I am the idiot that doesn't know shit, that only thinks about getting it. And you are always the hero, that knows more, you always know everything.

Finally, the abused women are identified as victims within the narrative structure of *Assédio*. The weight of the crimes lies on their dialogs and in the statements, taken by Mira and in the apparitions in their routine environments: the life at home changed, the solitude of wandering thoughts, etc. Characterizing them as victims is a process weaved throughout the series mainly in the moment in which they explicit internet accusations in the community "Victims of Dr. Sadala".

Even if it's distant from the classic melodrama, *Assédio* retrieves punctual characteristics when it approaches the archetypes. The emphasis in the intrigue of the trauma of sexual violence and the process to incriminate Roger and the crossing of narrative focuses characterize the roles of characters in the story. In the case of the doctor, the narrative does not have space to a nuanced character, because even in family life his

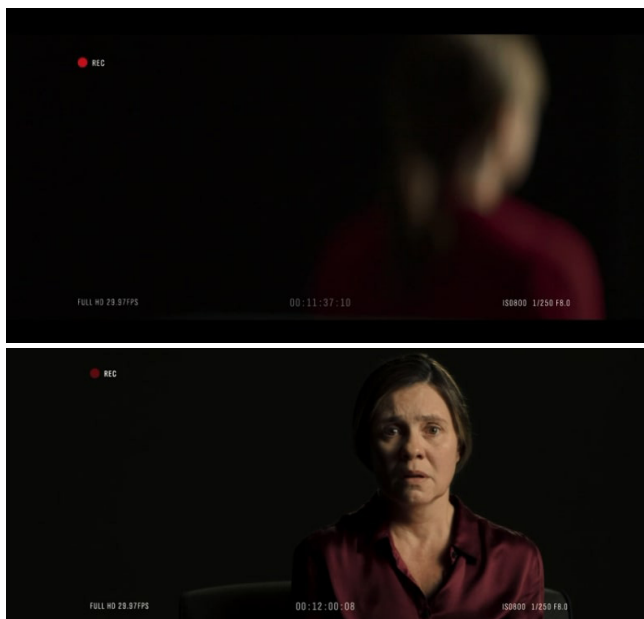
life is given under the sign of aggressiveness. Regarding the journalist, what is highlighted are her virtues and the condition of classic/altruistic hero. And the victims appear in the junction of the solitude lived by the women with the frailty caused by the abuse and the dramatic life consequences in each one of the victims. It is possible to capture that the approximation to archetypes of melodrama fills the role of clarifying the narrative's intention of, facing the theme dealt by intrigue, promotes a morally contrary position to the doctor.

Drama and crime in the televisual experience of *Assédio*

The televisual experience of the narrative follows the linear progression of the abuse narrated. The first audiovisual contact that we have with *Assédio* is through the women in depositions about the violence they suffered. In American shot, dark scenario, they act in a contained way to express the feeling of being down. The contrasted lighting, which marks and visually figures the dramatic charge of the work, will be maintained in the transition of the dramatic narrative to the crime narrative.

In the beginning of the episodes, women are presented without focus (Image 1), unrecognizable, but at the same time they open space so that other women are identified with the place of anxiety. Before they reveal their identities, such stylistic device traces the chance of establishing an empathetic connection with the stories of pain of these women (identification with the characters). Towards the end of the episode, these faces are brought to light in the deposition (Image 2), already revealed throughout the editing, when the strategy of interaction is in fact consolidated with the audience.

Images 1-2 – Presentation of the title-character Stela



Source: Reproduction Globoplay

The figuration of the abuse has marks of suffering and violence in different levels revealed by the stylistic and narrative choices. One of them is the reenactment of Roger's brutality. Another level of visible suffering is shown as the enactment of abuse is given through stories built by each victim's recollection. The stylistic composition uses resources such as the unfocused effect, contrasted lighting and scale of shots to compose scenes to express the physical and moral violence contained in the approaches of the doctor to the patients.

It is the case of Maria José, in which we highlight the framing and performance of actors in the frame as the main stylistic attributes for visual composition of the narrative. After being seen in bed, in *plongée*, Maria José wakes up, gets up and smiles (Image 3). A few moments before the beginning of the scene of abuse, she says she "is feeling pregnant". However, as she smiles (Image 4) the soundtrack of the scene creates a

crack in the composition image/text and stops the sensation of accomplishment crowned in the smile to be confirmed in the soundtrack.

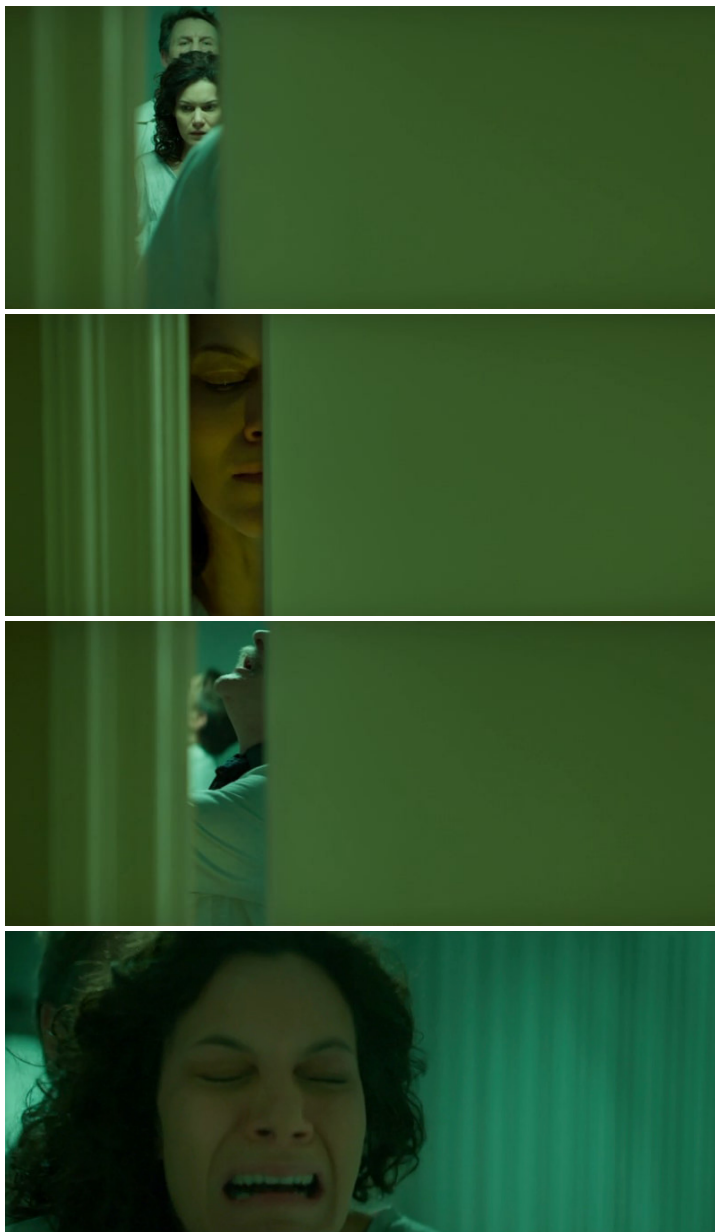
The abuse happens inside the bathroom of the clinic after Maria José wakes up from the medical procedure. Outside of the room, the camera follows the approximation of someone. Through the reflex of the mirror, we see Roger and the surprise of Maria José seeing him. The doctor gets inside, holds the door, and leaves a crack open, through which the camera shows him putting the woman in front of the mirror and asking her to see “how beautiful she is”, as he presses her arms (Image 5). “My God, you’re hurting me, stop!”, she says, while he tries to kiss her. Angry, Roger answers, “I don’t want to hear your accent” and violates the woman. Put against the door, through the crack we see the Maria José’s face of despair (Image 6), which mumbles while he imposes “Be quiet” (Image 7-8). The shots and camera positions express the intention of the doctor to keep his acts hidden, at the same time they locate the viewer as a witness and bring them into this woman’s pain.

Image 3-4 - Maria José at the clinic



Source: Reproduction Globoplay

Image 5-8 – the sexual assault against Maria José



Source: Reproduction Globoplay

When the narrative advances for the exposition, the process and the judgement, other audiovisual compositions offer new layers to the experience with the story. Although the dark scenario is kept figuring the dramatic charge of the initial episodes, some stylistic choices express the turning point of the plot, especially linked to the actors performance and the frames. If in the first half of *Assédio* the performance of women contained and numb by the sexual assault, in the second half the viewer is faced with characters which, when finding support of other women in a similar situation, actively seek a way of receiving legal justice.

That turning point in the narrative happens in episode 6, when Stela publicizes the trauma, she had. The character, under the pseudonym Eva, creates the virtual community “Victims of Dr. Sadala”, in which she exposes the suffering that, up until that point, she kept to herself. “Victims of Dr. Sadala” ends up attracting other women that share the same agony and share the situations lived when they were Roger’s patients. Mira finds out about the community and can give a face/name to the victims that were added to the anonymous report she got from the first victim of the doctor.

Image 9 – A few victims of Sadala



Source: Reproduction Globoplay

As the community gains visibility, the victims are dislocated from the sharing of anguish looking for clues and trace the goal of gathering evidence to formalize the report. The collective plan, that frames those

scenes, becomes recurring and expresses the collectivization of women, who, united, work for the condemnation of Roger (Image 9). Therefore, the televisuality presented the drama of women in their individuality, as well as the transition for the criminal axis of the narrative, when there were the collectivization of the women biographed.

Cultural markers through the fictional experience of *Assédio*

In *Assédio*, the main intrigue develops a story whose theme explored can have a transnational reach: the sexual violence against women. The abuse seen in the show is referred to an obstacle of contemporary societies, in which the role of the woman – despite the achievements reached – faces difficulties to be located in a public field. The silences and the introspective tone that women kept after the abuse, the harshness of telling about what they suffered and felt a little bit of trust when giving statements to Mira (a woman confessing to another woman) build a fictional experience that can raise questions to the viewer: if these women suffered abuse, they were victims of a crime, if they live with deep physical and emotional burden, why the introspective reaction, the muffled scream, the difficulty/fear of facing the fact?

In relation to the world the narrative takes as reference, *Assédio* shows that the victim's pain is not finished in the physical and emotional violence, but also in the social consequences that follow the trauma. Daiane, for instance, hears her husband say she should go back to work on the clinic of the man who tried to rape her, because she would get a raise. And, when she gathers up the courage to expose Roger, she had her children taken away without her consent. Eugênia, in turn, even though she had the support of her husband, faces the anxiety of seeing him insecure about who is her daughter's father. Maria José sees her marriage crumble when her husband finds out about the sexual assault e begins to accuse her of seducing the doctor. The authors took data of the pre-figured world and figured it in the series to call the viewer to feel

and think again. Facing the trauma and their unfoldings, a space is open for the viewer to question: in what type of world such reality is possible?

A world who thrives over the ideology of sexism in gender, family, and professional relationships. In the stories, we see the dilemma in the marital relations infiltrated by the lack of trust that husbands have about their wives: either suspecting about the fatherhood, accusing the woman of seducing the doctor or reinforcing that the monetary interest is bigger than the moral and physical security of the woman, the attitude of men drafts traces of a society that needs to walk towards gender equality as a conductor of relations.

Conclusions

In terms of transnationalization and communicability strategies through a case study of *Assédio*, the analysis indicated elements related to the discussion that Jenner (2018) makes about quality TV as a brand that the streaming services seek to build for themselves, beyond others that signal decisions to indicate the local-global appeal of the Latin American production. Among the main aspects of the grammar of transnationalism, we highlight the investment in an elaborated visual composition, creating the opportunity to an aesthetic apprehension as visual quality that can contribute in the intensity of character's emotions, sensations and motivations: pain, suffering, feeling of helplessness and a desire for justice. The dark lighting is one of these investments that corroborates for the distinctive televisual composition, for instance, of the classical telenovela model, in which prevails a diffuse and bright lighting, marking that the streaming service adds the expertise of the mother-company without using the same parameters of the fictional genre that made TV Globo popular.

Another strategy linked to the local/global appeal and to the value system of western liberal humanism is in the reflections that *Assédio* evokes about the forms of oppression propelled by sexism and racism, which have been gaining shape and surpassing frontiers. It is what they tell us, for instance, transnational movements like the one that involved the

former Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein, charged by sexual abuse after the report of over 80 women, fact told on the series *Harvey Weinstein: harassment in Hollywood* (available at Globoplay); or the case of João de Deus, reporter after over 300 women reported abuse committed by the medium, which earned the original Globoplay production *Em nome de Deus*, in the docuseries format.

Regarding possible brands of their own stamp (Latin America Stamp) the casting balancing popular Rede Globo stars and a cast with less TV spotlight, which could generate identification on local viewers. Another aspects are the choices for story development, which, with a transnational appeal, refer to social outstanding social hierarchies in the Latin American context and, maybe because of that, the abuse of authority was practiced by a doctor, a job that gives status and power.

In the local-global appeal, Assédio explored painful themes such as sexual assault against women, abuse of authority, the solitude of abused women and the deterioration of affectionate relationships. Worked in a narrative and stylistic level, they can affect viewers, sharpen reflections, generate debates and positions in audiences that transcend the national context and be linked through the sharing of intents that reach and define a transnational culture.

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Date of submission: 7/29/2020

Date of acceptance: 6/21/2021

Representações de Gênero na Publicidade Televisiva Infantil: As percepções e a literacia para a publicidade das crianças

Gender Representation in TV Advertising for Children: Children's perceptions and advertising literacy

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Resumo: *As crianças tornam-se consumidores cada vez mais cedo, e são cada vez mais influentes no consumo da família. A televisão ainda é uma das principais formas através das quais são expostas à publicidade. O nosso estudo, realizado em Portugal, foca-se em estereótipos de gênero na publicidade televisiva infantil e combina uma análise de conteúdo a anúncios com grupos de discussão com crianças entre os 8 e os 12 anos. Os nossos resultados mostram que, em 3 meses, 75% dos anúncios televisivos para crianças continham estereótipos de gênero. As crianças são capazes de reconhecer esses estereótipos e, em geral, não se identificam ou não concordam com essas representações dos gêneros. Finalmente, as crianças revelaram bons níveis de literacia para a publicidade, sendo capazes de reconhecer a intenção persuasiva das marcas.*

Palavras-chave: *gênero; estereótipo; crianças; publicidade; televisão; literacia para a publicidade.*

Abstract: *Children are becoming consumers at increasingly younger age and are more influential in consumption decisions within the family. Television still is one of the main ways they are exposed to advertising. Our study, conducted in*

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Portugal, focuses on gender stereotypes on TV advertisements for children and combines a content analysis of advertisements and focus groups with children between 7 and 12 years old. Our findings show that, during a period of 3 months, about 75% of TV advertisements for children contain gender stereotypes. In addition, children are able to recognize such stereotypes, and in general do not identify or agree with the way each gender is portrayed. Finally, children display good levels of advertising literacy, as they are able to recognize the intentions of the brands in the commercials.

Keywords: *gender; stereotype; children; advertising; television; advertising literacy.*

Introduction

In the last few decades, there have been profound sociological changes in the family. Families tend to be child-centric and to invest more money in products for children, ranging from toys to clothes and technology (HAMMOND, 2010).

Since the 1980s, brands have developed specific marketing strategies for children, and even for more specific segments (MCNEAL, 2007), such as “tweens” for example – a group “in between” childhood and adolescence, from 8 to 12 years old. These strategies aim at not only selling more quantity and a wider range of specific products and services to these targets, and influencing the consumption decisions within the family, but also at building brand equity from an early age – awareness, brand associations, loyalty – thus increasing the customer lifetime value and building strong and emotional relationships that nurture loyalty and advocacy throughout life (BUCKINGHAM, 2000; ARMSTRONG, 2014; KOTLER; KARTAJAYA; SETIAWAN, 2017). Advertising is an important promotional tool in children marketing, and television was pivotal in the early experiences. For example, creating a cartoon series around certain toys was very effective in increasing sales, as was the case of He-Man and My Little Pony, for example (BANSAL, 2008).

As digital technologies became widespread and fully integrated in our daily lives, teenagers (and sometimes children) acted as early adopters and even trendsetters, being described as “digital natives” (PRENSKY, 2001) due to their “at easiness” with digital devices and content. Consequently, brands started to bet on digital media and content as a way of connecting to these targets (BLADES; OATES; BLUMBERG; GUNTER, 2014). However, television still plays an important role in the quotidian lives of children (REIDEOUT; FOEHR; ROBERTS, 2010; PONTE; BATISTA, 2019). There are multiple specific cable channels for children broadcasting continuously, and these are usually the background and soundtrack of homes with young children. Thus, television is still today one of the main ways of children’s exposure to advertising

(GUNTER; OATES; BLADES, 2005; PONTE; SIMÕES; BATISTA; JORGE, 2017).

Considering as starting point previous research about the influence of television advertising on children, and also about the presence of gender stereotypes in advertising, our study focuses on the identification and interpretation of gender stereotypes in television advertisements by children between 8 and 12 years old, in Portugal. We chose this age range because according to developmental psychology theories (e.g. BRONFENBRENNER, 1979; PIAGET, 1999; KOHLBERG, 1966), at the age of 7, children are aware not only of their biological features regarding sex, but also of the social constructions of gender identity (MCNEAL, 2007; PAECHTER, 2007), and are starting to negotiate their own gender identity and the perception of the gender identity of others (BROOKS; HÉBERT, 2006; MARTIN, 2011; MOOSMAYER; FULJAHN, 2010; YELLAND, 2003).

