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Comunicação, mídia e consumo

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Sumário

Artigos

"Merchan" como experiência de emancipação e cumplicidade: feminismo, autenticidade e consumo no YouTube

"Merch" as an experience of emancipation and complicity: feminism, authenticity and consumption on YouTube

Simone Evangelista[1]

Resumo: *A partir de debates sobre a práticas que orientam as performances de microcelebridades em plataformas digitais, busca-se compreender como três influenciadoras socialmente engajadas negociam esse status na produção de vídeos patrocinados. Analisa-se qualitativamente seis vídeos ligados a pautas feministas publicados no YouTube pelas brasileiras Júlia Tolezano, Maíra Medeiros e Nátaly Neri. As conclusões apontam para negociações entre as esferas do ativismo e do consumo a partir de dois traços performáticos predominantes: o consumo como experiência de emancipação feminista e reforço da cumplicidade com a audiência.*

Palavras-chave: *influenciadores digitais; feminismo; consumo; YouTube; performance.*

Abstract: *Based on debates about the practices that guide the performances of microcelebrities on digital platforms, we seek to understand how three socially engaged influencers negotiate this status in the production of sponsored videos. Six videos linked to feminist agendas published on YouTube by the Brazilians JúliaTolezano, Maíra Medeiros and NátalyNeri are qualitatively analyzed. The conclusions point to negotiations between the spheres of activism and*

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consumption from two predominant performative gestures: consumption as an experience of feminist emancipation and reinforcement of complicity with the audience.

Keywords: *digital influencers; feminism; consumption; YouTube; performance.*

Introduction

The "digital influencer" category indicates the professionalization of individuals that build communities around themselves on digital platforms, using their capacity to express themselves to interfere in decisions about consumption, lifestyles, and, in the cases previously mentioned, in the popularization of certain debates among their networks. The specificity of the term – which despite the simple translation, is often adopted in English (digital influencer), denoting the purpose of linking it to an idea of globalization – is related to the ability of certain subjects to obtain relevance on digital social network platforms based on the dynamics of these spaces. In the field of marketing, an influencer, as the name implies, is someone who is able to make an impact on other individuals within certain relevant consumer audiences, "directing purchase decisions or contributing to mold concepts and opinions about products and brands" (ANTUNES, 2018, p. 161).

If, at the beginning of the popularization of digital platforms, the female presence in these spaces was mostly linked to categories such as exploitation of sensuality (SENEFT, 2013), fashion and beauty (KARHAWI, 2017), in recent years an expansion of discourses and bodies in social networks has been observed. In this sense, socially engaged digital influencers (EVANGELISTA, 2020) stand out, as well as producers of content on topics that involve relevant social agendas today, such as feminism, veganism and the anti-racist struggle, among others. Although they sometimes address other topics, the recognition of their online presence in media appearances and/or marketing campaigns is strongly promoted by the perception of their involvement with such agendas (EVANGELISTA, 2020).

This is the case, for example, of Julia Tolezano, known as JoutJout. In 2014, the journalist published a video on YouTube entitled "*Vai de Copinho*"[2] ("Use the small cup"), in which she described a series of discoveries after adopting the menstrual cup. The young woman quickly

2   Available at: https://youtu.be/33lspg6LQBY. Access on: Aug 4. 2021.

reached thousands of people with her production, which was shared exhaustively in feminist groups on Facebook. Raised to the position of YouTube "star", she became a frequent character in advertisements on and off the platform, in addition to producing sponsored videos for several companies and services, often articulating discussions about themes related to feminism and sponsored actions.

In different times, combining an activist position with advertising campaigns in such an explicit way could have been a source of controversy. In the second decade of the 21st century, the approach to the market is presented with a certain pride, a sign of the status of counter-hegemonic discourses, cause and symptom of the changes in progress. For companies from different segments that invest more and more in actions targeting "female empowerment" – even creating their own classification for such initiatives, named *femversting* (AKESTAM; ROSENGREN; DAHLEN, 2017) – it seems like a great enterprise.

This shift is part of what Sarah Banet-Weiser classifies as "branding culture" (2012), a scenario in which marketing exponentially articulates social and cultural relationships. For the author, such a movement is a historical construction arising from economic and political changes in the West, notably the consolidation of neoliberalism, which will change the ways of valuing culture and the individuals themselves. Thus, in addition to goods and services, the branding culture involves the commercialization and sale of what is immaterial – feelings and affections, personalities and values (BANET-WEISER, 2012, p. 7). In this direction, there is a growing appeal to consumers to be loyal to certain brands and products, no longer for their qualities, but as a form of political action, creating a kind of commodified activism (MUKHERJEE;BANET-WEISER, 2012). As a historical construction, the shift in question precedes the popularization of digital platforms. However, the business model built around digital influencers adapts itself and reinforces this relationship, as such professionals are, as a rule, supported by sponsored personal content.

In order to understand the articulations that involve the publicization of social agendas in the context of digital platforms, this work investigates advertising actions involving three socially engaged Brazilian digital influencers connected to feminism and black feminism. As discussed in previous works (EVANGELISTA, 2020), the work of these influencers is considered to dialogue, albeit with reservations, with the notion of popular feminism, linked to the forms of visibility of the movement in contemporary commercial media (BANET-WEISER, 2018)[3].

Júlia Tolezano is 31 years old and began producing videos for YouTube in 2014. Since then, she has been the subject of several reports that classify her as the "chronicler of a generation" (RODROL; FINCO, 2016, online) and "the new YouTube sensation" (PARENTES, 2015) with "a touch of stand up comedy". Despite the popularity, Tolezano announced a pause on the channel in December 2019 and, subsequently, the closure of updates. Known for addressing female taboos, "Jout Jout Prazer" still totals 2.4 million subscribers in October 2022. The journalist continues to produce videos for the segment "Jout Jout de saia" on the cable channel GNT. Maíra Medeiros is 38 years old and holds a degree in advertising. Her channel, "*Nunca te pedi nada*" ("I've never asked you for anything"), has existed since 2015 and has 2.1 million subscribers. The youtuber gained visibility after releasing feminist parodies of big hits in Brazilian popular music. Medeiros is also recognized for addressing issues related to pop culture.