Gender representation in television advertising for children

The importance of TV in advertising to children

In the last few decades, specific marketing strategies and tactics targeting children have been developed and adapted, as children become more influential on the consumption of the family, and more relevant consumers (BUCKINGHAM, 2000; ARMSTRONG, 2014). Brands are investing in conquering young targets because they are profitable, as contemporary families prioritize the safety, health, development, learning, and even entertainment of children (MCNEAL, 2007). Also, brands are attracted by the possibility of nurturing lasting and profitable relations of loyalty (BANSAL, 2008; PRIYA; BAISYA; SHARMA, 2010), throughout their life cycle (GUNTER et al., 2005). In addition, youngsters often set trends related to technology, sports, fashion, music, cinema and entertainment (KOTLER; KARTAJAYA; SETIAWAN, 2017).

In the last decades, digital media have become predominant in our society, and children and teenagers are highly attracted to them (HOLLOWAY; GREEN; STEPHENSON, 2015; CHAUDRON; DI GIOIA; GEMMO, 2018). Although they are considered digital natives (PRENSKY, 2001), the television is usually the first screen that children are exposed to and remains intensely present in the lives of young children (WILCOX; KUNKEL; CANTOR; DOWRICK; LINN; PALMER, 2004; KELLY et al., 2010). There is a broad offer of TV channels for children, exposing them to advertising. Children have developed new practices of audiovisual content consumption, such as using streaming platforms, OTT apps, and non-linear viewing (OFCOM, 2019). However, children's channels are often "continuously on" as a background to other play activities, and children are frequently exposed to commercial breaks (GUNTER; OATES; BLADES, 2005; PONTE; SIMÕES, BATISTA; JORGE, 2017). These commercials are usually fast-paced and include attractive colours and music. Another very common technique is using fictional characters that are familiar and loved by children and associating them to the products (BANSAL, 2008). The product categories most commonly advertised on TV are toys, cereals, candy and fast food (BANSAL, 2008; KELLY et al., 2010).

Due to changes in the media landscape and in consumptions practices, it is necessary to re-evaluate the influence of TV advertising on young children (STOILOVA; LIVINGSTONE; KARDEFELT-WINTHER, 2016; ARMSTRONG, 2014; BLADES; OATES; BLUMBERG; GUNTER, 2014; PONTE; BATISTA, 2019).

Gender stereotypes in advertising for children

Stereotypes are often used in advertising as a way of creating or reinforcing identification with the target audience (FURNHAM; MAK, 1999). However, this strategy may reinforce stereotyped beliefs and behaviours and even enhance prejudice as media are "shapers of our perceptions and ideas" (MASTERMAN, 1985, p. 3). Windels (2016) studied perceptions about using stereotypes in the advertising industry and concluded

that many marketers believe that stereotypes are a reflection of society and therefore minimize the influence that advertising may have on perceptions and behaviours. Some professionals have ethical concerns and prefer avoiding stereotypes but admit their effectiveness in creating identification with the target (BLOMQUIST, 2012).

Gender stereotypes are among the most common in advertising, although they vary according to countries and cultures, and there has been a decline of its use in the last few years. The most common examples are the association of men to leading roles and of women to supporting roles; men being portrayed as active workers and decision-makers and women as mothers, wives and caretakers; men appearing more often outdoors and women in the home; and women are more often objectified and sexualized (FURNHAM; MAK, 1999; BARTSCH; BURNETT; DILLER; RANKIN-WILLIAMS, 2000).

Concerning children, research shows that gender stereotypes are more frequently present in TV advertisements, particularly toys (ZIMMERMANN, 2017). Neto and Furnham (2005) highlight that this has “potential impact on gender socialization and, subsequently, on children’s views of themselves and other people” (p. 71). Martin (2011) gives an example, finding in his research that “girls had usually learned that pink is for girls before they came to school, from adults’ comments and behavior, from media images and advertising” (p. 68).

Lewin-Jones and Mitra (2009) agree that TV advertising is very influential of perceptions that children develop about gender, and consequently of the behaviour that they might have later on. They add that children display some capacity of identifying gender stereotypes in commercials around the age of 7 years old, but this doesn’t mean that their perceptions and behaviour is not influenced by them.

According to Silveira (2015), researching about the influence of advertising on children can adopt one of two perspectives: a) studying the effects of exposure to advertising; and b) studying how children perceive and interpret advertising, how they are able to create meaning and integrate it in their daily lives. Our research focuses more on this latter

approach, aiming to study how children perceive gender stereotypes displayed on TV commercials and critically negotiate their meaning. With our research, we also intend to explore the possibility of advertising playing a role on promoting gender equality, as Lemish and Maya (2017) suggest, instead of enhancing gender stereotypes.

Children's advertising literacy and how they perceive gender stereotypes

In our society, children are exposed to promotional content, in particular to advertising, since very early age. Research on marketing to children generally agrees that they are usually vulnerable to advertising because they are still developing the literacy and critical skills necessary to identify its persuasive intent (WILCOX; KUNKEL; CANTOR; DOWRICK; LINN; PALMER, 2004; OPREE; BUIJZEN; VAN REIJMERSDAL; VALKENBURG, 2013, ŠEVIC, N.; ŠEVIC, A. & ŽIVKOVIĆ, 2017; MILOSEVIC; TRULTZSCH-WIJNEN; MIFSUD; DIAS, 2018).

One first step in developing advertising literacy is being able to distinguish between advertisements and other types of content that coexist in the same communication medium, such as an add and news, or advertising and entertainment. In the case of TV, this is connected to the ability of distinguishing between reality and fiction, as several TV commercials feature fictional characters (TIDHAR; LEMISH, 2003; GUNTER; MCALEER, 2005). These abilities develop as children grow up, have more experience with media, and learn more about the way media work and media content is produced (ROBERTSON; ROSSITER, 1974; SILVEIRA, 2015). However, researchers disagree about when children are able to proficiently identify advertising. Buckingham (2009) believes at 3 and 4 year-olds are able to identify advertisements and distinguish them from other types of content, but for Tidhar and Lemish (2003) this skill is acquired between 3 and 7 years old, and depends on the complexity and subtlety of the advertisement. John (1999) believes that 5 year-olds are able to distinguish commercials from other TV content, but Livingstone and Helsper (2006) disagree. Despite this discussion,

researchers are more unanimous about young children being unable of recognizing and understanding the persuasive intent of advertising, regardless of being able to identify ads (KUNKEL; ROBERTS, 1991; OATES; GUNTER; BLADES, 2002; GUNTER; MCALEER, 2005; LIVINGSTONE; HELSPER, 2006; BUCKINGHAM, 2009), and generally agree that this skill is developed around the age of 8.

For Robertson and Rossiter (1974, p. 14), in order to identify and understand the persuasive intent of advertising, children need to have the following literacy skills:

- a. Distinguishing advertising from another media content;
- b. Recognizing the target of an advertisement;
- c. Identifying the intent of the sender of the message;
- d. Being able to decode the meaning(s) of an advertisement;
- e. Understanding that products are portrayed in commercials differently than they are in reality.

The authors add that advertising literacy is key for understanding the effects that advertising might have on children. Children who do not recognize the persuasive intent of advertising are more vulnerable to its effects, as they are more trustworthy, they don't question what they see in commercials, and tend to have increased desire of the product featured (OWEN; LEWIS; AUTY; BUIJZEN, 2013). Wilcox, Kunkel, Cantor, Dowrick, Linn and Palmer (2004) add that, besides age, the socio-economic level of parents, the education of parents, and the education of children, are also key factors that influence advertising literacy.

Advertising literacy is important not only because it prevents children from becoming consumerists, but also because advertising might influence their perceptions and attitudes about society, social roles, relating to others, their own identity, and values – thus including gender (GUNTER; MCALLER, 2005).

Currently, there is increased concern about advertising strategies being more subtle, and therefore more difficult of identifying and decoding for children. Brands increasingly use omni-channel marketing strategies that blend information, advertising and entertainment across different

media, and that also blend reality, virtuality and fiction (GUNTER; MCALEER, 2005; ROSADO; AGANTE, 2011).

Oates, Watkins and Thyne (2016) refer aspects of TV commercials that are purposefully ineffective, such as a written warning that a toy does not include batteries, or that the product has to be assembled by the children, which the youngest children will not be able to read, thus contributing for creating expectations that will not correspond to the product sold, but that make it more appealing on TV. It is very common that children are not aware that the way toys are portrayed on TV might make them seem different in size, colour and functionalities than they are in reality (WILCOX; KUNKEL; CANTOR; DOWRICK; LINN; PALMERW, 2004), leading to posterior frustration (CÁDIMA, 1997; ŠEVIC, N., ŠEVIC, A. & ŽIVKOVIĆ, 2017).

Bansal (2008) argues that a more ethical approach is needed on the part of brands and advertising professionals, but in parallel advises the development of the advertising literacy of children from an early age as a necessary skill for coping with the intense media exposure in contemporary society. Most previously mentioned authors agree that at age 12, most children are able of identifying advertising and acknowledging its persuasive intent. However, for most of them, this is too late, and advertising literacy must be explored and stimulated earlier on (LIVINGSTONE; HELSPER, 2006). Advertising literacy can be scaffolded and promoted not by restricting children's access to media, but by teaching children about how media work (SILVEIRA, 2015). Parents and teachers play a key role in this process (BUCKINGHAM, 2000), that includes teaching children to evaluate information critically, to question the sources of information, to reflect about the intent and interests of senders, to understand that media content is depicts particular representations and perceptions of the world, and that there are numerous alternative and complementary perspectives. Šramová (2014) adds that media literacy in general, and advertising literacy in particular, is grounded on the development of critical thinking in children, and this

is the best way of protecting them from persuasion and preparing them for becoming active media users and citizens.

Despite these efforts, Buckingham (2015) stresses that having advertising literacy does not guarantee that children will not be influenced by advertising in any way or have the power to resist its appeal. Recognizing a persuasive intent might make children less vulnerable to consumerism, but only if they are able to identify gender stereotypes will they be able to negotiate their own meaning, instead of being influenced by media representations.

Thus, in our study sets out to explore, in the particular context of Portugal, to which extent gender stereotypes are still present in TV advertising, which are the advertising literacy levels of Portuguese children between 7 and 12 years old, and the way they perceive and interpret gender stereotypes in TV advertisements.

Methodology

Research design and methodology

Our research aims to:

- a. investigate to which extent gender stereotypes are present in TV advertisements for children in the Portuguese context;
- b. understand how children interpret and make sense of gender stereotypes present in TV advertisements they are exposed to; and
- c. explore the children's advertising literacy and ability to critically reflect upon gender representations in TV advertisements.

In order to do so, our approach is exploratory, and we followed a sequential research design with two phases (CRESWELL, 2014), including two data analysis techniques. In the first stage, we applied content analysis to a *corpus of TV advertisements aired in the Portuguese TV channels targeting 8-12 children, in order to determine to which extent gender stereotypes were present* (MOUTER; NOORDEGRAAF, 2012). In the second stage, we organized focus groups with children between 8 and 12 years old, in order to discuss with them how they interpret and

make sense of gender stereotypes present in TV advertisements, and to assess their advertising literacy (GUERRA, 2006). Table 1 presents our research design.

Table 1 - Research design.

Research Design		
	Phase 1	Phase 2
Research questions	To which extent are gender stereotypes present in TV advertisements for children in the Portuguese context?	To which extent do children (8-12 years old) demonstrate advertising literacy and ability to critically reflect upon gender representations in TV advertisements? How do children (8-12 years old) interpret and make sense of gender stereotypes present in TV advertisements?
Data collection technique	Content analysis	Focus groups
Sample	104 TV advertisements aired in TV channels targeting tweens between March 23 rd and May 12 th 2018	4 focus groups with a total of 20 children between 8 and 12 years old
Data analysis technique	Content analysis	Thematic analysis

Concerning the content analysis of TV advertisements, information about each of them was coded in one database including as main categories the type of product/service advertised, the presence or absence of people, the gender of adults and children if they are present, and the activities of adults and children if they are present (MOUTER; NOOR-DEGRAAF, 2012).

Regarding the focus group, our script was organized according to 4 activities (GUERRA, 2006):

1. Ice-breaker activity: the children were invited to choose one nametag, write their name and decorate it, while the researcher informed them about the research and obtained their consent (the parental

consent had already been obtained but it is important to respect the children's will) (Brito e Autor, 2017); then, we discussed their choice of colours and decoration on the nametags, exploring their gender identity and the concept of gender stereotypes.

2. General discussion about their TV viewing habits and preferences, about their favourite activities, and their gender identity and representations.
3. Visualization of 4 TV advertisements, selected among the most represented category in our sample – toys, featuring children, two of them presenting gender stereotypes and the other two without gender stereotypes.
4. Discussion about the way children made sense of the TV advertisements, focusing on their representations of gender, on the influence of TV and advertising, on their advertising literacy and on their critical ability.

Each focus group lasted about one hour. We asked the parents and the children permission to record the focus group discussions in video, as that helped us later on in associating excerpts of the transcriptions to each child. These recordings were transcribed with the children's names replaced by aliases, thus ensuring anonymity. The transcriptions were object of a thematic analysis (BOYATZIS, 1998).

Sampling and sample

Concerning the *corpus of the content analysis*, we first selected the three most-watched TV channels targeting tweens in Portugal: Cartoon Network, Panda Biggs and Disney Channel. In order to select a manageable corpus, we randomly selected 8 days between the dates of March 23rd and May 12th 2018 and a 3 hours period (9-12 a.m. or 5-8 p.m.) in each of the days. In total, we analysed 144 hours of TV during which we collected 104 unique advertisements.

For the focus group, we selected a purposive sample of children between 8 and 12 years old; and tried to obtain diversity in gender and

socioeconomic status (GUERRA, 2006). We worked with activities centres during the summer holidays period, which contacted the parents and asked for volunteers to participate in our research. The focus groups were conducted in these centres' facilities, with support from the monitors, so that the children would be comfortable (BRITO; DIAS, 2017). We acknowledge that our sample is less diversified than we intended - all the children were residents of the metropolitan area of Lisbon, most had medium or high socioeconomic status, and we had more 10 and 11 year-olds participating than younger ages. However, many parents were quite sensitive to the topic of gender stereotypes, and it was hard recruiting participants. We organized 4 groups with 5 children each between July 1st and September 20th 2018. Table 2 presents more information on our sample.

Table 2 - Characterization of the focus groups' sample.

	Alias	Age	Gender
FG 1	Filipe	11	M
	Raquel	11	F
	Diogo	10	M
	Alice	12	F
	Tomás	10	M
FG 2	André	8	M
	Dinis	8	M
	Vasco	11	M
	Maria	11	F
	Joana	9	F
FG 3	Madalena	10	F
	Sofia	11	F
	Catarina	10	F
	Laura	11	F
	Tomás	11	M

	Alias	Age	Gender
FG 4	Rita	10	F
	Matilde	10	F
	Rodrigo	11	M
	Nuno	11	M
	Miguel	9	M

The Portuguese context

This section aims at highlighting the particularities of the Portuguese context concerning children's media consumption and media literacy, as well as their role as consumers and advertising target, drawing on comparative international studies.

As happens worldwide, Portuguese children are starting to use digital media from an increasingly younger age and spending more time online (PONTE; SIMÕES; BATISTA; JORGE, 2017). Also, their favourite activities are watching cartoons and music videos on YouTube and playing games (CHAUDRON, DI GIOIA, GEMMO, 2018). Usually, children are given their first smartphone around 10 years old, and this is when they start interacting with their friends online and using social media (PONTE; BATISTA, 2019). Research on younger children highlights the important role of TV in their media landscape (DIAS; BRITO, 2018). Although this importance loses terrain for digital media as children grow up, there are several TV channels that specifically target tweens, with Disney Channel and Cartoon Network being the 8th and 9th most watched channels in Portugal in July 2020 (HAVAS MEDIA MONITOR, 2020).

The Portuguese parental mediation style of digital technologies reveals peculiarities. Most Portuguese parents display negative perceptions and attitudes towards the use of digital technologies by young children. They justify them with their fear of negative consequences of excessive screen time – such as health problems, underdevelopment of social skills and addiction – and of privacy exposure – threat to safety. As a consequence, Portuguese parents are predominantly restrictive about screen

time. However, the average Portuguese income is low when compared to the European average, and the Portuguese tend to work long hours in order to obtain extra income (PORDATA, 2019). Thus, Portuguese parents often use digital technologies as a strategy to keep children entertained when they need to work or do house chores. This screen time is usually unsupervised and tends to “bend” previously set screen-time (DIAS; BRITO, 2018).

The limited income is also reflected in consumption. Despite that, Portuguese children have access to a wider range of products and have become more influential in the family consumption choices, following global trends (BUCKINGHAM, 2000; KOTLER; KARTAJAYA; SETIAWAN, 2017). As a consequence, the Portuguese market is very competitive, as a multiplicity of brands struggle for a piece of a very limited budget. One of the most competitive sectors is food retail, and supermarket chains invest in several children’s marketing strategies, such as the most recent digital apps and advergames, but also the traditional TV ads, paper catalogues and campaigns with collectibles (AGANTE, 2011).

The latest EU Kids Online study in Portugal (PONTE; BATISTA, 2019) revealed that, comparatively to the previous data collection in 2010, and also following the European trend, children have more digital skills and display higher media literacy. In addition, media literacy is integrated in the school curricula – the topic is integrated as a type of text – distinguishable from news -, studied in Portuguese, in 5th grade, and is addressed transversally in Citizenship throughout the years (DGE, 2012). In addition, the ONG Media Smart works closely with the Ministry of Education to develop free-access pedagogical materials for teachers about advertising literacy.

Findings and Discussion

Content analysis of TV advertisements

The 104 advertisements in our *corpus* were distributed according to the following categories: toys (66,3%), shows and events (17,4%), restaurants (6,7%), food and beverages (5,8%), clothes (1,9%) and services (e.g. internet provider) (1,9%).

Considering our first research question - To which extent are gender stereotypes present in TV advertisements for children in the Portuguese context? – we concluded that gender stereotypes were present in 75% of the 104 advertisements in our corpus. We considered as gendered the advertisements that met at least one of the criteria established by Lemish and Maya (2017): a) featuring just children of the same gender; and b) associating a product to a gender or to a colour.

We concluded that TV advertisements broadcasted in Portugal targeting tweens are predominantly gendered, particularly in the toy category, whilst food advertisements are the less gender-stereotyped, usually featuring families or groups of children with gender diversity. Gender stereotypes are represented by associating children of the same gender to a certain product, and then reinforced by the use of colours, by activities and by the setting.

Focus groups with children

During the ice-breaker activity, it was possible to observe that all children were familiar with the association of certain colors to a specific gender, but they decorated their nametags according to their own preferences.

They could give definitions for “gender” and understood the notion of “gender equality” – mentioning that “*in the past, there wasn’t equality for men and women*” (Rodrigo, 11 years old) and that “*woman work more around the house than men*” (Madalena, 10 years old). Most of them weren’t familiar with the term “stereotype”, but associated it to “*people who want to change their gender sometimes are not accepted by others*”

(Alice, 12 years old), and to “*my father expects me to act like a boy, be a fan of soccer and be strong*” (Diogo, 10 years old).

When discussing their favorite activities and toys, children mentioned that most adults associate certain toys and colors to certain genders, but they didn’t agree.

“*In kindergarten, girls wore pink uniforms and the boys’ were blue. I hated that. I don’t even like pink.*” (Raquel, 11 years old)

“*Adults expect girls to play with dolls and boys to play with cars. That’s sad. A friend of mine is a boy and likes to play with dolls. His father berates him for that. So, we put the toys together, and the adults don’t notice that he likes to play with dolls.*” (Filipe, 11 years old)

When questioned about advertising, they agreed that many advertisements convey the idea that certain products are “for girls” and others “for boys”. Some children admitted being influenced by the rules and expectations of their close network of relationships regarding gender (especially parents and teachers), but not by advertising.

“*If I see a toy on TV and the commercial is just with boys, but I like it, I still ask my parents for it.*” (Maria, 11 years old)

“*I might like to try out a certain toy, but if I think my parents are going to find it weird or not like it, I won’t play with it.*” (André, 8 years old)

We then proceeded to showing them the four TV advertisements that we selected. All of them were able to identify the gender stereotypes.

Addressing our second research question - To which extent do children (8-12 years old) demonstrate advertising literacy and ability to critically reflect upon gender representations in TV advertisements? – we concluded that all the children are able to distinguish TV advertisements from other TV programmes (Tidhar & Lemish, 2003), even noticing that some brands use cartoon characters in their advertising as a strategy for “*confusing children, and influencing them*” (Alice, 12 years old) (Neto & Furnham, 2005). In addition, most children associated advertisements with the goals of “*selling products*” (Tomás, 11 years old), of “*showing products so that people know that they exist, see if they like them, and buy them*” (Laura, 11 years old).

Despite enjoying Netflix and digital content, children were unanimous about TV being the medium where they are more exposed to advertising. Most of them dislike advertisements, mainly because they are intrusive and interrupt the activities that they are engaged with.

“Sometimes we are watching a series on TV and commercials interrupt. Then the same add is repeated in the same commercial break. When that happens, I feel like switching to another channel!” (Raquel, 11 years old)

“I always skip the ads on YouTube. I don’t know how to do it on it, but the TV ads are really boring!” (Diogo, 10 years old)

Nevertheless, some children enjoy watching TV advertisements if these are about a product that they are interested in – *“I watch commercials about the PlayStation, because I have one, so I am interested.”* (Tomás, 11 years old) – or *“are fun”* (Matilde, 10 years old), confirming the claim that including entertainment in advertising is a successful strategy when targeting children (Gunter e McAleer, 2005; Rosado & Agante, 2011).

Concerning our third research question - How do children (8-12 years old) interpret and make sense of gender stereotypes present in TV advertisements? – and using Stuart Hall’s (1973) terminology, children expressed negotiated or opposing decoding of such advertisements, not agreeing that gender should determine product preference or behavior.

“Some TV commercials always show girls playing with Barbies and boys playing with cars and guns. I have a brother and we often play together. We make stories using my Barbies and his superheroes.” (Joana, 10 years old)

“The cereal boxes had Marvel heroes on them. Others have Disney princesses. The cereals are exactly the same.” (Tomás, 11 years old)

The children acknowledged some strategies to associate products to gender, such as *“adds for girls are cuter”* (Raquel, 11 years old), *“adds for girls are very pink, while adds for boys are blue, black or red”* (Diogo, 10 years old), and *“there was a boy on that add but he wasn’t playing with the toy, he was just watching the girls play, showing that the toy is for the girls”* (Alice, 12 years old). All the children preferred the advertisements

that didn't have gender stereotypes, because *"I like the idea of equality, of boys and girls being allowed to play with whatever they like"* (Maria, 11 years old) and *"I like it when boys and girls play together"* (Sofia, 11 years old).

When questioned about why they thought that brands used gender stereotypes, Tomás (11 years old) curiously argued that *"maybe no girl wanted to do the casting for the cars commercial"*, and Laura (11 years old) acknowledges that *"if they think that girls are going to like that kind of toy the most, they show girls in the add, so that we can relate to them"*. However, most of them disagree with this approach, and if they were in charge of creating the adds, they would *"show both genders playing with the same toy"* (Maria, 11 years old) and *"make the toys neutral, so that both boys and girls could play with any toy they liked"* (Vasco, 11 years old).

Conclusion

At a time when children are often associated with the digital environment, our study intended to reassess the role played by the TV on their exposure to advertising, concluding that this traditional medium remains present in their daily lives and can be influential of brand awareness and desire.

Most children in our sample revealed advertising literacy skills, as they were able to distinguish between advertisements and other TV formats and understood the persuasive intent of advertising (ROBERTSON; ROSSITER, 1974).

Concerning the interpretation of gender stereotypes present in advertising, all the children in our sample expressed negotiated or opposing decoding (HALL, 1973), questioning the logic and validity of social norms and expressing an equalitarian view towards gender. The children discarded the possibility of being influenced by gender stereotypes in advertising in their consumption choices or behavior, but some admitted acting in order to meet the expectations regarding gender roles of adults, even if they disagreed their stereotyped views.

With our research, we intend to contribute to interpellate marketing and advertising professionals to be more ethical in their portrayal of gender in advertising. First, we demonstrated that using gender stereotypes does not result in the desired identification of the target audience, but instead causes disliking and disagreement. Second, these professionals can use advertising to promote gender equality (LEMISH; MAYA, 2017), thus contributing to educate the adults that still impose gender stereotypes on children.

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Data de submissão: 29/05/2020

Data de aceite: 09/10/2020

“Quem é você, Lizzie Bennet?” Paratextos, ficção e factualidade em TLBD

“Who are you, Lizzie Bennet?” Paratexts, fiction and factuality in TLBD

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Resumo: O presente texto visa analisar qualitativamente as relações entre os paratextos da websérie *The Lizzie Bennet Diaries* (adaptação do romance *Orgulho e Preconceito*, de Jane Austen) e a percepção de um pequeno grupo de usuários da Internet. As discussões iniciais envolvendo o binômio ficção x factualidade (Kuhn) e os conceitos de paratextualidade (Genette) e de metacomunicação e enquadramento (Bateson, Watzlawick, Goffman, Volli), nos levaram a diferentes formas de percepção desses usuários. Ao final, percebe-se que existem não apenas diferentes percepções em relação ao texto, mas que, em parte, tal diferenciação se dá pela não atenção aos indícios paratextuais, alterando o próprio estatuto da obra junto ao usuário.

Palavras-Chave: Narrativa; Adaptação; Websérie; Paratexto

Abstract: The present paper seeks to know qualitatively how the relations between the paratexts of the first episode of *The Lizzie Bennet Diaries* web series (an adaptation of the novel *Pride and Prejudice* by Jane Austen) and the perception of a small group of Internet users. From the initial discussions involving the binomial fiction x factuality (Kuhn) and the concepts of paratextuality (Genette) and metacommunication and framing (Bateson, Watzlawick, Goffman, Volli), we search to analyze how the user's perception work in this case. By the end, it is

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noticed that there are no different perceptions regarding the text, but that they are in a different situation and are not affected by the environment.

Keywords: *Narrative; Adaptation; Webseries; Paratext*

Introduction

The discussion involving the limits between fiction and reality is not recent. However, the growing popularization of digital spaces, the audience participation of certain formats and textual genres and, mainly (in our perspective), the way such relations between producer, text and audience happen nowadays, are objects of our interest. What particularly call our attention is the webseries *The Lizzie Bennet Diaries* (later called as TLBD), fictional vlog created in a diary format which narrates the life of the main character, and also is an adaptation of the British romance *Pride and Prejudice*, from Jane Austen, whose plot is transposed from the early 19th century England to the early 21st century United States. Since the webseries is presented in a vlog format, we intend to initiate a discussion about the statute of this text facing different types of audiences, since it is a fictional text in an audiovisual format considered as factual by many.

Since our particular object of interest is paratextuality (GENETTE, 1987; GRAY, 2010) which surrounds the referred webseries, what compels us is to perceive how and if the users notice in advance this “periphery of the text”, if they “enter” directly in the text without their textual intermediation or if they go back to these texts later on. As we discussed in another moment (LUCAS & MOREIRA, 2016), one of the virtues of the paratext is its capacity of framing a given textual matter, to the point of considerably altering the statute of its perception. In the case we analyze here, we dwell on the possibility of distinction of users in relation of the fictional or factual statute of a webseries episode.

Frontiers between fiction and fact

The discussion about the binomial fiction/fact is happening for centuries in Literature: examples of that can be found in the misfortunes of Dom Quixote (Cervantes), Thirstam Shandy (Sterne) or Arthur Gordon Pym (Poe) and in the distinct forms of audience reception, which can fluctuate between perceiving the narrative as factual or fictional,

but also as at times factual, at times fictional, as these writers point out, in their fictional narratives, to elements (characters, environments), belonging to the real world (either being strictly diegetic or potentially heterodiegetic). In order to obtain such effects, writers use resources such as the breach of the fourth wall (in this case, making a character talk either to a model-reader, as in Machado de Assis, and/or the real reader, in digitally updateable texts).

In the current historic moment, we experience other forms of friction between fiction and reality (called by many as *fake news*). In the political field we have, as a recent historic example, the Iraq War promoted by George Bush and Tony Blair against supposed mass-destruction weapons of Saddam Hussein (VATTIMO, 2016, pp. 7-30). More recently, we experience what some may call “post-truth”, as a consequence of the “new cultural wars” (KAKUTANI, 2018, pp. 49-69) and the relativization/appropriation of the post-modern ideology (D’ANCONA, 2018, pp. 83-98). All of this collaborates to a type of “suspension of beliefs” (inverting the classic proposition of Coleridge) of certain texts we believe to be factual and that become, at best, believable.

In the midst of all of this, it seems small to discuss such aspects in the specific field of entertainment. However, as pointed out Jost (2004, 2007, 2007a), television presents, in formats like reality shows, a set of mixed generic strategies, based in the tripod factual/fictional/ ludic. Such finding, even though it is restricted to the audiovisual products we cited, does not lack relevance, once the borders between these three spaces (factual, fictional, and ludic) are far from being clear (as we can perceive in any edition of the show Big Brother Brasil, for instance). And, in certain cases, that blur is even desired.

Digital texts available on the internet allow this blurring of borders, partly by the fact they are in a fairly new support in relation to the traditional means of communication and information. At the same time, it is important to remember, the cyberspace is prodigal in the offer of specific formats of HTML pages (or something similar) which can accommodate any type of textual genre; therefore, we agree with

Maingueneau (2010, pp. 129-138) when he qualifies the products that fill these spaces as hypergeneric, in other words, which comprise any textual genre in their material support; thus, a blog is not a textual genre, but a hypergenre (because a blog can comprise, within itself, different textual genres: poetry, journalistic texts, recipes, etc.).

The hypergeneric capability of these spaces enables the dissolution of the borders between factual, fictional, and ludic. Not that the romances cited above do not seek that effect; the big difference is that digital spaces allow the reader immersion and interaction with these texts; in other words, the breach of the fourth wall can produce results and changes in the text itself, potentially updateable, for example. As Murray remembers, in some webseries it is possible for the characters to publicly respond to fan messages and, at the same time, invite them to send their own opinions and experiences to a common bullet board (2003, p. 106). In this case, when the characters write, we are in the field of fictional, factual, or ludic? Or a mix between these levels? Or are we approaching something else?

The editor of self

In addition to all of this, we could add the relativization of the role of the editor. Until late 20th century, the editor (along with the author) was one of the main responsables for the paratextual production of a book or a volume of a collection (LANE, 1992; NYSSSEN, 1993; MICHON, 2000; CHARTIER, 2014). By paratexts, we call all the material surrounding a central or main text (titles, covers, prologues), according to Genette's definition (1987), taken by other authors (LANE, 1992; ALVARADO, 1994; SCOLARI, 2004; GRAY, 2010).

However, with the popularization of the Internet, in particular Web 2.0, potentialized the production of author material without intermediation of an editor, one of the natural consequences of that is the need of authors and artists in general to produce not only their texts (their world), but also their own paratexts, since they have become, many times, editors of themselves. Despite this scenario being surrounded of

what Gray calls “You-topian rhetoric” (where ‘you’ are the center of attention), the author highlights that media corporations frequently have more time and more resources than “you” to produce, publicize and circulate paratextual sets (2010, pp. 163-164).

It is undeniable that Web 2.0 has allowed the offer of different types of personas (youtubers, bloggers, podcasters, critics), for potentially every taste (music, humor, cinema, philosophy) and every genre and age, which also have been raising the paratextual production that we can call “author” (GENETTE, 1987; LANE, 1992), in particular at times in an “amateur” mode (KEEN, 2009, pp. 56-57) – understanding here the notion of “amateur” is the one who fills the free space between the profane and the specialist (FLICHY, 2010, p. 17). But it is also important to consider the potential arrival of different paratextual forms; as pondered by Alvarado, the category of paratext is rather wide or scattered to admit very distinct elements within it (1994, p. 29). Chartier, in turn, and criticizing the taxonomic classification of Genette (who would leave aside the historic dimension of paratexts), remembers that is necessary to put “more emphasis in the [textual] relations than in taxonomies, and more in *dynamic* contextualization than in tables of classification” (2014, p. 257. Our emphasis). In other words: we cannot leave aside the social dynamism inherent to the process of paratextual forms of production. Therefore, the fact that the spaces in the internet work with different semiotic modes many times in a simultaneous manner (verbal texts written or oral, photographs, drawings, audiovisual texts, comics, music, etc.) and, at the same time, are majoritarily hypergeneric, request a certain semiotic and cognitive competence of the reader so he could better enjoy the new experiences offered to them in the web and by the web. Such aspects will appear more effectively when we go back to our object of analysis.

Finally, we cannot forget about the metacommunicative potential (BATESON, 1995; BATESON & RUESCH, 1988; WATZLAWICK, BEAVIN & JACKSON, 2002; GOFFMAN, 2012), existing in the paratexts: they can offer a framing to practically any communicational situation

or, according to Volli, metasignical that offer instructions of use for the own sign they follow (2007, pp. 51-52). This framing can happen in the potential semantization (“infinite semiosis”, would say Peirce) that happens through the name of a certain artist (the expressions “Woody Allen” and “Quentin Tarantino” emulate different feelings among movie buffs and movie critics, for instance) or through the determination of a given genre (such as the polarization “authorized biography” vs “unauthorized biography”). In the field of our discussion, the name “Lizzie Bennet”, transported for the title of the webseries, can become a powerful paratextual/metacommunicative tool, to point both for a literary character³ and a romance in which she finds herself in, and, thus, suggests a fictional framing for the webseries. According to the repertoire of the audience, the paratext can constitute itself in an efficient mechanism of recognition and clues, foreseen in their definitions, but still more important for the maintenance of coherence and cohesion of a narrative.

In the audiovisual field, the paratexts (but not only them) help in the construction of a certain effect of authenticity, in other words, that the video may seem factual. Kuhn, when analyzing the videos called by him “pseudo-authentic”, remembers that a product of this type involves a) the circumstances of production, b) the audiovisual narrative itself and c) the reception of the narrative; therefore, he argues that, some audiovisual productions may try to pretend that their audiovisual product is factual, in other words, the product has an intention of authenticity, which is anchored in strategies for authenticity, which can result, for instance, in the use of paratextual brands of authenticity, among other possibilities. (KUHN, 2015, pp. 255-256).

Therefore, one of the possible issues is, what happens when such metasigns are not clear enough, or do not look authentic enough? Up to which point they interfere (if they interfere) in the experience of the subject facing certain textual productions? We will go back to that later.

3 But we must always consider the hypothesis of someone baptizing their own daughter with the name “Lizzie Bennet” or “Elizabeth Bennet”, which would eliminate the fictional character of this situation.

Transmedia, narrative, paratext

Transmedia, despite being popularized among entertainment market players, even if it can be considered a recent phenomenon, of organic and changeable structure, due to the interactions except from the factors that surround it. Kinder (1991) initially studied the phenomenon as an intertextuality between media, through the consumption of entertainment platforms, that she coined as “transmedia commercial systems”. The term, at the time, is popularized through Jenkins’ research, which, when studying the convergence of media, emphasized the importance of the participative culture and fandoms to fill all the precepts foreseen in transmedia: they are the interactions practices and strategies stimulated through digital media and the appeal to fan participation that consist in their different aspects in relation to other forms of circulations of content among media (FECHINE, 2016, p. 27). Later, Scolari (2009) reinforced that the transmedia concept come from the notion of expansion that narratives through different medias and platforms, that the addition of the notion of culture of participation is what makes the phenomenon that it is today.