Nátaly Neri, 38 years old, runs the channel "*Afros e Afins*"[4] ("Afros and Alike"), later renamed with the youtuber's name, which has accumulated over 749,000 subscribers, since 2015. A member of feminist collectives linked to black movements, she became known especially for videos in which she discusses topics related to black self-esteem, anti-racist struggle, black feminism and veganism. In the process of elaborating the

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3   For Banet-Weiser (2018), popular feminism would be a spectacularization of the movement that refers to the debates on post-feminism. We argue, however, that the work of the analyzed youtubers points to the need for more diverse and complex nuances of the concept (EVANGELISTA, 2020).

4   Available at: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCjivwB8MrrGCMlIuoSdkrQg. Access on: Aug. 5, 2021.

corpus, Neri was the most popular black youtuber producer of socially engaged content on the platform, although very distant from the others selected[5].

After a brief discussion on the relationship between authenticity, performance and microcelebrities on the internet, we analyze six sponsored videos published between 2016 and 2018 on the channels *"Nunca te Pedi Nada"*, *"Afros e Afins"* e *"JoutJout Prazer"* ("JoutJout, nice to meet you"). In this way, we seek to understand which performance traits characterize the negotiations between influencers who use the reputation connected to activism as symbolic capital to obtain advertising messages, and vice versa[6].

With how many revelations does one build the authenticity of an internet celebrity?

As pointed out by Karhawi (2017), the "digital influencer" category has gained new guises according to the professionalization of the medium; in the early days of social media, influencers were considered prosumers or curators of content. For Crystal Abidin (2018), the term digital influencer refers to the professionalization of microcelebrity practices (SENFT, 2008; SENFT, 2013; MARWICK, 2013; MARWICK 2015). In a research on the role of camgirls on the internet, Australian researcher Thereza Senft (2008; 2013) associated their appearance with the term microcelebrity, here understood both as a denomination and as a social practice. The practice of a microcelebrity involves the use of techniques that include using videos, blogs and social networking websites to amplify the popularity of an individual. Whatever the platform, the notion is based on the assumption that it is necessary to manage online profiles as if they were brands in the expectation that the public will do the same (SENFT, 2013, p. 346). In a similar direction, Marwick and

5   One of the reasons for this disparity resides in the devaluation of black influencers by the market. When there is compensation, it is often lower than with white influencers (MONTEIRO, 2020).
6   This work is a revised version of an article presented at XXX COMPÓS (PUC/São Paulo). We thank the colleagues for their comments that contributed to the improvement of the text.

Boyd (2011) postulate that celebrities themselves should be considered as a practice to the detriment of innate characteristics or media industry labels. Such a practice involves elements such as maintaining a fan base, building intimate performances, showing authenticity, being accessible and becoming a product. In order to better understand this relationship, it is opportune to recall the work of Joshua Gamson (1994) on the history of fame in American culture. The author states that the process of industrialization of celebrities that gained momentum from the second half of the 20th century in that country was accompanied by an increase in talk about the stars. In addition to the multiple publications and programs dedicated to showing the daily lives and projects of the famous, the production of celebrities itself starts to become a topic to be investigated. Celebrities, explains Gamson, came to be represented explicitly to the audience not only as people capable of increasing sales, but as part of business themselves, a product.

The practices related to the concept of microcelebrity, therefore, represent a kind of "extension" of this booklet. Individuals who practice microcelebrity treat their audience as a fan base, even though their connections are formed by friends and/or relatives at first. In addition, they invest in building their online profiles in order to present coherent identities that are easy for the audience to consume, using different engagement techniques (MARWICK; BOYD, 2011). Finally, a central aspect: while celebrities can be considered a practice that relies on the mediation of mass media as a decisive element to exist, microcelebrities do not have the same support; therefore, they depend on the management of the fans to maintain their status on the web (MARWICK; BOYD, 2011; MARWICK, 2013; MARWICK, 2015).

Since the relationship between digital influencers and the audience is basically constituted from the way the former present themselves on digital platforms, the connections in these environments are perceived as more "real" (MARWICK, 2015). Carefully crafted on different digital platforms, this performance would be, for Marwick (2015), related to the construction of a representation suitable for consumption.

Such movement does not necessarily occur blindly; occasionally, the intricacies that surround this elaboration are discussed by influencers themselves with their audience. However, in a scenario marked by the crossing of different contexts and fierce competition for the attention of individuals, same subjects will be more successful in trying to mobilize their networks. In order to understand how and why this takes place in the case of digital influencers recognized by their connection with feminism, it is necessary to analyze the strategies for recognizing the authenticity of their online performances.

One of the main authors to address the subject[7], Schechner defines performance as the act of underlining "an action for those who watch" (SCHECHNER, 2006, p. 28). Far from belonging only to artistic and ritual movements, spaces in which the topic had already been extensively discussed (including by the author himself), performative action, explains the theorist, belongs to every manifestation of daily life. This is because every one of our gestures, whether long-term (ritual performances) or short-term (day-to-day acts, such as greeting someone), correspond, according to Schechner (2006, p. 34), to "restored behaviors". When adopting certain habits, rituals and routines, we behave according to premises that are part of the social system in which we are inserted. Therefore, performance is constituted by a series of restored behaviors, which can be rearranged or rebuilt. In this sense, clarifies the theorist, it is not always possible to unravel the process of construction of these gestures, either because of the lack of knowledge of this original "source", or because of the elaborations and distortions of myth and tradition, among other factors.

The author dialogues with Goffman's (1975) perspective of interactions, for whom every social interaction is mediated by codes that will be activated by the subjects when they "present themselves" to others in certain contexts. Based on the theatrical metaphor,

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7   Among the perspectives not addressed in this article are the relationships between performance and gender performativity (BUTLER, 2003), performance as epistemology (TAYLOR, 2013) and performance as a reference of individual value in the context of neoliberalism (EHRENBERG, 2010).

Goffman (1975) uses terms such as "facade" and "background" to name characteristics and behaviors deliberately exhibited by individuals to produce certain impressions (facades) and, by contrast, the aspects that they wish to hide, or keep in the backstage, under penalty of discrediting the "role" represented (background). Thus, the choice of elements such as language, clothing, makeup, gestures and postures that will compose each individual's facade is guided by their willingness to present an expressive coherence (PEREIRA DE SÁ; POLIVANOV, 2012), able to fulfill the expectations of the audience and, at the same time, to reinforce the presented facade. It is not by chance that Schechner's and Goffman's contributions on performance have been taken up in recent research on interactions and representations in digital environments (KELLER, 2012; POLIVANOV, 2014; PAPACHARISSI, 2015; GARCÍA-RAPP, 2016; ANTUNES, 2018).

In the case of microcelebrities who aim for the coveted place of "digital influencers", this management of expressive coherence becomes even more delicate, since the legitimation of the reputation they seek to build is crucial for them to be able to obtain some kind of authority on the networks in which they are involved. Before we proceed, it is worth mentioning that, when asking how socially engaged youtubers present themselves to their audience, we are thinking about the identity constructions of human beings influenced by the feedback they receive from the audience (ABIDIN, 2015; BAYM, 2010). Therefore, we are more interested in understanding how such performances reflect the intercessions – and eventual controversies – between activism and practices of microcelebrities than questioning whether they are "fictional" or "untrue" identities.

Methodological path

The corpus of this work is composed of six videos, two published in each of the selected channels[8]. The productions were selected from a survey

8   The selected productions are part of a larger sample of videos that composed the thesis defended by the author in 2019.

among all videos published on the respective channels between 2016 and 2018. The investigation of the material was based on precepts of content analysis (BARDIN, 2010) in conceptual articulation with studies about performance. From an intense reading of the data (GIBBS, 2009), we carried out the codification of the collected material, which consists of identifying passages related to certain themes (GIBBS, 2009) in order to build analytical categories that are relevant to the understanding of the phenomenon studied. The present article shows an analysis based on one of these categories, the relationship between feminist agendas and sponsored videos. We located five videos by Nátaly Nery, two by Maíra Medeiros and three by Julia Tolezano in these patterns. To arrive at a sample with the same number of videos for each youtuber, we used as a criterion the selection of elements in which "the characteristics of the research are present in an intense or evident way" (FRAGOSO; RECUERO; AMARAL, 2011, p. 79). Therefore, a sample of the intentional type and subtype by intensity (idem) was constituted.

The selected videos published by channel "*Afros e Afins*" were: "*Como aprendi a me amar*"[9] ("How I learned to love myself") and "*COLABORAÇÃO FEMININA - TAG #JuntasArrasamos*[10]" ("FEMALE COLLABORATION – TAG #TogetherWeRock"). The first one was published in January, 2017, with the hashtag *#PubliDoAmor* ("#PublicationOfLove"), used by the youtuber to signal the sponsorship of the Stabilo pen brand. In addition to making drawings with the brand's pens representing her process of self-discovery, the youtuber explains that she was invited to participate in the campaign "*Liberte suas cores*" ("Free your colors"). After recalling childhood stories and the suffering because of racism, she explains how the support of other black women was key in the conquest of self-love. In the case of the second video, entitled "*COLABORAÇÃO FEMININA - TAG #JuntasArrasamos*", Nátaly promotes the movement "*#juntas arrasamos*" ("#together we rock"), created by Seda beauty brand. The youtuber highlights that "As you

9   Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XYDAMHHWwEU. Access on: Oct 29, 2020.
10   Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_HsZEv1uNr4&t=14s. Access on: Oct 29, 2020.

know me, you already know that we do not participate in anything just to support the speech on diversity". After that, she says she was invited by the brand to respond to the tag and talks about themes such as dreams, women who are important in her life, the meaning of the word sorority, and women youtubers who encouraged her to love her own hair.

In *"JOUT JOUT NEM IMAGINAVA"* ("JOUT JOUT NEVER IMAGINED IT"), Júlia Tolezano announces her partnership with the company Fleurity for the sales of menstrual cups. The video is shot as a fake documentary, with several women interviewed about their relationship with menstruation and the cup – two of them mention the channel *"Jout Jout Prazer"* ("Jout Jout, nice to meet you") as an important source of information about the product. In the second selected production, *"6 TOQUES PARA UM CARNAVAL AGRADÁVEL"* ("6 TIPS FOR A PLEASANT CARNIVAL"), a warning in bold letters with a sound signal is displayed in the first few seconds: "Attention, you are entering a merch". Then, Júlia appears wearing a costume and talking with Caio, her partner on the channel, about where to place a case of Skol beer, the sponsor of the video, and explaining that the idea is to talk about "round" (correct) and "square" (wrong) attitudes during Carnival – the terminology refers to the beer's slogan, in which "round" means that the beer goes down smoothly. The youtuber uses a notebook to show what these wrong attitudes would be, such as harassing women during the festivity.

The two selected videos published by Maíra Medeiros were released in 2017. In the first one, *"PORQUE CHOREI NA MINHA PALESTRA DE AUTOESTIMA - Nunca Te Pedi Nada"* (WHY I CRIED IN MY SELF-ESTEEM LECTURE - I'VE NEVER ASKED YOU FOR ANYHTING"), the youtuber alternates images in her home and images shot during a lecture on creativity and female self-esteem sponsored by the brand Cravo & Canela. The youtuber gets emotional while remembering tough moments in her professional life due to her appearance. The second video by the youtuber, *"PQ NÃO TENHO MAIS VERGONHA DA MINHA BARRIGA - Nunca Te Pedi Nada"*

("WHY I'M NO LONGER ASHAMED OF MY BELLY – I've never asked you for anything"), was also sponsored by the brand. In the production, Maíra discusses the importance of "singularity". After criticizing the social impositions and standards, the youtuber explains that there are "things that are yours alone" and that the brand "girl power" decided to sponsor the production because of the relevance of the theme. Afterwards, she recalls moments from the past when she was ashamed to show her belly, moments that she has already overcome.