In order to characterize the phenomenon and create parameters to identify them, Jenkins presents a triad that is related in the cases characterized by him as transmedia, in addition to seven guiding elements of the transmedia narratives, which we will not approach in individual detail in this article. In the classic definition, Jenkins (2012) points towards transmedia narratives as “stories that unfold in multiple media platforms, each one of them contributing to a distinct form for the understanding of the fictional universe”, pointing towards, notions such as media convergence, participative culture and collective intelligence.

According to Scolari (2009), transmedia proposes a new narrative model, based on different media and languages, in which the narratological view not only is pertinent, but also crucial for the understanding of the phenomenon. We defend that the texts are not necessarily linguistic, but they are structurally narrative; this observation reinforces the experience of the narrative genre. Prolonging this characteristic of

format, it is interesting to highlight details that prevail in different narratives but that many times goes unnoticed by the audience.

The notions of paratextuality and hypertext work conjointly when they are inserted in the culture of webseries entertainment and transmedia. If we focus on the platform of the object in question, YouTube, the potentialities to manage and create hypertext in the space of interface are many, and, thus, these hypertexts allow interactivity, the continuous limitless navigation of the physical space and borders” (MONTEIRO, 2000, p. 28). The hypertext is characterized by its information being stored in a network of knots connected by links. In the digital field, this resource is even more powerful, because the possibilities of connection are endless.

About the paratexts, if their wealth in preparing the reader were vast and valid in press in general, the possibility of their action and connections in the reception of a digital media, as in a webseries, is devastatingly more complex and richer. When analyzing the modern variations of paratexts, Gray (2010) identifies products such as trailers and spin-offs, justifying each one of the reasons of the resources linked to them, being, thus, in an auxiliary and aggregating nature becoming isolated from the main text. In the context we analyzed, paratexts do not come only in an auxiliary role: they have the role of enriching even more the narrative, bringing new formats that can be aggregated to the main text. For us to better understand their work within convergence, we will follow with the analysis of the webseries, in which will be possible to identify both paratexts of a structural and textual nature (in our case, adaptation).

Other perspectives about the object

TLBD is presented as a transmedia product, of different steps, whose products (the webserie itself, spin-offs, social media profiles of the characters, website, books, blogs, other medias) are a part of their universe. The webseries is a mix of time transposition and media adaptation for the everyday life, presented in a vlog format in which the main character, Lizzie Bennet, talks to the virtual community through an audiovisual

diary posted on YouTube. Through an extensive corpus of 100 episodes of TLBD, more spin-offs of other characters, books, blogs and different elements, the vlog format is perceived as one more resource to engage the audience, since such space allows user participation in the comments. The circumstances of production (KUHN, 2015), in other words, the scenario choices like the bedroom and the common areas of the office, in addition to an aesthetic of a relatively “amateur” audio-visual editing style (the narrative itself), is similar to real vloggers and youtubers, who invest in the platform as a job, guaranteeing, thus, some authenticity marks on TLBD.

Here, let's analyze the forms of perception of the webseries as factual or fictional in relation to the plot presented in its first episode, in which is already possible to identify the adapted text for those who know it: the first scene brings the famous *incipit* of Austen's novel (“*It is a truth universally acknowledged that a single man in possession of a good fortune must be in want of a wife*”⁴).

A basic questionnaire was initially applied about first impressions about the main character. The expected goal was that the audience would identify paratextual elements in the platform that could proof the fictionality or factuality of the narrative; if the audience would recognize the reference in the original text, and if, at any time, the character would be perceived only as a common person doing a vlog, not an actress in a webseries.

The questionnaire was applied online between February 01st and 12th of 2017⁵, with a wide promotion in groups of different areas and interests in social media (in the case in question, on Facebook), in order to search for answers in different profiles. We received 40 valid responses, that will be disposed here in its more essential excerpts, showing the results within certain main categories and other that will be disposed

4 One of the Brazilian translations, available on L&PM's edition: “É verdade universalmente reconhecida que um homem solteiro em posse de boa fortuna deve estar necessitado de esposa”.

5 The results collected in 2017 point towards a trend that still exists about entertainment products in vlog and transmedia formats, such as “Middlemarch: The series” and in a national scenario, the series “Shippados” at Globo.

according to the answers throughout the data interpretation. These are the main categories:

- Profile of the interviewees (gender, age group and forms of Internet consumption);
- Previous knowledge or not of the webseries (or the video presented);
- Recognition of the video as fictional;
- Recognition of the video as fictional and adapted from *Pride and Prejudice*;
- Lack of knowledge of the video as fictional, thinking about the character as a real vlogger.

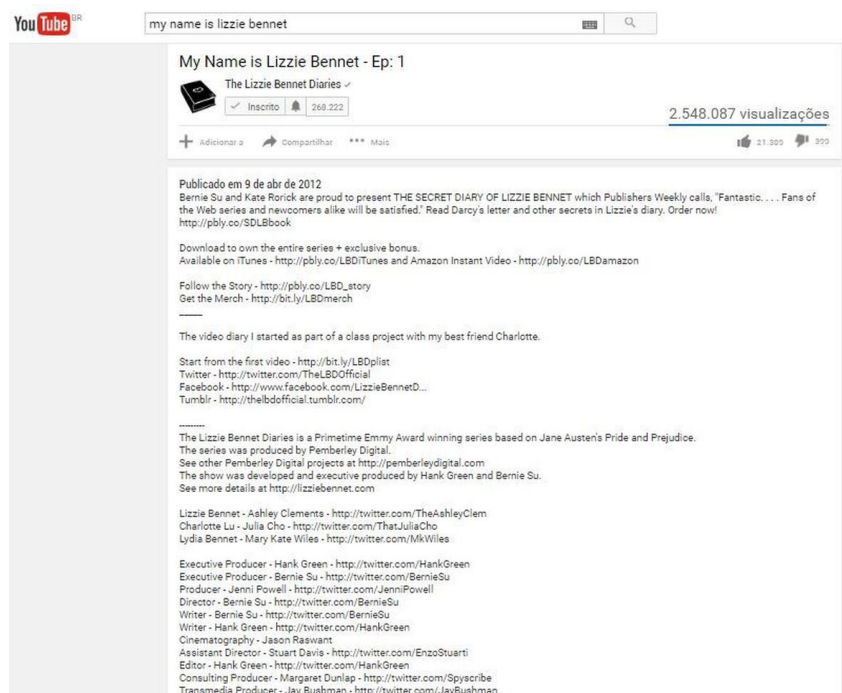
In the questionnaire, we had asked the following information: 1) Gender; 2) What is your age group? 3) How often do you use the Internet?; and 4) Did you know the video “My name is Lizzie Bennet”? We sought to make the following questions vaguer, so our goal would not be implied, which would harm the quality of the answers. These were the questions: 5) What did you think about the woman, Lizzie Bennet?; 6) Would you follow her on social media?; and 7) Does she remind you of somebody?

Note that there isn't any question that would lead the interviewee towards the paratexts of the chapter of the webseries. It may seem naive, but one of the most relevant aspects of a paratext is precisely the fact that it is something we once called a significant insignificance (LUCAS, 2001, p. 117), freely based on an idea of Derrida (1993, p. 15): the French philosopher remembers that prefaces, preambles, introductions and other texts of this genre are written having in mind their own void, even though this operation always leaves a trace, a mark, that is adjusted to the subsequent text. Therefore, it would make no sense, in advance, to ask about the paratexts to each one of the interviewees, they are the ones who should (or shouldn't) retain anything from these paratexts. Their responses help us partially understand this process.

Before deepening each one of the points cited above, let's explain about the episode available in the questionnaire during the research. There are clues that corroborate with the notion of a qualified reception to consume

TLBD and that allow the re-framing of their perception, or, at least, the perception of certain “coincidences” left by the adaptation. Considering the scenography environment of the first episode of the webseries, an attentive receptor could identify other clues that prove the fiction behind that narrative, even though it may look “amateur”. The box of information below the display of the video informs the names of the actors of the cast, the series social media and other products, such as promotional material and relevant links for their diegetic universe (image 1).

Image 1 – box of information of the first video of the webseries *The Lizzie Bennet Diaries* on YouTube



Source: YouTube (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KisuGP2lcPs&t=9s>)

As we initiated this research with the webseries already over, we consider the hypothesis that this information wasn't present during the period it was weekly published, generating doubts and feeding

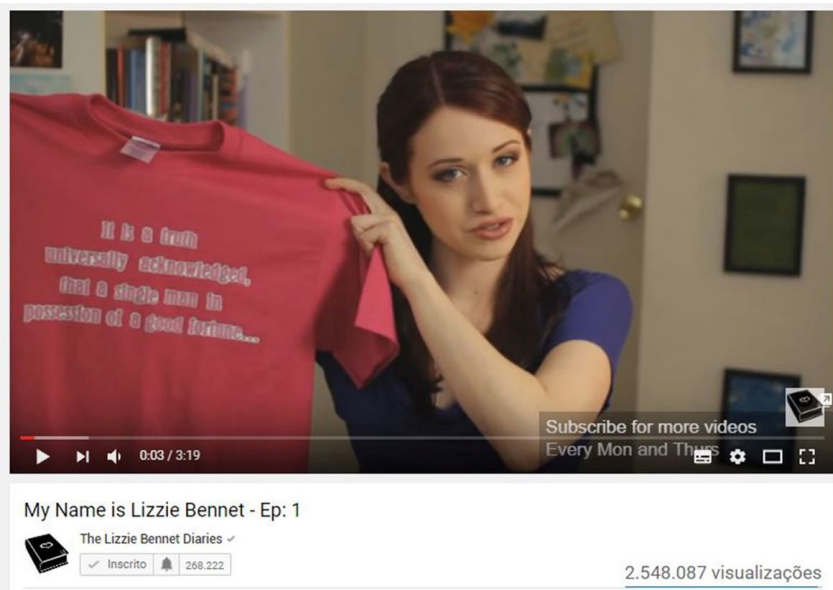
expectations. Even so, clues such as putting numbers on the episodes, the sophistication and concern with the scenario for a webseries, even if the production seeks to make it more homely and personal (maybe: more *credible* for the audience), point towards an aesthetic concern that a vlogger would potentially not have it the same way. In other words: the explicit absence of paratexts and genre signs indicating the fictionality would potentialize the possibility of existing users that interact with the TLBD environment as if it were factual. However, we must consider that the indications of “ep”, from “episodes”, for instance, have enough paratextual strength to indicate we are facing, at least a serialized narrative, factual or fictional⁶.

In addition to structural paratexts, the content intertexts, related to the novel, are vast in different moments, making the audience that recognize them even more interested in observing the next references. For instance, as we previously said, the incipit of the original romance appears as the first sentence of TLBD in a T-shirt (see image 2), a gift from Lizzie’s mom, which has the goal of marrying her daughters with men of good fortune.

We should still consider that the perception of the webseries tend to radically change when we are on Digital Pemberley’s channel on YouTube (image 3). In the questionnaire, we didn’t request that the receptor would walk through the interface of this page, but it is worth to point out this possibility for the most curious interviewees. Within the YouTube space, the user has access to information that indicate the existence of different series produced by the company, among which, TLBD. In other words: here, the access to the webseries is inverted and we already know beforehand that it is a fictional product, and what begins to prevail is the effect of authenticity generated later (and not what generates our expectations in advance), which seeks to make it as “amateur” as possible. Such lack of curiosity seems to point towards an array of possibilities: from lack of time (as we’ve already said) to the supreme disobedience to the questionnaire questions.

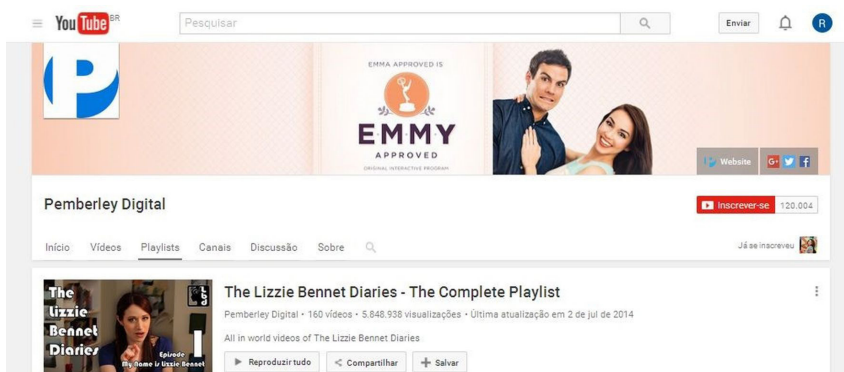
6 As we have defended here, nothing stops a fictional text to appropriate marks of reality (see movies like Woody Allen’s *Zelig*, or Rob Reiner’s *This is Spinal Tap*), or vice-versa.

Image 2 - Lizzie Bennet holding the shirt with the incipit from Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*.



Source: YouTube (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KisuGP2lcPs&t=9s>)

Image 3 – Main page of the channel Pemberley Digital on YouTube



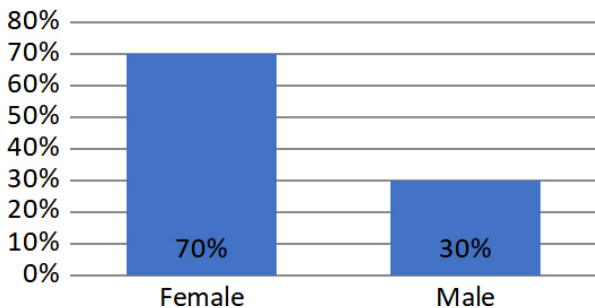
Source: YouTube (<https://www.youtube.com/user/PemberleyDigital>).

Once the questionnaire was performed in a purposefully vague form about the character, so as not to point whether she was a fictional character, some answers were too brief, even with the request of explanation of the answer in at least three lines: one of the answers of the interviewee 25, when questioned about what he thought about Lizzie, was direct: “Independent”, in turn, the interviewee 20 was even more vague and generic: “Very aware of what she wants in life”; and the interviewee 36 had described her as “intelligent, articulated”. In any way, as we will see ahead, the data collected show the use of some terms that prove the certainty of the interviewee of having consumed a fictional product, from the clues left by their discourses, such as the word choices to identify the character; other interviewees, in turn, seem to be unaware to the possibility of being in front of a fictional text, since they focus on the vlogger format and in the “youtuber presentation” of Lizzie. In other words, for these last interviewees, she’s a real person, not a character; consequently, the highlight of the character’s name in the title of the series is lacking paratextual strength to them.

Out of the 40 valid responses, it was possible to obtain analyses in relation to the way how the audience perceives the webseries and if they perceive, or not, an information through the paratexts. Therefore, we traced a brief profile of the interviewees, to better establish a typology of the interviewees and their ways of relation with the webseries.

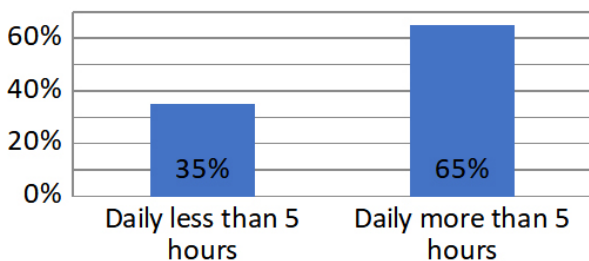
About the gender of the interviewees, 28 identifies as female and 12 as male, with 70% of female participation in the population of the questionnaire (chart 01). We have also asked the frequency of Internet use (chart 2) and age group (chart 3). These data point towards the behavior and the form of consumption of online content, important resources when the internet users will identify the paratexts. The participants, in their majority, are in the 25 to 32 age group, making use of the internet for over 5 hours a day: people that possibly work online and/or have a smartphone to be online over this period.

Chart 1 – Interviewees’ gender



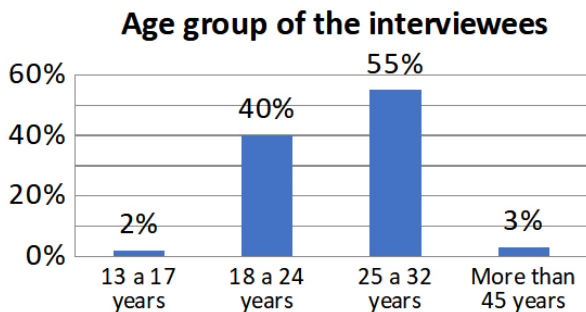
Source: authors

Chart 2 – Frequency of Internet use



Source: authors

Chart 3 – Interviewee’s Age Group



Source: authors

Bringing more in-depth points of research and their crossings, out of the 40 valid responses, only 6 had textually recognized it was a fictional work, but without knowing it was an adaptation. Interviewee #7 began their answer to the question “Would you follow her on social media?” with “if she was real, I would follow her on social media”, hinting, thus, a certainty in relation to the character’s fictional nature. Interviewee #9 used the term “character” to refer to Lizzie, while interviewee #5 used the expression “the video’s lead character”. Most of the interviewees has kept directed to the core of the question. However, a great amount would follow Lizzie Bennet on social media due to identification with her speech and with notions of feminism – here’s some of these answers:

- *“Yes, I believe she has a lot to say about the female role [...]” (Interviewee 38. Highlighted by us);*

“Yes ‘cause (sic)⁷ I saw myself in Lizzie and her thoughts on marriage and social/familiar pressure so that she had that as a focus in life [...] (Interviewee 9. Our emphasis).

- *“Yes, I identified with her, and I think it would be good to keep seeing the videos related with the breach of prejudice and sexism” (Interviewee 17. Our emphasis).*

On the other hand, the lack of knowledge of the interviewees on who Lizzie “was” justified part of the answers of those who said they would not follow her, in addition of some having found her “boring” during the video, complaining too much of the situation she was explaining. Some examples:

- *“No, I thought she was annoying even though I agree with her about life [...]” (Interviewee 19. Our emphasis)*

- *“No, because I’m not used to being a fan of videos narrating life/day-to-day activities of unknown people” (Interviewee 26. Our emphasis);*

7 We have kept the writing of the answers according to the original.

- *“Initially, no. I don’t usually follow people on social media [...]” (Interviewee 31. Our emphasis).*

About identifying and adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice*, 8 interviewees were very specific in recognizing the original; therefore, in total, if we consider who identified the adaptation could also identify the fictionality, 14 people out of the 40 interviewees rejected the factuality of the webseries, due to previous knowledge of the narrative, for identification of the paratexts, for the content and/or the support in which TLBD were being presented. These are examples of these answers:

- *“It is a parody of Lizzie Bennet’s character in *Pride and Prejudice* set in modern times [...]” (Interviewee 4. Our emphasis)*

- *“I wouldn’t [follow her]. I watched because I knew it was a webseries on Jane Austen’s work”. (Interviewee 3. Our emphasis)*

- *“In addition to reminding me of Jane Austen’s character, Lizzie also reminds me of some friends [...]” (Interviewee 14. Our emphasis);*

*“Since I’ve already read *Pride and Prejudice*, I know this is a modern version of the character Elizabeth Bennet”. (Interviewee 37. Our emphasis).*

An interesting data is to know who knew the webseries before being requested by the questionnaire. 6 of the interviewees (5 women and 1 man, from 18 to 32 years of age, Internet heavy users, accessing over 05 hours a day) already knew TLBD. Clarifying the doubt about the fictionality and the attention given to the receptors during the video analysis, 05 of the interviewees were completely unaware of the possibility of it being a fictional product, let alone an adaptation of a classic novel. Despite some comments pointing towards the fact that the character was “a little forced”, like interviewees 8 and 18 said, and “having a certain amateurism”, as cited by interviewee 24, they didn’t use terms such as “character”, “actor” or “lead character”, as the one who identified the fictionality did. Interviewee 18 even said that “the video seems to be so fake with a pre-determined script”. The answers of the interviewees

categorized as unaware to the possibility of fictionality point towards a confusion between the borders of fictionality and reality.

The other research data gave us directions that we didn't expect but could be considered useful for future analyses or even to show new spaces of discussion that research can encourage. An example of that are 7 answers, from both genders, with references to feminism, pointing out that the character is a “feminist”, or talking about feminist attitudes that are present in our society.

- *“Super interesting, funny and empowered”. (Interviewee 10. Highlighted by us)*

- *“She is an actress, without a doubt. And the text/video production was created based on a sitcom without background laughter. But the subject that is treated is not fake, is not invented, is not other worldly. It lightly deals about something degrading, and, pardon my French, fucked up. (Interviewee 11, Highlighted by us).*

Final considerations

This small sample of interviewees allows us to perceive an array of interpretative and perceptive possibilities (in relation to textual genre issues) that an apparently simple text as the first episode of TLBD allows. Behind this apparent simplicity, there are traces of paratextuality, intertextuality, transmedia narrative and hypertextuality.

We conclude that, despite the existence and the use of paratexts in the entertainment industry, the audience often do not identify them as such, something that could weaken the critical reading ability of the media. If, in certain fields, certain paratexts must be “forgotten”, the same shouldn't happen in the fictional transmedia universe; the paratextuality applied to this context has as goal to make the experience richer or prepare the audience for the total consumption of the narrative. The different forms of identification of the paratexts and how they got to go unnoticed by part of the audience are valid themes to be deepened in

later research. In consequence from our research, we have at least three distinctive modes of perception of the webseries:

- a. It is a real vlog (therefore, not-fictional);
- b. It is an “original” fictional series;
- c. It is a webseries adapting a literary novel.

At the same time, it is curious that other interviewees, when they did not perceive certain paratextual aspects (in relation to Jane Austen’s original text), channel their cognitive and interpretative abilities to other aspects of the text, such as the issue (very factual) of feminism and the forms of building a face (in the Goffmanian meaning of the term) in the Internet, creating, thus, a forth category, partially derived from the first one:

- d. it is a *vlog* (real or fictional) whose *youtuber* (real or fictional) talks about factual subjects, such as feminism.

Therefore, paradoxically without realizing specific aspects of the story itself, these Internet users make the correct critical reading of the text about its message, and it can even go beyond what the contemporary adaptation offers them initially. Under these optics, who could say these interviewees are wrong?

Finally, we perceive that a research expanded in time and space, with more interviewees, tend to bring up potentially new aspects, not only about the text reception itself, but, mainly, of the ways how the reception is negotiated and approximated from these texts through a negotiation (or an absence of negotiation) with the paratextual information.

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Date of submission: 27/07/2020

Date of acceptance: 22/02/2021

Aportes para discutir el enfoque de las capacidades en la gestión de comunicación. Aplicación en Colombia

Contributions to discuss the capabilities approach to communication management. Colombia's version

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Resumen: *La investigación que origina este artículo contribuye con la descripción de las capacidades en gestión de la comunicación para la práctica profesional en el contexto colombiano. Presenta los resultados de la consulta a profesionales y académicos de seis ciudades de Colombia, en dos rondas de análisis, empleando el método Delphi. De los enunciados expresados y validados por expertos se valoran capacidades profundamente humanas en la ética y el comportamiento bioético, capacidades de relacionamiento estratégico para la función social mediadora y de negociación, así como capacidades actitudinales y proactivas favorables a la gestión comunicacional en las organizaciones. De esta manera, se contribuye desde Colombia con el “Global Capabilities Framework” liderado por “Global Alliance for Public Relations and Communications Management”.*

Palabras clave: *comunicación; capacidades; ética; Colombia.*

Abstract: *This article contributes to the description of communication management capabilities for professional practice in the Colombian context. It*

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presents the results of the research to professionals and academics from six cities in Colombia, in two rounds of analysis, using the Delphi method. Based on the statements expressed and validated by the experts, human capabilities in the area of ethics and bioethical behavior, strategic relationship capabilities for the social function of mediation and negotiation, as well as attitudinal and proactive capabilities in favor of communication management in organizations are evaluated. In this way, Colombia contributes to the Global Capabilities Framework led by the Global Alliance for Public Relations and Communications Management.

Key words: *communication; capabilities; ethics; Colombia.*

Introducción

Los desafíos para la interacción, conciliación y transformación en la sociedad convocan a la revisión de los aportes que la comunicación, como ciencia social y como profesión, puede hacer en la formación individual y colectiva de sus practicantes. Uno de esos aportes urgentes es la identificación de las capacidades en gestión de la comunicación que deben fomentarse en la academia y en el mundo laboral. La condición de ciudadanos globales nos aboca a revisar los estándares de enseñanza para la apropiación tanto de los derechos como de los deberes con el mundo, partiendo desde la condición local para inscribirse en el ámbito global. Los escenarios de práctica profesional brindan oportunidad de incidencia en comportamiento y conductas favorables a la comunicación y al relacionamiento armónico que incidan en el entendimiento humano y la comprensión de las dinámicas socioculturales, ambientales, económicas y políticas que determinan la vida.

De acuerdo con SEN (1996a), se definen las capacidades como la habilidad de una persona para alcanzar estados valiosos de ser, pero las capacidades deben ser valoradas por los grupos con quienes se tiene interacción o filiación. Es decir, los deseos del individuo no son los únicos determinantes de las capacidades que éste debe desarrollar. Por eso, es necesario buscar el equilibrio entre los intereses individuales y las necesidades sociales. La academia y las asociaciones de profesionales actúan como mediadores para este equilibrio. La investigación que origina este artículo contribuye con esa discusión global.

Contexto

En las dos últimas décadas, en América Latina ha aumentado la investigación aplicada y teórica que cuestionan el poder de las organizaciones, así como la utilización de la información y los medios, tanto tradicionales como digitales, en esa dinámica. El debate incluye discusiones sobre las políticas económicas que impactan el sector organizacional empresarial, la nutrida incidencia de las organizaciones no gubernamentales

en la región, así como la desconfianza en las decisiones corporativas y de gobierno ejecutivo en las naciones democráticas. Por eso, ha surgido una tendencia de estudio tanto en pregrado como en posgrados y doctorados de comunicación, donde se profundiza, con mirada crítica, temas como la responsabilidad de las organizaciones, tanto públicas como privadas, la transparencia de los actores sociales y políticos, la correspondencia en deberes de la ciudadanía corporativa y la gestión de la reputación, sobre la base de una economía que genere confianza.

Tal como lo reportaron PÉREZ; SUÁREZ (2017) en la conferencia “International Association for Mass Communication Research” (IAM-CR) en Cartagena, Colombia, es posible afirmar que la gestión de la comunicación (incluyendo comunicación corporativa, comunicación organizacional y relaciones públicas) son un campo de estudio interdisciplinario que se ha fortalecido en los últimos años con la creación de doctorados en comunicación en Latinoamérica, así como mayor acceso a los ya creados en Europa y en Estados Unidos. Las disciplinas de estudio que han ayudado a reconfigurar el campo de la comunicación en América Latina son la sociología, la psicología, la filosofía, la economía y la administración. Esto ha llevado a configurar tres paradigmas desde los cuales se estudia hoy la gestión en comunicación: el sistémico (tradición norteamericana), el retórico (tradición norteamericana, europea y latinoamericana) y el crítico (tradición europea).

Para la investigación que da origen a este estudio, se tuvo en cuenta no sólo los enfoques teóricos sobre el desarrollo y las capacidades, sino el marco de la práctica profesional desde una condición más humana y social. Se parte de la necesidad de considerar un enfoque social acorde con las demandas del mundo actual (MOLLEDA et al, 2018), el papel de la academia y de las asociaciones de profesionales en la formación de capacidades de los individuos más allá de la aplicación a funciones y tareas en el campo profesional como lo propone la conceptualización de competencia. A continuación, se presenta un resumen de esta orientación teórica y la perspectiva profesional que se propone profundizar desde el enfoque de las capacidades.

La federación de asociaciones profesionales “Global Alliance for Public Relations and Communication Management”, (“Global Alliance” en adelante), inició la revisión del enfoque de capacidades humanas en la comunicación entre los miembros (2018), motivó la aplicación de una consulta a profesionales y expertos en cada país donde existen programas académicos, así como un sector laboral en comunicación consolidado. A esta iniciativa se suman, progresivamente, otros países, académicos y asociaciones de comunicadores, con el fin de aportar a la discusión del enfoque en capacidades en los contextos propios, para nutrir también, mediante estudios comparativos, un cuerpo global de capacidades en gestión de la comunicación.

El enfoque en las capacidades humanas

El concepto de capacidad humana se refiere a la “habilidad” para llevar el tipo de vida que las personas consideran valiosa y de incrementar sus propias posibilidades de elección (SEN, 1996a). De otro lado, el capital humano se concentra en las habilidades, conocimiento y esfuerzos que aumentan las posibilidades de producción. Aunque ambos conceptos se agrupan en torno al ser humano, en el papel, en las habilidades que logran y adquieren, el autor señala cómo la capacidad humana es una perspectiva más amplia puesto que abarca las consecuencias directas e indirectas del capital humano.

En el escenario del desarrollo, las capacidades se concentran en el sentido de la humanidad y, como tal en el desarrollo social, mientras que el capital humano tiene un papel más restringido en la habilidad instrumental para la expansión de la productividad. El enfoque en las capacidades se dirige a la libertad que asume el individuo para dirigir mejor su vida y generar el cambio social.

Se puede entender que en el ejercicio de la libertad y de su papel de agente de cambio se incluyen, tanto como otros aspectos, los que conciernen al mejoramiento productivo del individuo, con una mayor educación, salud e, incluso, situación económica (SEN, 1996a). Pero la inversión de esta ecuación, con prioridad en el desarrollo del capital

productivo, es lo que hace más pertinente analizar y priorizar la perspectiva del desarrollo centrado en las capacidades humanas, las capacidades para asumir y ejercer la libertad que motiven la transformación del desarrollo humano.

Para entender esta prioridad, hay que considerar el concepto de “funcionamiento”. Los funcionamientos representan partes del estado de una persona, las cosas que logra hacer o ser al vivir; la calidad de vida debe evaluarse en términos de la capacidad para lograr acciones valiosas. De esta manera, para SEN (1996b) “algunos funcionamientos son muy elementales como estar nutrido adecuadamente, tener buena salud, etc. (...) Otros pueden ser más complejos, pero seguir siendo ampliamente apreciados como para alcanzar la autodignidad o integrarse socialmente”, (1996b. Párr. 7). Por eso, señala el autor, es muy importante seleccionar los funcionamientos que son valiosos en los contextos en donde el ser humano debe elegir quién ser y qué hacer. Incluso, hay contextos en que el conjunto de problemas, además del económico, sugieren una lista extensa de funcionamientos importantes para describir y estimar las capacidades. Así, “el enfoque en las capacidades se basa en una visión de la vida en tanto combinación de quehaceres y seres, en los que la calidad de vida debe evaluarse en términos de la capacidad para lograr funcionamientos valiosos” (SEN, 1996b, Párr. 6). Es preciso hacer una selección de los temas y valores que subyacen en los contextos donde las personas serán evaluadas en términos de sus capacidades porque con esta selección se pueden identificar cuáles son los más importantes y los de menor relevancia.

Se debe considerar que las capacidades no sólo parten y se desarrollan por los deseos del individuo, sino que deben ser valoradas por los grupos con quienes se tiene interacción o filiación. Los deseos del individuo no son los únicos determinantes de las capacidades que se deben desarrollar. Por eso, hay que equilibrar los enfoques utilitaristas que consideran a los individuos solamente como un medio.

El enfoque de SEN (1996a), sobre el desarrollo humano puede ser utilizado en el análisis de las profesiones y, algunas asociaciones, lo

han utilizado para la revisión de sus estándares de profesionalización. En este sentido, LESTER (2014), argumenta que las profesiones y la búsqueda de normas profesionales deben trascender las competencias, las habilidades y la acumulación de conocimiento práctico hacia fundamentaciones más significativas. Este autor apoya el enfoque de capacidad en la madurez profesional, ya que fomenta un compromiso más fluido y dinámico con cuestiones más amplias como la capacidad de reflexionar críticamente, de aplicar el juicio independiente en situaciones complejas y, más importantes que el conocimiento de códigos, la capacidad de utilizar la orientación ética en la toma de decisiones.

Por esto, las universidades, las asociaciones profesionales, los organismos públicos y privados deben cuestionarse en conjunto y constantemente sobre los funcionamientos (como se ha explicado atrás) o las fundamentaciones más significativas del contexto en el que los profesionales, como seres humanos, desarrollan sus capacidades. El diálogo constante sobre ese conjunto compartido de capacidades define el desarrollo humano y profesional a nivel mundial.

Metodología y Resultados

La federación de asociaciones profesionales “Global Alliance” promueve el estudio constante de los estándares educativos y la evaluación de los profesionales en gestión de la comunicación y las relaciones públicas en el mundo. Como federación de asociaciones en esta disciplina que tiene una red de 280.000 profesionales en el mundo, impulsó la revisión de un cuerpo global de conocimiento denominado “Global Body Of Knowledge” -GBOK- (MANELY; VALIN, 2017), que aportó una lista con descripciones sobre conocimientos, habilidades, atributos y comportamientos, según niveles de experiencia profesional -desde principiantes hasta experimentados-, producto del análisis de conjuntos o marcos de competencias en varios países y publicaciones científicas en el área de la comunicación. Este cuerpo global de conocimiento (GBOK), fue presentado en la conferencia anual de Global Alliance en 2018 y su publicación constituyó la base para las siguientes consultas

con las demás asociaciones profesionales en el mundo. En el avance de esas discusiones, se ha cuestionado la adquisición y aplicación de esos conocimientos, habilidades, atributos y comportamientos (KSAB por sus siglas en inglés) para atender las necesidades del contexto particular en el momento específico del ejercicio profesional (GREGORY, 2008; MORENO, TENCH; OKAY, 2017). Derivado de las discusiones científicas y aplicadas por grupos de miembros asociados en Global Alliance, surgió una iniciativa adicional conocida como “Global Capability Framework for Public Relations and Communication Management”, GCF, (FAWKES *et al.*, 2018). Esta investigación, reunió a expertos académicos y profesionales para describir la profesión bajo el enfoque de las capacidades con la participación de investigadores de Argentina, Australia, Canadá, España, Estados Unidos, Reino Unido, Singapur, Suecia y Sudáfrica (GREGORY; FAWKES, 2019). La metodología fue cualitativa y cuantitativa, aplicada progresivamente, con la consulta a 1.400 expertos académicos y profesionales en varias rondas del método Delphi, grupos focales y encuestas, que concluyó con un listado de 11 capacidades en gestión de la comunicación y las relaciones públicas enunciadas y validadas por profesionales y académicos de estos nueve países.

Es así, como, en 2018, la Universidad de Medellín en Colombia, se vinculó como miembro de la “Global Alliance”. Bajo la modalidad de investigación por cooperación interinstitucional y con el fin de incorporar el aporte de Colombia en el Cuerpo Global de Conocimiento, GCF, y con el antecedente de la aplicación en Argentina, incluida en el GCF se orientó con rigor metodológico para futuros estudios comparativos en América Latina. Adicionalmente, en 2018 también se aplicó el estudio en Ecuador, liderado por la Universidad Casa Grande y también con el acompañamiento de “Global Alliance” (BAQUERIZO-NEIRA; SADI, 2019).

La aplicación para el caso de Colombia en el GCF

Entre 2018 y 2019, en Colombia se aplicaron dos fases de consulta Delphi a profesionales y expertos, un grupo focal y entrevistas individuales formales a directores de comunicación y académicos del país. La primera ronda del Delphi fue presentada a una base seleccionada de 50 profesionales y académicos. El diseño se guió del cuestionario original de Global Alliance con la metodología ajustada al español y aplicada en Argentina. La estructura explica una base conceptual de las capacidades y el cuestionario base se deriva de tres categorías para una primera definición y agrupación de las capacidades a consultar con los expertos. Esas primeras tres categorías son: Capacidad de Relacionamento Estratégico (CRE), Capacidad de Comunicación Operativa (CCO), Capacidades Generales (CG).