Consumption as a mediator of popular feminism experiences

Despite the differences between brands/products and the tone of the youtubers in the analyzed videos (sometimes more fun, sometimes more emotional), one common trait draws our attention: the notion that the articulation with the dimension of consumption can favor a certain emancipation. Unlike other "segments", such as beauty and fashion, which are very popular among the influencers, the idea of making sponsored videos is not limited to knowing a potentially interesting product or service and presenting it to the audience. Gestures like Maíra Medeiros' tears or JoutJout's "squeals" when announcing the partnership for the production of menstrual cups and the very content of these videos suggests that, from the experiences provided by the respective companies, a space for reflection is established. Unlike a possible conflict with the socially engaged dimension of these channels, the strategies adopted by the youtubers suggest that the connection with advertisers would operate to expand the perception around this engagement. Microcelebrity practices, in their grammars that point to forms of behaving in order to build and maintain captive audiences in digital environments, provide important clues for reflections on how such articulations are materialized. As previously discussed, the exposure of the intimacy of digital influencers has been shown to be an important feature of the emotional connection between them and the audience

(MARWICK, 2015). Unlike "conventional" celebrities, whose public visibility is often promoted by an aura of glamour reinforced by different media devices (EVANGELISTA, 2020), digital influencers have their main asset in building and maintaining their online communities.

In the case of the analyzed channels, many of the videos in the most popular list feature personal testimonials by the youtubers. Stories about some moment in their lives or insights into reality that invited them to think about the difficulties experienced by women of different races and social classes in Brazil. In addition to their speeches, clothing elements (such as clothes and accessories that reinforce the connection with blackness [Nátaly Neri], fun elements [Maíra Medeiros] or the simplicity/lack of these elements [Júlia Tolezano]), gestures (facial and body expressions of incredulity and outrage, for example) and even the setting of the videos help to compose the facade of the youtubers as feminists under construction (EVANGELISTA, 2020). If the partnership with different advertisers could present itself as a threat to such a facade, it is the repetition of these elements allied to the advertising discourses that helps to sustain the expressive coherence of the influencers in the videos.

In Nátaly Neri's production for the beauty products brand Seda, for example, the brand's positioning is praised at several moments and the process of negotiation itself is explained as a way of seeking an expressive coherence with her previous videos. "That's why I say that I'm very proud to be with Seda this year, because the effective, real actions to discuss female collaboration and encourage the collaboration between women will be taken", she guarantees. On the other hand, more than any financial gains, she emphasizes that the partnership also represents her commitment to the idea of being more "positive". In addition to encouraging her to become more optimistic, the partnership is pointed out as a reason for Nátaly to reflect on the idea of sorority, "a concept about which, I must confess, I have some suspicion. I've already said this here on the channel, but it is a term that I'm always forcing myself to rescue". The youtuber also says she was invited to reflect on herself in

the campaign "*#Libertesuascores*" ("#Freeyourcolors"). "They asked me: Nátaly, what set your colors free? And I kept thinking 'what set my colors free?'. These were very important processes that I'm sure might help you in some way". In addition to praising the effects of the therapeutic process triggered by the partnership with the brand, the youtuber points out that the advertisement was the "perfect opportunity" because she had wanted to "talk to you about this for a while". From there, she recalls different moments of her trajectory in search of self-esteem, emphasizing that "this is not my story, this is the story of all black women".

In a similar direction, the video "*PORQUE CHOREI NA MINHA PALESTRA DE AUTOESTIMA*"" ("WHY I CRIED IN MY SELF-ESTEEM LECTURE"), by Maíra Medeiros, shows the youtuber revisiting her maturing process. Between scenes of a lecture and explanations recorded afterwards, she says that she was moved by realizing the mechanisms of oppression that acted on her trajectory, related to the history of all women. "When I stop to think and take stock of my life, I realize how much male chauvinism and this sexist society is harmful (SIC) for the growth (...) of women in society". In the video "*PQ NÃO TENHO MAIS VERGONHA DA MINHA BARRIGA*" ("WHY I'M NO LONGER ASHAMED OF MY BELLY"), sponsored by the same brand (which she classifies as "super girl power"), the youtuber explains that she was invited to discuss the concept of singularity, "that small thing that makes us be ourselves and ourselves only". To do so, she recalls many stories from the past, linked especially to the rejection of her own body. "When I was much younger, I weighed 40 kilos less and never showed my belly on any occasion. I hid what made me feel unique", she says. Although she does not use the term "feminism" or a similar one, she implies that everything changed from the moment when she realized she no longer needed to "stick to small social groups" in order to be accepted, a process she had already described in previous videos as part of her awareness as a feminist.

Irony as reinforcement of complicity: attention to "merchs"

If Neri and Medeiros' sponsored videos are very much guided by the sharing of personal information of the youtubers, the campaigns starring Júlia Tolezano are marked by a dose of irony. Incarnating, in a certain way, the ironic spirit through which a part of the audience analyzed the relationship between advertisement and celebrities (GAMSON, 1994), the young woman often places humorous alerts at the beginning of this type of production, announcing that they are "merchs", a tender short for the term merchandising.

The meta-language around sponsored videos reaches its apex in "*JoutJout nem imaginava*" (JoutJout never imagined it"), which can be exemplified by the display of the alert "*JoutJout News em um automerchan*" ("JoutJout News in an automerch") in the first few minutes of the production. The several "testimonies" highlight precisely Tolzezano's role in the promotion of the instrument – one of the first videos on her channel to gain visibility, in 2015, is called "*Vai de copinho*" ("Chose the cup") and brings her experience on the use of menstrual cups. The only time the youtuber abandons her "serious" role as a reporter is when she explains the partnership with the brand. "Fleurity started making the cup because they saw this video, saw the repercussion and then launched themselves into the world of cups too and it was super successful, they sold a lot. And now we are going to make FleuritybyJoutJout cups. Isn't that wonderful?", she celebrates. In the sponsored video for Skol brewery, in addition to the initial alert about the "merch", there is an emphasis on the conversation between Júlia and Caio, who acts as a cameraman, about the best way to position a case of beer: "It would be better to place it in the background, right? (...) Or would it be too much... Like, oh, we wanted to put in the back so that no one would notice that we put it in the back?". Then, she slightly laughs, almost embarrassed, when mentioning that the brand, known for "going down smoothly", has invited her to talk about "round" and "square" attitudes during Carnival.

In a certain sense, the posture in relation to the dialogue with market players reminds us of the irony pointed out by Joshua Gamson (1994) regarding the "construction" of celebrities. Knowing the intricacies behind the articulation of a star, explains the author, does not necessarily desecrate the industry of celebrities, but presents a new form of fruition of this universe by a part of the public. From this point of view, the celebration of advertising partnerships by some of the digital influencers can be understood as a step forward in terms of the popularization of a pedagogy of the formation of celebrities and of their cultural intermediaries. Revealing how the negotiations took place for the realization of a particular contract, or specifying that it is necessary to say the slogan of a sponsor during the recording of a video, is to open wide the Pandora's box that keeps the secrets to fame, allowing the audience to follow in "real time" the consolidation of her status as a digital influencer.

In this direction, the humorous tone acts in favor of the construction of emotional connections between the youtuber and her audience: by showing herself to be "sloppy" regarding the way to behave in commercial videos or dazzled with the release of a product with her name, Júlia reinforces performance traits built throughout her trajectory on the channel. Almost always wearing no makeup, with her messy hair and simple clothes, the youtuber, among the ones analyzed, is the one that invests the most in the notion of accessibility, that she is a "common" person. In the sponsored actions, she highlights the ironic tone by using metalanguage as a narrative resource, as if she were simultaneously in the place of those who promote the advertising message at the same time as she is thinking about the best way to do it without "deceiving" her audience.

Such a position also reminds us of the relationship that Shifman (2012) establishes between comedy genres and the cultural logic of the internet. In an analysis of popular mimetic videos on YouTube, the author argues that parody and pastiche were cultural practices relegated to smaller groups, such as certain fandoms. With the popularization

of the web, activities such as copying, imitating and changing certain texts became commonplace, contributing to the development of a certain grammar. Although the kind of humor present in the videos of the channel *"JoutJout Prazer"* ("JoutJout, Nice to meet you") is not necessarily mimetic, it can be considered that some characteristics of the author have been consolidated throughout the years as a "youtubety" of the videos on the platform (BURGESS; GREEN, 2009). In other words, part of the elements that contributed to consolidate a perception about the specificity of the videos that circulate within the video portal.

Finally, just like Maíra Medeiros and Natály Neri, the youtuber also reveals the intention to promote collective benefits for women. More than emphasizing the quality of the products advertised in the videos (the beer, for example, appears in the video almost as a "necessary evil'), the productions focus, in different ways, on the defense of female freedom. Although this strategy is far from unprecedented, especially in times when the previously mentioned *femvertising* is on the rise, what is worth highlighting in the analyzed material is the intertwining between the areas of consumption and the social engagement mediated by the figure of the digital influencers in question.

Final considerations

As occurs with microcelebrities in a broader way, managing the aura of authenticity necessary to establish connections with the audience – at the same time as this influence is important in advertisement campaigns – involves a delicate balance. Even though the audience is aware that certain content published by theses authors is sponsored, they need to believe that there is a real endorsement and, at the same time, that the connections with certain brands do not change behaviors and ways of thinking exposed in their profiles on digital platforms, which would discredit the identity "materialized" by them. When it comes to microcelebrities that seek more explicit connections to issues related to social agendas, achieving such balance becomes an even more complex endeavor. The analysis presented suggests a movement of symbiosis

between the discourses promoted from partnerships with different brands and the performances presented by the youtubers on their channels. Just as the endorsement of celebrities humanizes consumption (ROJEK, 2008), the discourse of microcelebrities contributes to bringing the audience closer to the social causes that they defend, since this mediation takes place in a context strongly marked by emotional bonds. In this sense, the investigation points to another amalgam, in which the proposals of advertising campaigns merge with reports about the life trajectory of the protagonists to produce "empowerment" speeches. In other words, participation in the actions does not only act as a means of financing the work they already develop – which probably would already be a reason for recognition by their fans – but represents a new stage in their search for self-esteem and acceptance. Therefore, the participation in the aforementioned campaigns also contributes to humanizing digital influencers even more, presenting them as accessible, humorous and vulnerable people. In this context, the participation in advertising campaigns appears as another element capable of contributing to the development of certain notions of femininity, becoming important for the repertoire of restored behaviors, to use Schechner's term, which will be performed from then on.

If, on the one hand, the endorsement of certain brands by youtubers is accompanied by an attempt to legitimize their products and services and also their commitment to the ideals they defend, there are several occasions in which the women themselves use their channels for critical reflections on the market in which they act as poster girls. For example, we mentioned a speech by Maíra Medeiros in the video "*Pq as mulheres estão 100 anos atrás dos homens?*" ("Why are women 100 years behind men?"). The youtuber points precisely to consumption as one of the factors for gender inequality. "Notice that a man has two or three pairs of shoes... We are socially stimulated to have many pairs", highlights the same youtuber who did advertising actions for a brand of shoes and handbags in the videos analyzed in this work. The episode illustrates a relationship filled with contradictions, in which commodified

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activism (MUKHERJEE; BANET-WEISER, 2012) seems to coexist with strategic uses of dialogue with the market for the development of feminist identities in constant (re) elaboration.