Las preguntas dirigidas a los expertos se orientaban a la enunciación y agrupación entre 8 a 10 capacidades. En esta primera ronda 14 participantes respondieron la consulta: 5 de Bogotá, 5 de Medellín, 1 de Bucaramanga, 1 de Barranquilla, 1 de Montería y 1 de Sincelejo. Las acciones de las otras ciudades no llegaron en los plazos de entrega del primer informe. La participación del sector fue así: 3 educadores, 8 profesionales y 3 empleadores.

Una vez recogidos los cuestionarios resueltos de la primera ronda del Delphi, se procedió a identificar coincidencias por relación semántica de las capacidades sugeridas. En un primer listado, hecho con las respuestas de los expertos, se obtuvo un total de 142 enunciados.

La reducción de estos enunciados se hizo por el sentido semántico de las frases, agrupándolos en las categorías mencionadas antes.

En la categoría Capacidades de Relacionamento Estratégico (CRE) se agruparon 66 enunciados; el de mayor coincidencia en esta categoría (con 14 referencias) se sintetizó en la capacidad de analizar, generar y sostener vínculos con aliados, contrapartes, *stakeholders*, grupos de interés, actores relevantes, *sponsor*, para articular, mediar, establecer acuerdos, de manera respetuosa, empática, constructiva y colectiva.

En la categoría Capacidades de Comunicación Operativa (CCO) se recogen 43 enunciados, siendo la agrupación con mayor recurrencia (con 21) el que se refiere a la capacidad de dominio comunicacional desde las narrativas hasta la identificación del contenido, planeación estratégica de mensajes, medios, plataformas, audiencias y públicos, así como las capacidades propias de la comunicación como escucha, escritura, síntesis, dominio del español y de una segunda lengua, el inglés. Todo esto en relación con el contexto, situación y contenido comunicacional para el diálogo y la deliberación.

En la categoría Capacidades Generales (CG) se identificaron 33 enunciados, de los cuales, el que más recurrencia tuvo fue el referido a la capacidad de índole humano, personal o individual que recoge valores desarrollados como la empatía, la prudencia, la calidez, la disponibilidad, la cooperación, el equilibrio, el servicio y las buenas relaciones desde la comprensión del ser humano. Se recogen en la capacidad de entendimiento de la vida y del comportamiento bioético, es decir impactando positivamente los grupos humanos y la naturaleza.

Después de un proceso de lectura y relectura, se redujeron los enunciados, se agruparon nuevamente para así categorizar por sentido. Posteriormente, en la discusión del grupo focal se propusieron tres enunciados adicionales que se pusieron a consideración en la segunda ronda del Delphi y así, se concretaron 14 capacidades, tal como se aprecia a continuación:

Tabla 1. Enunciados sobre capacidades en gestión de la comunicación depurados por validación del Grupo Focal ronda 1.

Numeración inicial de la capacidad	Enunciado que integra la Capacidad	Frecuencia de repetición del enunciado
3	Capacidad narrativa, planeación estratégica de mensajes, medios, plataformas, audiencias y públicos, así como las capacidades propias de la comunicación como escucha, escritura, síntesis, dominio del español y de una segunda lengua, el inglés. Todo en relación con el contexto, situación y contenido comunicacional para el diálogo y la deliberación	21
8	Capacidad de analizar, generar y sostener vínculos con aliados, contrapartes, stakeholders, grupos de interés, actores relevantes, sponsor, para articular, mediar, establecer acuerdos, de manera respetuosa, empática, constructiva y colectiva”	19
1	Capacidad de liderazgo con decisión para ejercer la gestión de procesos comunicativos con planeación, coordinación y evaluación de estrategias, programas y proyectos con que generen retorno a la inversión.	14
9	Capacidad para desarrollar la empatía, la creatividad, la solidaridad y la comprensión del ser humano, para mejor entendimiento de la vida y tener un comportamiento bioético, impactando positivamente los grupos humanos y la naturaleza.	14
5	Capacidad de observar, reflexionar, analizar y comprender el entorno e incidir sobre el mismo buscando el bienestar de los grupos de interés.	11
7	Capacidad de mediación, negociación, de concertación, de resolución de conflictos y de incidencia tanto para posicionar la comunicación como para propósitos colectivos	10
11	Capacidad para la previsión de riesgos, la adaptabilidad eficiente al cambio, la caracterización y la actitud positiva ante las crisis y, en general, las distintas situaciones que se presenten con criterios profesionales y morales	9

Numeración inicial de la capacidad	Enunciado que integra la Capacidad	Frecuencia de repetición del enunciado
6	Capacidad de análisis de oportunidades, riesgos, amenazas, de comportamientos de la opinión pública y de contenidos relevantes, para planificar estrategias como para generar espacios donde se construya ese análisis, el discernimiento entre resultados e impacto del campo específico comunicacional.	9
4	Capacidad para el pensamiento estratégico, para establecer criterios de valoración y acción puntual al desarrollo de estrategias de manera holística	8
2	Capacidad para actualizarse y manejar herramientas técnicas y tecnológico de plataformas, redes, medios y canales.	7
10	Capacidad para el trabajo en equipo, la interdisciplinariedad y la articulación con las diferentes unidades de las empresas, generando confianza.	7
12	Capacidad de aprendizaje y des-aprendizaje, proposición, creatividad, dinamismo e innovación para el emprendimiento y para la resiliencia	6
13	Capacidad para la gestión del conocimiento, medición y evaluación apoyados en las técnicas de investigación.	5
14	Capacidad ética de la profesión y de la organización a la cual le sirve con compromiso, valores y persistencia	2
TOTAL	14 Capacidades	142 enunciados

Fuente: Elaboración propia.

Con este listado de 14 capacidades, se solicitó a los participantes del Delphi en la ronda 1 que jerarquizaran las capacidades agrupadas y las calificaran en una escala Likert de menor a mayor, siendo 1 no importante y 7 de extrema importancia. En esta revisión y valoración se obtuvo respuesta por 20 profesionales y expertos de las principales ciudades del país, así:

Tabla No. 2. Valoración de las capacidades en gestión de la comunicación identificadas en Colombia.

	1 No im- portante	2 Baja import	3 Apenas imp	4 Neutral	5 Mo de ra da imp	6 Muy im- portante	7 De extrema importa
Capacidades en Gestión de la Comunicación en Colombia.							
C1. Capacidad lingüística, narrativa, de diálogo y deliberación.			1		1	7	11
C2. Capacidad de generar y sostener vínculos con grupos de interés para establecer acuerdos, de manera respetuosa, empática, constructiva y colectiva.					2	4	14
C3. Capacidad de liderazgo con decisión para ejercer la gestión de procesos comunicativos con planeación, coordinación y evaluación de estrategias, programas y proyectos que generen retorno a la inversión.					2	5	13
C4. Capacidad para desarrollar la empatía, la solidaridad y la comprensión del ser humano, para mejor entendimiento de la vida basándose en un comportamiento bioético, impactando positivamente los grupos humanos y la naturaleza.				1	3	7	9
C5. Capacidad de observar, reflexionar, analizar y comprender el entorno e incidir sobre el mismo.						7	13
C6. Capacidad de mediación y la negociación para la resolución de conflictos y la incidencia, tanto para posicionar la comunicación como para propósitos colectivos.					1	10	9

C7. Capacidad para la previsión de riesgos, la adaptabilidad eficiente al cambio, la caracterización y la actitud positiva ante las crisis.						2	7	11
C8. Capacidad para prevenir riesgos o amenazas de comportamientos de la opinión pública, con discernimiento acerca del impacto del campo específico comunicacional en la atención de crisis.						2	7	11
C9. Capacidad para el pensamiento estratégico, para establecer criterios de valoración y acción puntual al desarrollo de estrategias de manera holística.						1	8	11
C10. Capacidad para actualizarse y manejar herramientas técnicas y tecnológicas de plataformas, redes, medios y canales.						7	8	5
C11. Capacidad para el trabajo en equipo, la interdisciplinariedad y la articulación con las diferentes unidades de las empresas, generando confianza.				1		1	6	12
C12. Capacidad de aprendizaje y desaprendizaje, proposición, creatividad, dinamismo e innovación para el emprendimiento y para la resiliencia				1		3	9	7
C13. Capacidad para la gestión del conocimiento, medición y evaluación, apoyándose en las técnicas de investigación.						3	11	6
C14. Capacidad ética de la profesión y de la organización a la cual sirve con compromiso, valores y persistencia.					1		2	17

Fuente: Elaboración propia.

Así, se identifica una priorización por importancia para el contexto colombiano, según el valor dado en la escala de Likert, expresado en este orden:

1. “La capacidad ética de la profesión y de la organización a la cual sirve con compromiso, valores y persistencia”, tiene la mayor valoración: fue calificada “De extrema importancia” 17 veces señalada por los profesionales, 2 veces votada como “Muy importante” y 1 vez asignada como “Neutral”.
2. “La capacidad de generar y sostener vínculos con grupos de interés para establecer acuerdos, de manera respetuosa, empática, constructiva y colectiva” tiene la segunda mayor valoración “De extrema importancia” con 14 veces señalada por los profesionales, 4 veces votada como “Muy importante” y 2 veces señalada como de “Moderada importancia”.
3. “La capacidad de observar, reflexionar, analizar y comprender el entorno e incidir sobre el mismo” tiene la tercera mayor valoración “De extrema importancia” con 13 veces votada. Esta valoración también la obtuvo la capacidad siguiente, pero se identifica que, en ésta, se considera también “Muy importante” para el resto de los profesionales, con 7 votos.
4. “La capacidad de liderazgo con decisión para ejercer la gestión de procesos comunicativos con planeación, coordinación y evaluación de estrategias, programas y proyectos que generen retorno a la inversión” tiene también la tercera mayor valoración “De extrema importancia” con 13 veces votada. Sin embargo, los votos restantes se distribuyen en “Muy importante” 5 veces y de “Moderada importancia” 2 veces.
5. “La capacidad para el trabajo en equipo, la interdisciplinariedad y la articulación con las diferentes unidades de las empresas, generando confianza” tiene la cuarta mayor valoración “De extrema importancia” con 12 votos, “Muy importante” con 6 votos, “Moderada importancia” obtuvo 1 voto y también 1 voto como “Apenas importante”.

6. “La capacidad para el pensamiento estratégico, para establecer criterios de valoración y acción puntual al desarrollo de estrategias de manera holística” tiene 11 votos en la consideración de “Extrema importancia”, le siguen 8 votos en “Muy importante” y 1 voto en “Moderada importancia”.
7. “La capacidad para la previsión de riesgos, la adaptabilidad eficiente al cambio, la caracterización y la actitud positiva ante las crisis” tiene una valoración “De extrema importancia” con 11 votos, “Muy importante” con 7 votos y de “Moderada importancia” con 2 votos.
8. Igual que en la anterior, “La capacidad para prever riesgos o amenazas de comportamientos de la opinión pública, con discernimiento acerca del impacto del campo específico comunicacional en la atención de crisis” tiene una valoración “De extrema importancia” con 11 votos, “Muy importante” con 7 votos y de “Moderada importancia” con 2 votos.
9. “La capacidad lingüística, narrativa, de diálogo y deliberación” es considerada “De extrema importancia” por 11 votos, “Muy importante” con 7 votos, “De moderada importancia” con 1 voto y “Apenas importante” con 1 voto.
10. “La capacidad de mediación y la negociación para la resolución de conflictos y la incidencia, tanto para posicionar la comunicación, como para propósitos colectivos” tiene 9 votos como “De extrema importancia”, 10 votos como “Muy importante” y 1 voto con “Moderada importancia”.
11. “La capacidad para desarrollar la empatía, la solidaridad y la comprensión del ser humano, para mejor entendimiento de la vida basándose en un comportamiento bioético, impactando positivamente los grupos humanos y la naturaleza” obtuvo 9 votos en la consideración “De extrema importancia”, 7 votos en “Muy importante”, 3 votos en de “Moderada importancia” y 1 voto como “Neutral”.
12. “La capacidad de aprendizaje y desaprendizaje, proposición, creatividad, dinamismo e innovación para el emprendimiento y para la resiliencia” fue evaluada con 7 votos como “De extrema importancia”,

con 9 votos como “Muy importante”, con 3 votos con “Moderada importancia” y con 1 voto “Apenas importante”.

13. “La capacidad para la gestión del conocimiento, medición y evaluación, apoyándose en las técnicas de investigación” fue valorada como “De extrema importancia” con 6 votos; “Muy importante” con 11 votos, de “Moderada importancia” con 3 votos.
14. “La capacidad para actualizarse y manejar herramientas técnicas y tecnológicas de plataformas, redes, medios y canales” obtuvo una valoración de 5 votos como “De extrema importancia”, con 8 votos “Muy importante” y con 3 votos de “Moderada importancia”.

De esta manera, la valoración más consistente está en la ética y el compromiso profesional, capacidad profundamente humana para guiar la actuación profesional. Le sigue en importancia la capacidad estratégica relacional para generar y sostener vínculos, el análisis e incidencia en el entorno, así como la capacidad estratégica comunicacional con el liderazgo de los procesos de planeación, coordinación y evaluación de la gestión en comunicación, en relación directa con el retorno a la inversión.

También se valora una capacidad que deriva de estas dos últimas, tanto lo relacional como la coordinación de la gestión, es la que resalta el trabajo en equipo interdisciplinario que genera confianza con las diferentes unidades organizativas. Como tal, se puede entender que esta es una derivación de las tres capacidades mencionadas en el párrafo anterior, las más valoradas, tal como se expresan en la condición humana, la capacidad analítica estratégica del entorno, en la capacidad estratégica relacional y de gestión comunicacional. Así mismo, la capacidad para el pensamiento estratégico se relaciona con el análisis del entorno ya mencionado para desarrollar acciones que se deriven de ese análisis.

Se observa con atención que la capacidad para hacer frente al riesgo tiene dos connotaciones, valoradas de manera similar: una interna, del individuo, de índole actitudinal. También, desde el punto de vista profesional, con el conocimiento sobre el comportamiento de la opinión pública y las acciones-procedimientos de atención de las posibles crisis.

Adicionalmente, se destaca la capacidad orientada al servicio, a la función social de la comunicación y el relacionamiento que expresa la mediación y la negociación, evidenciada en la valoración promedio entre el valor máximo y el anterior, así como en la poca dispersión en la evaluación de esta capacidad.

Dos capacidades más hacen referencia a la condición humana relacionadas con la ética (más valorada) que son la capacidad de comprensión del ser humano y el comportamiento bioético, y la capacidad proactiva frente al aprendizaje, innovación y resiliencia.

Otro grupo de capacidades que se puede identificar, con valoración similar como “Muy importante”, pero que presenta más dispersión en los valores otorgados por los profesionales, son las referidas a capacidades profesionales de dominio del lenguaje y habilidades comunicativas, manejo de herramientas técnicas-tecnológicas, plataformas- medios, y la gestión del conocimiento, evaluación e investigación.

En síntesis

Con este análisis, de acuerdo con la priorización dada por los valores y la consistencia de éstos, las capacidades en gestión de la comunicación en Colombia, según la muestra descrita antes en seis ciudades del país y la metodología aplicada, muestran que las capacidades se ordenan por valoración de extrema importancia a menor importancia y por número de enunciados que las citan, dando en el siguiente orden para el caso colombiano:

Tabla No. 3. Cuerpo de capacidades en gestión de la comunicación identificadas en Colombia.

1.	La capacidad ética de la profesión y de la organización a la cual sirve con compromiso, valores y persistencia.
2.	La capacidad de generar y sostener vínculos con grupos de interés para establecer acuerdos, de manera respetuosa, empática, constructiva y colectiva
3.	La capacidad de observar, reflexionar, analizar y comprender el entorno e incidir sobre el mismo.
4.	La capacidad de liderazgo con decisión para ejercer la gestión de procesos comunicativos con planeación, coordinación y evaluación de estrategias, programas y proyectos que generen retorno a la inversión.
5.	La capacidad para el trabajo en equipo, la interdisciplinariedad y la articulación con las diferentes unidades de las empresas, generando confianza.
6.	La capacidad para el pensamiento estratégico, para establecer criterios de valoración y acción puntual al desarrollo de estrategias de manera holística.
7.	La capacidad para la previsión de riesgos, la adaptabilidad eficiente al cambio, la caracterización y la actitud positiva ante las crisis.
8.	La capacidad para prever riesgos o amenazas de comportamientos de la opinión pública, con discernimiento acerca del impacto del campo específico comunicacional en la atención de crisis.
9.	La capacidad lingüística, narrativa, de diálogo y deliberación.
10.	La capacidad de mediación y la negociación para la resolución de conflictos y la incidencia, tanto para posicionar la comunicación, como para propósitos colectivos.
11.	La capacidad para desarrollar la empatía, la solidaridad y la comprensión del ser humano, para mejor entendimiento de la vida basándose en un comportamiento bioético, impactando positivamente los grupos humanos y la naturaleza.
12.	La capacidad de aprendizaje y desaprendizaje, proposición, creatividad, dinamismo e innovación para el emprendimiento y para la resiliencia.
13.	La capacidad para la gestión del conocimiento, medición y evaluación, apoyándose en las técnicas de investigación.
14.	La capacidad para actualizarse y manejar herramientas técnicas y tecnológicas de plataformas, redes, medios y canales.

Fuente: Elaboración propia.

Discusión de resultados

El “Global Body Of Knowledge” entrega un marco de capacidades fundamentado en la expresión de las necesidades en los contextos europeos y norteamericano, como lo señalan GUTIÉRREZ; SADI (2020), con un marcado sesgo anglosajón, según los autores, pues esas regiones tuvieron mayor representación por países, mientras que por Asia, África y América Latina solo se contó con 1 país participante en este primer cuerpo global de capacidades (GCF) aplicado a la comunicación. Ahora bien, por América Latina la representación que logró inicialmente Argentina, robustece el GCF, con los matices propios de una región.