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A R T I G O

La mujer en la publicidad televisiva durante la pandemia COVID-19 en España y Portugal

Women in TV advertising during the pandemic COVID-19 in Spain and Portugal

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Resumen: *Este artículo estudia el papel de las mujeres en los anuncios te-levisivos durante los dos primeros años de pandemia por COVID-19 en España y Portugal. A través de un diseño metodológico mixto y de inspiración semióti-ca elaboramos una ficha de análisis que incorpora variables relacionadas con cuestiones de género, estereotipos femeninos y representatividad de la mujer en publicidad. Analizamos una muestra de anuncios televisivos emitidos en televi-sión y en horario de prime time de ambos países. Se pudo constatar qué si bien las mujeres han emergido con cierto protagonismo, se las retrata frecuentemente como cuidadoras, madres y amas de casa. En este sentido, reflexionamos sobre el papel de la publicidad como vehículo determinante para mitigar las diferencias y, en consecuencia, para una posible deconstrucción de los estereotipos de género.*
Palabras clave: *Publicidad; Televisión; Estereotipos de Género; Mujer; CO-VID-19; España; Portugal.*

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Abstract: *This article studies the role of women in television advertisements during the first two years of the COVID-19 pandemic in Spain and Portugal. Through a mixed methodological design and semiotically inspired, we elaborated an analysis sheet that incorporates variables related to gender issues, female stereotypes and representativeness of women in advertising. We analyze a sample of television advertisements broadcast on television and during prime time in both countries. It was found that although women have emerged with a certain prominence, they are frequently portrayed as caregivers, mothers and housewives. In this sense, we reflect on the role of advertising as a determining vehicle to mitigate differences and, consequently, for a possible deconstruction of gender stereotypes.*

Keywords: *Advertising; TV; Gender Stereotypes; Woman; COVID-19; Spain; Portugal.*

Introducción

Una expresión popular en España afirma que los tiempos difíciles, los tiempos de cambios acelerados como los que estamos viviendo ahora, son tiempos de oportunidades. Oportunidades de cualquier tipo, claro, que en lo social quizás nos sirvan para cambiar estereotipos de género largamente sostenidos por la reproducción mediática. Esa que utiliza las representaciones estereotipadas para acelerar los procesos de recepción y comprensión de los mensajes por parte de las audiencias, facilitando la correcta interpretación de las intenciones del emisor por parte de las audiencias. La publicidad es el género discursivo, en los medios de comunicación, más prolífico en la recreación de mundos ideales ofertados como accesibles con la única condición de consumir y la estrategia más repetida es la de la reproducción de los estereotipos socialmente más difundidos para ahorrar tiempo y facilitar el reconocimiento.

Teniendo en cuenta este deseo y este contexto mediático y pandémico, planteamos un estudio centrado en el análisis de la publicidad emitida por los canales generalistas, en *prime time*, durante el estado de emergencia en España y Portugal, aprovechando la colaboración investigadora que ya habíamos puesto en marcha. Desde la aparición de la pandemia por COVID-19, se han vivido periodos de confinamiento que han dejado huella en la sociedad, debido a la incertidumbre inicial en torno a lo desconocido y a las siguientes situaciones de hastío, que nos han hecho vivir en esos tiempos difíciles, de cambios acelerados, a los que nos referíamos al principio. Ante el nacimiento de una nueva realidad, en una sociedad todavía muy marcada por valores patriarcales a menudo reproducidos por la publicidad, también creció el interés por analizar el papel que juega la mujer en la publicidad, de modo que nos hicimos la siguiente pregunta inicial: ¿Cuál es el papel de las mujeres en la publicidad televisiva durante el período del Estado de Emergencia en 2020, provocado por la pandemia Covid-19 en España y Portugal?

Aunque es innegable que la publicidad tiene el poder de empoderar a diferentes públicos, sin embargo, como sostienen algunos autores (STEINHAGEN; EINSEND; KNOLL, 2009; JORGE; CERQUEIRA;

MAGALHÃES, 2014), provoca una visión paradójica que sedimenta los valores culturales tradicionales y el orden social dominante, lo que la convierte en un género extremadamente sexista. Es decir, la publicidad se asume como un campo donde las diferencias entre hombres y mujeres son particularmente acentuadas y persistentes (PAULO, 2020). Si bien existen diferentes teorías cuyo objeto de estudio se centra en los estereotipos de género en la publicidad, casi todas argumentan que, más que una simple característica, el género es considerado una estructura social con enorme poder (CORREIA *et al.*, 2013). En esta línea argumental, fue Erving Goffman (1976) quien comenzó a estudiar cuestiones de género, al hacer un análisis de la forma en que hombres y mujeres estaban representados en la publicidad occidental, con el fin de comprender cómo las representaciones sociales eran retratadas y reproducidas por la publicidad. De esta forma, analizó cómo se utilizarían las situaciones sociales como fuente para crear retratos instantáneos y dualizados que constituirían la aparente naturaleza humana de cada género. Confirmó la existencia de una "etiqueta de género", un conjunto de reglas y estereotipos de cómo debe comportarse cada género y qué se espera de ellos, cómo por ejemplo, que en un acto social se defina socialmente que le das la mano a un hombre y besas a una mujer, o que la mujer siempre aparezca asociada a los trabajos domésticos en los anuncios publicitarios. Se cuestionó la correlación establecida entre los roles asignados social y culturalmente al género y la función biológica, cuestionando la idea de que estos roles están completamente definidos por la biología con la idea de las llamadas pantallas de género, o roles culturales que asignan determinadas maneras de actuar.

El análisis que proponemos en este trabajo, servirá para verificar si la difusión publicitaria durante el período de confinamiento, ha continuado transmitiendo estereotipos de género previamente señalados en la literatura existente (GOFFMAN, 1976; MOTA RIBEIRO, 2003). De ahí que pretendamos: a) Estudiar la representación de la mujer en la publicidad, en el período analizado; b) Analizar semióticamente los anuncios emitidos en prime time por los canales generalistas

portugueses y españoles durante el período del estado de emergencia, en 2020, examinando la representación femenina durante este período. Para dar respuesta a la pregunta inicial y los objetivos propuestos, después de la revisión bibliográfica hemos realizado un análisis semiótico de los anuncios del periodo, con el que hemos podido plantear una discusión final. La elección de este espacio temporal (el del confinamiento forzoso) y del medio televisivo respondió a dos motivaciones principales; por una parte, durante los primeros meses de la pandemia se incrementó notablemente el consumo del medio televisión (MEIOS, 2020), por otra parte, los confinamientos domiciliarios de la población primero y las restricciones en el tránsito de personas en espacios abiertos y el ocio reuniones, celebraciones y diversos actos multitudinarios- provocaron que el tiempo de estancia en casa de la población se multiplicase exponencialmente. Fue en este contexto de encerramiento y restricciones precisamente, el entorno que parecía más idóneo para el estudio de la pervivencia, o no, de estereotipos (del tipo pantalla de género) relacionados con la mujer; el ámbito doméstico, las tareas, los roles y el papel que la mujer desempeña en la sociedad transmitido a través de los medios. Medios de comunicación que, como pilares sociales y políticos que determinan la construcción de identidades, deben ser vistos como espacios de difusión e intercambio de ideas en determinadas sociedades y con un alto peso en las dinámicas sociales (VALBUENA DE LA FONTE, 1997; SILVEIRINHA, 2001; STEINHAGEN; EINSEND; KNOLL, 2009). En este sentido, el tema de la representación de hombres y mujeres en la publicidad ha venido recibiendo una atención importante, principalmente porque los medios de comunicación, en general, y la publicidad, en particular, son mecanismos por excelencia para el intercambio y difusión de las diferentes representaciones de género.

Metodología

Para la elaboración del estudio empleamos una metodología mixta que introduce elementos cuantitativos para cuantificar los resultados obtenidos del análisis y, cualitativos que facilitan la interpretación.

Entendemos qué en virtud de la complejidad de los problemas de investigación en ciencias sociales, un diseño híbrido amplía las posibilidades de comprender en mayor profundidad el fenómeno, ya que podemos aumentar el pensamiento conceptual y buscar nuevas formas de responder a las preguntas de investigación (EDWARDS, 2008, p. 484). Tras la recogida y el análisis de anuncios televisivos, emitidos por las televisiones generalistas de España y Portugal en el período entre el 19 de marzo de 2020 y el 2 de mayo de 2021 (desde el inicio de los estados de emergencia (PT) y confinamiento (ES) hasta la relajación de las medidas preventivas). La elección del medio televisivo responde al interés por un medio tradicional que ha recuperado terreno gracias a los cambios en los hábitos de consumo de medios durante la pandemia (MARCOS, 2021). La muestra no probabilística de anuncios fue extraída a partir del visionado y grabación de los bloques publicitarios emitidos en horario de *prime time* (21:45 a 22:50) y en las cadenas de televisión más vistas en esa franja horaria. Tras un primer visionado se obtuvieron un total de 114 anuncios diferentes. A continuación, realizamos una primera criba para eliminar aquellos que no presentaban ninguna referencia a la crisis sanitaria por COVID-19 y, seguidamente, aquellos en los que no había presencia de mujeres de forma explícita o implícita. Se eliminaron, además, espacios de patrocinio, mensajes autopromocionales o anuncios producidos mediante infografías o grafismos exclusivamente. La muestra final arrojó un total de 62 anuncios (54%); 23 emitidos en Portugal y 39 emitidos en España. Observamos igualmente un descenso en el número de anuncios con temática COVID-19, el decrecimiento en la incidencia del virus y las campañas de vacunación hicieron descender las referencias en los mensajes. Encontramos 50 anuncios (81%) con temática COVID-19 en 2020 y 12 (19%) en 2021 (véase Quadro 1).

El diseño metodológico que proponemos asume, en primer lugar y en sentido amplio, la herencia teórica y metodológica en torno al análisis publicitario (PÉREZ-TORNERO, 1982; JOANNIS, 1996; BARTHES, 1999; CHILLÓN 2000; ALBERTO-PÉREZ, 2001; MENDIZ, 2005; MADRID CÁNOVAS, 2007; EGUIZÁBAL, 2007; CARO,

2008; PINEDA, 2018). La orientación semiótica de nuestro trabajo parte de la consideración de esta como una de las bases sobre las que se construye el estudio del discurso de la publicidad (HELLÍN; SAN NICOLÁS, 2016). En sentido estricto y enfocado con el objeto de estudio, incorporamos las aportaciones de Mota-Ribeiro (2003) y Diaz-Soloaga (2007) en relación a las cuestiones de género, estereotipos femeninos y representatividad de la mujer en publicidad (véase Quadro 2). Para Mota-Ribeiro (2003) las imágenes que reproduce la publicidad están íntimamente ligadas a una ideología cultural, en el caso de la figura femenina no se muestra cómo actúa, sino cómo la sociedad entiende que debe actuar. El discurso publicitario como sistema ideológico contribuye a la estereotipación de la imagen femenina porque refleja modelos socialmente aprobados, termina contribuyendo a la implementación y estandarización de ciertas realidades e ideas aceptadas en la sociedad. Por tanto, la publicidad es un espacio donde las diferencias entre géneros son particularmente evidentes, contribuyendo a ello, a través de la insistencia en representaciones sociales tipificadas. Es imperativo, por tanto, cuestionar y analizar el tipo de discurso en el que se introducen las mujeres.