No obstante, se han sumado otros países que aplican la metodología expuesta por GREGORY; FAWKES (2019) pues aplican las técnicas de investigación y análisis en los contextos propios, como Ecuador (BARQUERIZO; SADI, 2019) para sumar por Latinoamérica en los estudios comparativos, hasta configurar más ampliamente el marco global de las capacidades en gestión de la comunicación (GREGORY; FAWKES, 2019; GUTIÉRREZ-GARCÍA; SADI, 2020). Ahí, es dónde Colombia también contribuye con una perspectiva propia de las capacidades como expresión de la libertad para la toma de decisiones en contexto, según la formación del ser y la condición humana, en relación con la gestión de la comunicación hacia la formación de nuevos profesionales. Sin embargo, en Colombia, se ha estudiado con mayor profundidad las competencias como habilidades para saber hacer. Es claro que, al preguntarse por las capacidades, de lo que se habla hoy es de saber ser, dado que es a partir de los funcionamientos vitales que se orientan vocaciones, procesos formativos y, finalmente, el ejercicio profesional en contextos locales de desigualdad articuladas a problemáticas humanas globales.

Conclusiones y Recomendaciones

Las capacidades referidas a la condición humana para los profesionales en gestión de la comunicación se concentran en la ética, el análisis del

contexto, el trabajo en equipo, la mediación y negociación, la adaptabilidad, la actitud positiva, la solidaridad y la comprensión del ser humano basándose en el comportamiento bioético. De igual manera, las capacidades específicas de la profesión se concentran en el generar y sostener vínculos a largo plazo, la articulación de intereses y la previsión de riesgos comunicacionales.

Este es un aporte a la discusión de las capacidades globales en gestión de la comunicación desde Colombia, para sumar al cuerpo global de capacidades (GCF) promovido por “Global Alliance”. Sin embargo, es necesario profundizar más en las capacidades para la gestión de la comunicación que incidan en el contexto social, político y económico colombiano, toda vez que estos generan influencia en la práctica profesional. Se requiere un ser humano con libertad y autonomía en el ejercicio laboral con potencialidades para ejercer su labor comunicacional con principios de comportamiento ético.

Las limitaciones previsiblemente consideradas por una metodología cualitativa hacen necesaria la aplicación de muestras mixtas en un futuro, que contribuyan con nuevos elementos del contexto y así, profundizar en la constante o variación de estas capacidades enunciadas. En futuros reportes, se profundizará en las comparaciones por países de América Latina con el fin de trazar una línea de discusión regional que ponga en discusión las variables del contexto para motivar la formación en capacidades para la gestión de comunicación con mayor pertinencia, según las dinámicas sociales, políticas y económicas que expresan las culturas latinoamericanas.

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Data de submissão: 31/07/2020

Data de aceite: 03/12/2020

Imagens patógenas: subsídios para estudos de transtornos de imagens a partir do caso clínico e do método Warburg

Pathogenic images: support for studies of image disorders based on the clinical case and the Warburg method

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Rodrigo Daniel Sanches²

Resumo: *Partindo do caso clínico de Aby Warburg, a proposta do artigo é apresentar subsídios para uma leitura da imagem como pharmakon. Para tanto, mobilizamos conceitos fundantes da Ciência da Cultura proposta por Warburg, como a sua teoria da imagem e seu método, que rejeitam toda tentativa “exclusivamente estetizante” de compreensão da visualidade e da imagem. O método warburguiano pressupõe a capacidade das imagens de impactar, capturar e transformar olhares gerando ambientes. Como esse ambiente possui a potência de um pharmakon, analisamos um exemplo que corrobora com o diagnóstico de Warburg sobre a potencialidade das imagens: a estratégia da indústria do tabaco, através da atuação do esportista brasileiro Ayrton Senna, ancorada em uma indústria das imagens.*

Palavras-chave: *Imagem como pharmakon; método Warburg; Transtornos de imagens; indústria tabagista.*

Abstract: *Based on the clinical case of Aby Warburg, the proposal of this article is to present support for a reading of the image as a pharmakon. As such, we have utilized fundamental concepts from the Science of Culture proposed by*

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Warburg, such as his image theory and his method, which reject any “exclusively aestheticizing” attempt to understand visuality and images. The Warburg method presupposes the capacity of images to impact, capture and transform views by generating environments. As this environment bears the potency of a pharmakon, we have analyzed a current example that corroborate Warburg’s diagnosis of the potentiality of images: the strategy of the tobacco industries, through the performance of Brazilian sportsman Ayrton Senna, anchored in an image industry.

Keywords: *Image as pharmakon; Warburg method; image disorders; tobacco industries.*

Introduction: Haunted Minds³

All humanity is – all the time and
forever – schizophrenic.

Aby Warburg (2015)

In his career as a doctor and a writer, one of Oliver Sack's concerns were hallucinations and delirium. He approached these symptoms in different books, such as "The man who mistook his wife for a hat", "Seeing Voices", "Musical Hallucinations" and "The Haunted Mind". In the latter, Sacks (2013, p. 12) would argue that hallucinations "always had an important role in our mental life and our culture". We must question ourselves, said Sacks (2013, p. 12), "to what extent hallucinatory experiences motivated our art, folklore and even religion". Wouldn't 'science' a topic to be missing in this small and comprising triple list of Sacks?

Sacks saw "The Haunted Mind" as a type of anthology of hallucinations, describing experiences and their impact on the individuals who experienced them, because he believed that the power of hallucinations could only be understood through first person stories. The causes of delirium and hallucinations are many, and, in certain cases, stimulated by emotional states such as, for example, fear, horror, angst and apprehension of traumatic life-threatening events (Sacks, 2013).

The history of humanity is prodigal in traumatic events that comprised hundreds of thousands of people, leaving unmeasurable physical and emotional consequences. Two of them are, certainly, the First and the Second World War. In relation to the First War, Sacks notes that

Some doctors would suppose that there should be an organic disturbance in the brain responsible for what, at the time, would be called shell shock: they seemed to differ in many aspects from the "normal" neurosis. The term "shell shock" [trauma caused by the sound of grenades exploding]

3 This study counted with the collaboration of the psychiatric doctor and professor Maristela Schaufelberger Spanghero, PhD at the Department of Psychiatry of the Medicine School of University of São Paulo (FMUSP).

was coined based on the idea that the brain of these soldiers had been mechanically disarranged by the repeated shocks of highly explosive grenades introduced in this war. Until then, it didn't exist a proper recognition of the retarded effects of the severe trauma for the soldiers, submitted by days of grenade and mustard gas explosions, in muddy trenches filled with rotten cadavers of their peers (SACKS, 2013, p. 217-218).

Still in relation to wars and conflicts, there is also the hallucination of “phantom limbs”, when soldiers would lose part of their body but would continue to feel pain, tickling and other sensations in the lost or amputated part due to battle wounds. Wars, therefore, are events capable of generating extreme emotional states, causing hallucinations that can, according to Sacks (2013), attack entire communities.

But if war is traumatic to those who are directly involved in the front, and also for those who live in areas of conflict or are directly affected by confrontation, would the images of these same wars would have the ability of making someone ill? Would war images be (or, expanding their universe a little, images of big catastrophes) pathogenic?

Aby Warburg's Mind

Creator of the impressive Warburg Library of Culture Sciences (*Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg - KBW*), Aby Warburg (1866 - 1929) left a noticeable inheritance in books, currently allocated in the *Warburg Institute*, in the London University. After his graduation in History, Art History, Archeology and History of Religions of Antiquity, the young Aby Warburg started, in 1889 to gather the collection that would later become his famous Library, in Hamburg (Germany). It is undeniable to see the importance of the Library in Warburg's life story, his conception, his organization, his main projects, and his vocation. All of this is transformed in an unique place of research on many themes of human culture and even in an unique object as culture conception, since he abstained from naming the science he was inaugurating along with the Library. Robert Klein calls it “nameless science”, denomination adhered by Giorgio Agamben (KLEIN, 1970).

Truth is that the innovative thinking of Warburg, who created KWB, was eclipsed by it for almost 100 years. And only in the 2000's it began to be revealed and taken seriously by scientific research⁴. Nevertheless, it is still an object of controversy and questionable appropriations. It wasn't about, however, a library and a collection on art history or images, but what he called "a collection of registers for the psychology of the study of human expression" (WARBURG, 2015, p. 71). According to him, "thanks to the use of categories of general and unsatisfactory development, art history has been until now impeded from putting their material out to the "historic psychology of the human expression", which is still, this is true, waiting to be written" (WARBURG, 2015, p. 127). His reflections had approached objects separated by the fences and borders of time, with studies on Venus de Botticelli, rituals of the Indigenous villages Hopi, in New Mexico (United States) and about the drawings of your kids. "Expanding the boundaries of image manifestations far beyond the artistic universe, Aby Warburg understand it as the most important resource of bond, as media" (BAITELLO, 2010, p. 61).

In his last years of life, Warburg worked in the project of a great atlas of images, Mnemosine, mapping families of images and their root words, illustrating their presence in different times or different environments, in addition to showing their potential of meaning and their expressive strength in different times and contexts.

Aby Warburg suffered an emotional breakdown in November 1918. After his first admissions in Hamburg (with the Dr. Heinrich Georg Emden, from 11/2/1918 to 07/17/1919) and Jena (10/9/1920 to 04/15/1921 under the care of Prof. Dr. Hans Berger), was finally transferred, in 1921, for the Bellevue Clinic, in Kreuzlingen, Switzerland, directed by Ludwig Binswanger, creator of the existential therapy, disciple and friend of Sigmund Freud⁵. It was almost six years of having breaks and visions,

4 Only in 2010 a collection of Warburg's work was published in a careful and reliable edition. We can also highlight here the critical work of Claudia Wedepohl, current director of the Warburg Archive, participant of the edition of *Gesammelte Schriften (Gathered writings)* (WARBURG, 2015).

5 On November 8th, 1921, Binswanger answers Freud who asked about the clinical state of the "famous professor", saying he was hopeless about a positive outcome (FICHTNER, 1992, p. 176).

behaving with rebelliousness, being loud, ranting, having fury episodes and persecutory visions to himself and his family, accusing the doctors and nurses of trying to poison him.

Warburg was discharged in 1924 after showing his sanity when he taught a conference to doctors and patients at the clinic about a photographic exploratory expedition he did in 1895 to the Hopi indigenous group from New Mexico, United States. The conference, emblematic in many aspects, was only published in 1949⁶, 20 years after Warburg's death, by the Warburg Institute of London, with a lackluster repercussion; the times were of hard reconstruction. Now, it is known that the version published by Saxl was widely copydesked, giving fluidity to the scattered notes of Warburg on the images of Pueblo indigenous people. Even so, the writing *Schlangenritual Ein Reisebericht (The serpent's ritual: A travel story)* had only had a German edition in 1988 and translations for other languages in the following years. The original non-copydesked annotations were published only in 2010 in *Werke (Work)* (Warburg, 2010⁷)

The clinical case has been receiving growing attention not only for his indisputable controversial nature from the medical and psychological point of view, with changes of diagnosis and prognosis, but also for being an illness of images, with images, by images, of dark scenarios that would become a harsh reality over a decade later (according to BAITELLO, 2017).

Images can cause illness? The horror of/by images (Warburg's war photo collection)

Warburg's illness is, without a doubt, a complex case – now it is not possible to make a case history, over a century away from the facts. There is,

- 6 After he finished the conference presentation at the Bellevue Clinic, in April 23rd, 1923, Warburg gathers his notes and materials of devices and sends them to Fritz Saxl, towards his library in Hamburg, with the explicit order of not publishing whatsoever, without allowing anyone to access the notes, with the exception of his friend Prof. Ernst Cassirer.
- 7 The translation of a few texts in Portuguese in *Ghost Stories for the Very Adult comes from this German edition*.

however, still different positions about it, throughout the 20th century. While Sir Ernst Gombrich, author of the Warburg's first biography and famed director of the *Warburg Institute* in London for centuries, completely shuts out the clinical episode, the young disciple Carl Georg Heise expresses outrage about the blatant misdiagnose of Binswanger (according to Berger) and complains that the issue was covered by silence. It is important to point out this took place in early 20th century, and there still wasn't available anti-psychotic drugs of first and second generation; as well as obviously we didn't have studies or research on structural and functional neuroimage, which in the last 40 to 50 years "identified significant brain alterations in psychosis, especially in schizophrenia" (GALGALARRONDO, 2010, p. 384).

Warburg's recuperation begins with the change of diagnosis made by Kraepelin on February 6th, 1923, hired by the Warburg family to make an assessment of the case. Emil Kraepelin⁸ (1856-1926), considered the most important shrink at that moment, was invited by the family to analyze the case and the patient, with the agreement of Binswanger.

The diagnosis then formulated by him would diverge from the previous, as described in the book "*La guérison, infinie: Histoire clinique d'Aby Warburg*":

Provoquée par la famille, l'apparition de Kraepelin équivaut sans le moindre doute à une déclaration de méfiance, au moins temporaire, à l'égard des méthodes adoptées par Binswanger. Le diagnostic avait été jusque-là, de manière irrévocable, celui de schizophrénie. C'est ainsi que Warburg avait été étiqueté dans son dossier médical à son arrivée à Kreuzlinge. Le diagnostic de Kraepelin est en revanche: "état mixte maníaco-dépressif"; le pronostic, que inverse les termes de celui de Berger de manière si littérale

8 In "*Madness: a Brief History*", Roy Porter (2002) outlines Kraepelin's importance of the study of mental breakdowns: "Emil Kraepelin (1856-1926) was essential to shed the unscientific dross which had gathered around psychiatry. Following an early appointment at Dorpat University (in Estonia, then in Prussia), Kraepelin became professor at the university clinic at Heidelberg, the main center of German medicine. His career marks the culmination of a century of descriptive clinical psychiatry and psychiatry nosology. (...) The course of psychiatric illness, he insisted, offered the best clue to its nature, rather than, as in common practice, the raft of symptoms the patient showed at a particular moment. On this basis, Kraepelin wrought a great innovation in disease concepts and classification" (PORTER, 2002, p. 184)

qu'il en semble la parodie intentionnelle, laisse finalement entrer un rayon de lumière dans la chambre noire du futur de Warburg: avec un pronostic absolument favorable, même si Kraepelin ne préconise pas que Warburg puisse quitter la clinique précisément parce qu'il s'agit d'un cas difficile et qu'une sortie précoce ne ferait que ralentir le processus de sa guérison (WARBURG; BINSWANGER, 2007, p. 14-15).

Let's go back to the question: images of tragedies like wars would have the ability of making someone ill? Would the images be pathogenic? What is the relationship between Warburg's illness, his admission, and war images? In 2004, it was found in the Archive of the Warburg Institute, in London, a collection of pictures of the First World War compiled by its founder. About the three boxes containing 1547 images⁹ related to the First World War, in which the immense majority are journalistic pictures, Leão Serva (2017) analyses that they would be in consonance with Warburg's concerns in his reflections, especially in two fronts. The first one

It is the concern with the Judaic issue. During the First War, Warburg seem to foresee the antisemitic winds that would mark German life under Nazi dominion. At that moment, oddly enough, there were a role inversion: Jews were formally and informally persecuted in the neighboring regions of the German empire, under Russian dominion: Poland, Ukraine, Galizia, Belarus. In these areas, German soldiers were frequently greeted as liberating people and the occupation would authorize Jews to form big lines waiting visas to migrate to Germany, where communities were integrated and respected (SERVA, 2017, p. 4).

The second component present in the war images collected by Warburg is

The recurrence, in the photo collection, of images of military submarines, balloons and airplanes, technological news of the turn of the 19th century which in this world conflict was introduced in the field of wars. Before the war, in 1913, Warburg had produced a small essay called

9 The collection found is the remainder of a total of 5000 photos. In the intempestive clandestine transference of the Hamburg Library to London in 1933, many materials were lost that had to remain in Hamburg.

“Airplane and Submersible in the Medieval Imagination” (WARBURG, 2013, 313 and segs.), which shows that, before these real equipment came to be produced by the late 19th century technology, these machines were imagined, and, possibly desired by men; or could we say, on the contrary, they were created to fill an old demand of the human culture (SERVA, 2017, p. 5).

The turbulent years of the First World War and the following decade already incubated the dark times of 1930's and 1940's. Without a doubt, the historic, political, and cultural scenario had contributed for Aby Warburg's deep and dramatic mental illness – a disorder of images that would threaten him and his family (BAITELLO, 2017). The images, to Warburg, were not only artistic or aesthetic, but they had an intrinsic force, a power generating meanings, internal and external actions a creating force of environments and environmentality¹⁰. Thinking about the image not only in its aesthetic aspect, but mainly taking into account their relational power, ‘the image is not only product, it is also producing, it has an ambivalent existence, it is a creator and a creature of a surrounding’ (BAITELLO, 2017, p. 35).

In this sense, the war images collected by Warburg would potentialize the horror of that period. The horror presented in these images (mainly journalistic) was happening in a very close surrounding to him and his family. Surely there will be in the history of mankind other environments created by catastrophic images. The history of fear, developed by Jean Delumeau, would not be anything but the history of the power of terrifying images? Warburg's clinical case would be an analog example to the image-generating illnesses and disorders of contemporary somatic pathologies?

The journalist and former war reporter Leão Serva (2017) points out that there is a set of indications of the passionate and visceral relationship of Warburg with war photographs; the images were ordered and

10 The concept of “environmentality” is used here according to Watsuji, Tetsuro (Anthropology of the landscape. Salamanca: Sigueme, 2006).

requested by the German intellectual throughout the four years of duration of the First World War. Serva says:

In a first approach it is very striking this alignment between the author and the collection the recurrence, among the photos, of images of military balloons and airplanes, technological news in late 19th century which, in that world conflict, was introduced in the war world. Similar images would come to mark “Atlas Mnemosine” and, in an indirect manner, are also present in the conference about the rite of the serpent of the Hopi indigenous (SERVA, 2017, p. 55).

The images collected by Warburg contained every time of monstrosity and savagery coming from a battle. Balloons exploding mid-air, dead bodies, wounded soldiers or with amputated limbs, burials, bombings in cities, buildings and churches, and not less shocking, numberless scenes of dead horses. If Warburg dedicated his own life to the life and post-life of images as constructing of environments, such as the formula of pathos (*Pathosformel*, term coined by Warburg), without a doubt the historic political and cultural scenario of 1910's and 1920's would contribute for his deep and dramatic mental illness. Over 1500 war images collected by him would constitute a brutal and disturbing story of something not as distant, from another period or region, but close, in time and space. The scenario lived by Warburg and present in the war images would compose what Oliver Sacks calls profoundly delusional atmosphere, able to “favor hallucinations generated by extreme emotional states” (SACKS, 2013, p. 220).

Warburg's (hard) thinking, his image theory, his “nameless science”, his method

The conception of KBW, his library so zealously fed with new acquisitions and tireless searches (proven in the voluminous correspondence with booksellers and antiques) presents itself as inverse of a coin, whose hidden part reveals a completely transgressor thinking of the reigning disciplinary canon on the 19th and 20th century. There were not words

to describe the themes that Warburg elected as central for his “Culture Science”. That is why he created it, in neologisms that until today require effort from intellectuals. One of them was “Pathosformel” (formula of Pathos), to define images. Such concept intends to explode any “aesthetizing” attempt of understanding visuality (and image, in general). It presupposes that the object-image generates an impact on those who interact with it. Thus, an image, being a formula of pathos, is not defined by its formal characteristics, but by its potentialities of being impactful. And such potentiality exists as much as the historic path it has, storing energies from a route or historic path.

For that, Warburg coined the word “*Nachleben*”, “afterlife”. Therefore, every image materializes an afterlife, evoking previous layers of experiences. Another important concept is born with the neologism “*Denkraum*”, “space-thought”. Between one image and the other emerges a “space-thinking”, as well as it also happens between a person and an image, an alive and pulsing force. With so many other concepts like those, it is implied the position for a non-formalizing form of science. That way, he escapes the canon of a art history as history of forms as well as he escapes a pure and simple iconography or a history of styles. Warburg would be filled with rage facing the “exclusively aesthetizing” readings of images (including the artistic), following his disciple Carl Georg Heise, stating that such mentality must be locked within a “poison cabinet” (*Giftschrank*) in his library¹¹. “The great thematic spectrum of the methodology proposed by Warburg would only be the “Culture Sciences”, the same conceptual methodology that built the brilliant library¹².

One of the main concepts of Warburg’s methodology was the migration of images, something that is summarized in the expression created by him, *Bilderfahrzeug* (image vehicle). Such migration does not follow

11 The “poison cabinet” was a research object of Norval Baitello Jr., financed by Fapesp, in the Warburg archive, from November, 2018 to January, 2019.

12 Warburg’s contributions for a “science of image”, and, by extension, a “science of communication”, are briefly described by Norval Baitello Jr. in the entry “Warburg, Aby” (1866-1929), present in the *Communication Dictionary organized by Ciro Marcondes Filho* (2009).

lines of causality nor previsibility. An image can be present in the Greek imaginary and in the imaginary of Hopi indigenous people or in an African tribe, as well as in the Jewish-Christian myths, which demonstrates its power as carrier of symbols.

Warburg's methodology, which is being intensively studied in research linked with Warburg Institute, must consider the concept of symbol as a solid foundation from which image must be studied. It isn't about, in any hypothesis, a semiotic conceptualization of symbol, if not anchored in Friedrich Theodor Vischer's work. This is how the concept of Vischer is presented by Lescouret:

L'image et la signification ne font qu'un: le boeuf est l'image de la force parce que le boeuf est fort. Le serpent est l'image de la pluie parce qu'il est comme l'éclair. Puis Vischer (toujours selon l'exposé de Wind) distingue le symbole <magiquement assoiatif> de l'allégorie <logiquement dissociative>. Dans l'ecas, l'association entre l'image et la signification requiert l'assistance d'un prêtre qui accomplit la transsubstantiation au cours d'un rituel. Em revanche, dans le second cas, l'association entre l'image et son sens est superficielle: l'image n'est pas douée des pouvoirs de l'invisible qu'elle represente (LESCOURRET, 2014, p. 128-129).

The Warburgian method used both in his conference, in his text, in his atlas and in the construction of his library presupposes a complex relation among objects, its previous history and its future potentiality. "Impact" would be, therefore, something potentially present in an image, its capacity of capturing and transforming gazes generating environments. Warburg was concerned with *the Denkraum* (mental space) generated by an image or a family of images, being this *Denkraum* a type of atmosphere of symbols or a symbolic environment in which everyone who appropriates that image actively participates on. The environment never excludes the observer. This environment has, therefore, the power of a "*pharmakon*".

Image as a “*pharmakon*”

The word “*pharmakon*”, in Greek, means, in its origin, both substance that heals and substance that kills, both poison and medicine. If the handling of painful war images had contributed for a state of deep depression with hallucinatory episodes, the search for primal images of the Hopi culture had the restoring role of sobriety? These are questions we are authorized to do facing the theoretical framework proposed by Warburg. If such questioning has any pertinence, we should, then, question ourselves about the flood of images in the media environments we live immersed day and night. Warburg’s reflection never stuck to image objects of the art world, on the contrary, his objects of analysis and study used to go from the demonizing pamphlets to sarcophagus, from illustrations in books, magazines and almanacs to drawings in “*cassone*” (chests that would keep trousseaux). There is something specific in these images and in the environments they create that approaches the highly contaminated environments of persuasion of images that increasingly invade our homes and our bodies. The poisoning by images is manifested in what way nowadays?

From war images to the war of images (the strategy of the tobacco industry – the Ayrton Senna’s case)

From war images, as the ones who belonged in Warburg’s collection, now we experience another type of war: the media war. It is a “war of images”, that shock us, challenge us, moves with their seduction and their ability to impact. In its vast majority, it has as goal the decision-making process, whatever it is, the purchase of a product, a service or an idea. In the war of images, the goal is to sell. In this context, modern advertising is one of the main (if not the only one) of the communicative systems generating images, creating an atmosphere, environments and environmentalities. Not only in mainstream media, but advertisement also produces and shares images and reverberates meanings in different screens and platforms, competing with other sources of production and

circulation of utterances, such as social media (where advertisement is increasingly present).

But how the poisoning by images is manifested today? Let's work here with an example in which is possible to visualize "*Pathosformel*", in other words, the impact that the images can generate on the ones who interact with it: the images produced by the tobacco industry. Disorders associated to the tobacco are present in current versions of the current classificatory systems of mental illnesses, both in the International Classification of Illnesses (CID-10) of the World Health Organization²⁷ and in the 5th edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders of the American Psychiatric Association (DSM-5)⁴. In the DSM 5, the Disorder by tobacco use is included in the section "Disorders Related to Substances and Adiction", where are included the following classes of substances with addictive potential: alcohol, caffeine, cannabis, hallucinogens, inhalant drugs, opioids, sedatives/hypnotics/anxiolytics, stimulants (cocaine, amphetamines, and others), tobacco and others (or unknown drugs).

Smoking is considered a pandemic and a serious public health issue. Because of the global expansion of tobacco use in the 20th century, in 2016, 20% of the world population had used tobacco. In that same year, there were 1.1 billion adult smokers in the whole planet, number that was practically unaltered since 2000¹³. But how the cigarette industry had reached so many users? What are their strategies? How they engendered themselves in the heart of populations so different culturally and geographically, even bringing numberless harm to its users? The tobacco industry had consolidated itself in late 19th century and early 20th century, when cigarettes begin to be produced in an industrial scale and became the first globalized commercial product, mainly with massive presence in the battlefields of World War I.

13 Available at <<https://nacoesunidas.org/oms-1-em-cada-5-pessoas-no-mundo-fuma/>>.

Image 1 – A nurse from the Red Cross lights up a cigarette for a wounded soldier at the military hospital of Souilly, France, during the First World War, around 1917¹⁴



It wouldn't be possible to list, in one single article, all the tricks of the tobacco industry to sell their products in a world scale. In the present text, we are going to stick to one of the strategies – the ostensive use of images linked to sport, more specifically the Brazilian pilot Ayrton Senna. Even in relation to the advertisement campaigns of the tobacco industry, wouldn't be possible, in one only moment, list and analyze all of the released ad campaigns, since it was directed to many audiences and comprised different themes, since sports, health benefits, reduction of appetite, thinning, success, and charm, among others.

The tobacco industry has always aggressively invested in advertisement campaign, decisive fact, so that the behavior of smoking would gain a positive social representation, from the association of the tobacco

14 Available at <<https://br.historyplay.tv/noticias/fotos-mostram-momentos-dramaticos-enfrentados-por-medicos-de-combate>>.

use with the self-image ideal as: beauty freedom, success. One of the most emblematic episodes was a strategy of use of images to promote the “right to smoke as women”. In 1929, Edward Bernays, pioneer in the use of Psychology and Social Sciences for the persuasion of the consumer audience, architected one of the big episodes of marketing known as *Torches of Freedom*, when a group of women holding cigarettes participated the *Easter Sunday Parade*, parade taking place in Easter Sunday in New York (United States). Smoking, which until then was a part of the male universe, was passing on to feminine hands as a symbolic act that gathered rebelliousness, freedom, and feminism. What was behind this act: an advertisement plan to expand tobacco consumption having as target audience women.

Propagating through cinema, television, and as cultural and sport event sponsor of world reach (such as Formula 1, for example), and with the use of increasingly aggressive marketing strategies, tobacco kept growing, even among women, and the tobacco industry began to have stratospheric profit.

Considered one of the idols of the Brazilian and international sport, during almost all of their career Ayrton Senna, who would be 60 years-old in 2020, was sponsored by tobacco companies. According to the specialist in racing Marcos Júnior Micheletti (2019), Senna worked as the poster boy for companies of different fields and business, from bank corporations, toys, cars, fuel, and watches, but the biggest part of the pilot’s income came from the tobacco industry. From the four teams in which he competed, three of them were sponsored by cigarette manufacturers. When he began in Formula 1, at the Lotus team, the cigarette manufacturer John Player Special released a commercial in 1985 whose final message would say: “Speed up, Ayrton! John Player Special will keep up! John Player Special, flavor and emotion!” (MICHELETTI, 2019, s/p). Still at Lotus, Senna would be sponsored by another tobacco company, Camel, in 1987. Later, Senna ran with McLaren, wearing, for six seasons, the colors red and white of the tobacco company Marlboro. Marlboro was a brand present in big moments of the pilot’s career.

In 1994, Senna switched Marlboro (one of the brands of Philip Morris International, multinational corporation producing tobacco and related products, with products sold in over 180 countries) to the British Rothman's, brand extinct in 1999.

Image 2 – The cars driven by Ayrton Senna during his career, showing tobacco companies¹⁵,



In the sport universe, athletes who stand out in their categories are lifted to media fame. It is unthinkable, nowadays, an outstanding athlete that doesn't enjoy the financial benefits generated by the use of its image. Ayrton Senna was the face of tobacco advertisement in running courses, but also in sports media and in the news in general. With the transmission of races and news from the media events of Formula 1, the images of the sportsman would gain a discursive power in the different strands of media environments. The strand of communication is a concept in which communicative phenomena would spread, occupying different spaces, which would only be possible with the enhancement of electrical apparatuses that would never turn of and their increasingly

15 Available at <<https://terceirotempo.uol.com.br/noticias/ayrton-senna-que-completaria-59-anos-foi-garoto-propaganda-antes-mesmo-de-estrear-na-f1>>.

thin languages; just like the wind, images would spread through all the cracks in an ephemeral and volatile manner (BAITELLO, 2010).

The choice of having Ayrton Senna as one of the poster boys of the cigarette industry is not random. Senna was considered an idol, with success and fame. As defined by the dictionary, idol is a figure or an image that represents a god, an object of adoration; a hero, worthy of love, respect and admiration. Thinking about the image of media hero of today, the idol sells. Being an “image” in the advertisement universe corresponds to “selling”, and sales mean profit for the advertisers. Even after his death, the image “Ayrton Senna” is linked to many different products. In 2019, 25 years after his death, the brand Senna had already yielded about US\$ 2 billion.

Research performed in 2019¹⁶, 25 years after his death, reveals that Ayrton Senna is among five celebrities with the biggest rankings in some behavioral and influential attributes, such as humble, reliable, admiration, calm, multicultural, specialist in his area, engaged in social causes and religious. To this list, we could add victorious athlete, with great financial and professional success. In practically all the period in which he was a pilot in Formula 1, he mobilized important values linked to his image to promote smoking. When he was sponsored by the tobacco industry, Ayrton Senna worked as an image. Brands would fuse into his body, which would operate as a “media holder” (SANCHES, 2009). In a scenario of high exposure such as Formula 1, Senna would lend his body (and profited from it) so that the companies he would sponsor would gain visibility and also profit with the pilot’s accomplishments.

Pathogenic images – Warburg’s contributions to the study of image as *pharmakon*

Returning to the question: would images be pathogenic? The images of Aby Warburg war archive weren’t unscathed to the eye of the German research. They had, as he himself knew, an undeniable strength, a

16 Available at <https://gazetaweb.globo.com/portal/noticia/2019/04/senna-ainda-e-um-dos-mais-influentes-entre-as-personalidades-nacionais_75750.php>.

Pathosformel, showing the horror of battles and the suffering that beings of the own species could provoke to their peers or to other peers, like the animals. Images of the idol Ayrton Senna promoting cigarette consumption are not naive nor harmful: they are pathogenic and have the ability to impact.

The tobacco industry (here, associated with sport) is anchored in an industry of images. Their strength comes from a power of images technically thought out and built, which comprise historic and imagetic paths and insert us in a culturally built environment.

Images, as shown by Warburg, are connected to a previous history and a future potential. In order to think about image nowadays, it is important to reflect about the archeology of the same image, the historic environments and scenarios in which they are inserted, in addition to their impact now and in the future. Images coming from the contemporary sport universe have a history – since prehistoric times, coming through medieval competitions, Greece Olympic games, Jewish-Christian myths – sports lead humans to their limit, a continuous resistance of humankind for overcoming obstacles and transcendence.

Being a “mosaic of symbolic elements” (LESSA, 2008, p. 6), sport as a pre-historic activity, is associated to a series of other elements – one of them is the myth of the hero – in a phenomenon described by Warburg as *Bilderfahrzeug* (image vehicle). The myth of the hero is present both in the Greek or Jewish imaginary and in the sport environment (and in many other spheres) of the 21st century (the businessman that makes a company reach stratospheric profits is also a hero). In the concept of *Bilderfahrzeug*, the power of images through centuries do not happen diligently or in a calculated manner, but it lies in its ability of carrying symbols. It is through that that emerges the divine potential and the impact caused by images of athletes like Ayrton Senna. Worshiped inside and outside of Brazil, Senna is the personification of the hero, the idol (from the Greek *eídōlon*, which means statue, figure or image of a god, object of worshipping). It is still the archetype of the Olympic motto “*al-tius, citius, fortius*” or “the tallest, the fastest, the strongest” – motto that

could be updated and replaced by “more visibility, more sponsorship, more money” (RUBIO, 2016, s/p). It is not fortuitous that, 25 years after their death, Senna keeps being one of the most worshiped Brazilian celebrities and commercially lucrative.

The same Warburgian reasoning is present in the images that circulate in different strands and communicational environments and try, at all costs, impact the contemporary subject. In other words, it works as *pharmakon*, and can be pathogenic as it incites and promote harmful behaviors to the physical and mental health. It is not random that Ayrton Senna would appear in cigarette advertisement not only in the competition car, but also in his body. The history of the body is the history of civilization; therefore, images of the body tell stories of civilizations, of imaginaries. The aesthetic beauty of the body is present in practically all history of mankind, from the cult of nudity of paganism to the Renaissance, even in the perfect and muscular bodies of athletes in ancient Greece and nowadays. The remnants of the imaginary of bodies reverberate through the centuries and are present today, either in the athlete or in the common person.

Warburg’s collection of war images and the war of images promoted by the tobacco industry are faces of the same coin. The war images shock due to the horror and the closeness to death and destruction, and the wars of advertisement images work for seduction, and can lead to dangerous behaviors and disorders, such as the different malignant illnesses coming from the use of tobacco. In the example of the tobacco industry, it is clear the pathogeny of images. But the images as *pharmakon* are present in other media ambiances.

In the specific case of Senna, we are not questioning his ability or nature as an athlete or as a human being, but stating a fact: as an idol, therefore, as an image, he employed his body to share and spread the consumption of tobacco. His image would easily transit through different social statuses, ethnical groups and different ages. The strength of Ayrton Senna’s image (*Pathosformel*), his ability to impact and act as propeller of values and behaviors is undeniable. Here the image is

pathogenic when it induces to cigarette consumption, associated to an idol and everything he represented. Keeping in mind that the act of smoking is not harmless: 50% of smokers will die from tobacco-related diseases.

The Warburg case can offer subsidy for us to understand other situations of the use of image as *pharmakon*. In addition to the aforementioned tobacco industry, we can mobilize Warburg concepts to (re) think the efficacy and the strength of images in the stimulus to behaviors that are harmful to the physical and mental health (or both). In this study, we pointed towards the possibility of expanding Warburg's theories and concepts for the study of images. His contributions (his theory of image, his science and his method) can emerge as powerful expedients so that all of those who intend to think about the image not by its aesthetizing root, but as *pharmakon*. The contributions of such studies can go beyond the sciences of communication and comprise mainly the sciences whose subject is directly affected by the impact of pathogenic images, such as medicine (especially psychiatry) and psychology.

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Date of submission: 05/15/2020

Date of acceptance: 11/3/2020