A partir de aquí el autor clasificó los distintos "tipos" de mujeres presentes en el discurso publicitario. En primer lugar, está la "mujer observada", que explica el hecho de que la mujer es objeto de la mirada del espectador y, por tanto, objetivada. La "mujer hermosa", que comparte un cierto ideal de belleza, la mayoría de las veces irreal (se dejan fuera las "imperfecciones" de la mujer común) como las representaciones de la mujer joven, delgada y sin defectos. Finalmente, la autora destaca la "mujer erótica", relacionada con la sexualización del cuerpo femenino, en la que se resalta el cuerpo, se hace más visible (ya sea a través de ropa semidesnuda o reducida) y con poses y movimientos que lo convierten en un objeto de deseo. Para Diaz-Soloaga (2007) el estudio de la presencia femenina en la publicidad determina la existencia de 5 factores correspondientes con otros tantos estereotipos femeninos: Mujer tradicional, donde la mujer refleja valores como el amor, la maternidad o la

familia; Mujer transgresora, compuesto por ítems que aluden al triunfo, la libertad, la conquista y la transgresión; Mujer frágil o sometida, debilidad, languidez, sometimiento; Mujer hedonista-sensual, representada por la seducción y el placer, y Mujer funcional y moderna, asociada con la imagen de modernidad, gozo o comodidad. Es de este último grupo del que proviene nuestra aportación que llamamos Mujer empoderada. En este sentido introducimos el debate sobre las imágenes de la mujer que se remonta a mediados de los setenta del siglo XX y que se centró en el análisis y estudio del papel de los medios en la socialización de las mujeres en nociones restrictivas de feminidad. Los primeros estudios sobre televisión, por ejemplo, mostraban cómo las mujeres estaban sufriendo un proceso de "aniquilación simbólica" (TUCHMAN, 1978) al aparecer infrarrepresentadas y con menos posibilidades de aparecer empleadas fuera del hogar.

> El empoderamiento se entiende, por un lado, como proceso individual: es el proceso por el cual una mujer individual evoluciona de manera personal, hasta hacerse consciente de sus derechos y consolidar, a partir de ahí, su poder, su autoestima y su autonomía personales. Pero también se puede entender el empoderamiento como proceso colectivo: se trata entonces de aunar las subjetividades femeninas para organizarse en la lucha política por sus intereses de género y conseguir una transformación completa de las desigualdades de género en todos los frentes (político, social, económico, cultural, etc.). (POSADA, 2020).

A partir de estos fundamentos elaboramos una ficha de análisis compuesta de dos tipos de variables: variables independientes y variables dependientes (no objetivas, sino sujetas al criterio del codificador). Las variables dependientes, además, se aglutinan en tres bloques correspondientes a tres estereotipos fundamentales (véase Quadro 1). De cara a medir la presencia de diferentes estereotipos dentro de los anuncios, se analizaron de forma dicotómica (0 = no; 1 = sí), 22 sub-variables que determinaban las características reflejadas por las mujeres en los anuncios. Los materiales (spots publicitarios) fueron grabados en un soporte digital para su posterior análisis mediante el programa Excel.

Quadro 1 - Ficha de análisis publicitario

Variables independientes	
País; Año; Marca (anunciante); Sector productivo	
Variables dependientes	
Mujer Objeto. Bella	Las mujeres son objeto de la mirada del espectador y, por tanto, objetivadas. Comparten un cierto ideal de belleza, la mayoría de las veces irreal (se dejan fuera las imperfecciones de la mujer común), dominan las representaciones de la mujer joven, delgada y sin defectos. *Sub-Variables: Familia; Amistad; Languidez; Maternidad; Fidelidad; Dependencia; Debilidad; Soledad; Alegría; Lujo; Actitud contemplativa;Belleza e Higiene; Labores domésticas.*
Mujer Erótica	Relacionado con la "sexualización" del cuerpo femenino, en el que el cuerpo se resalta, se hace más visible (ya sea a través de ropa semitransparente o con poca ropa) y con poses y movimientos que la convierten en objeto de deseo. *Sub-Variables: Amor; Sensualidad; Placer; Atracción sexual; Narcisismo.*
Mujer Empoderada. Profesional	Sobre la base de la igualdad entre géneros, expresa independencia, capacidad, autonomía y reconocimiento. *Sub-Variables: Triunfo; Éxito profesional; Competitividad; Libertad; Esfuerzo personal; Agresividad; Independencia; Ocio; Diversión; Experta.*

Fuente: Elaboración propia.

Resultados

En relación a las variables independientes, en los 62 anuncios seleccionados encontramos 21 anunciantes diferentes (véase Quadro 2 en el que se muestran ordenados según fecha de emisión).

Quadro 2 - Muestra de anuncios analizados en España y Portugal. 2020-2021

Anunciante	Anunciante	Anunciante
TVi	Renfe	Ikea
DGS	Securitas Direct	DIA
Intermarché	MGS	Yoigo
Turismo Portugal	Mapfre	Caixa Bank
Nos	A.E.C.C.	Grupo ONCE
Bankinter	Gallina Blanca	Gobierno de España
Continente	Linea Directa	Vodafone
Banco Santander	Aquaservice	Hofmann
McDonalds	Naturgy	Caser
Worten	VIU	Iberdrola
Dove	Amstel	Última - Purina
SCML	El Pozo	ASEVI
Schweppes	Multiópticas	Santa Lucía
Bankia	Uppers.es	Dr. Oetker
Cofidis	Balay	Garnier
Pascual	Siemens	Ministerio de Sanidad
Nivea	Orange	Sagres

Fuente: Elaboración propia.

Estos anunciantes pertenecen a 11 sectores productivos (véase Figura 1). En este sentido observamos que destacan los sectores: "Alimentación" y "Comercio-Distribución", seguidos de un grupo formado por: "Banca"; "Institucional"; "Telecomunicaciones" y "Seguros". "Belleza e Higiene" se situaría en el grupo de menor presencia junto a: "Medios"; "Energía"; "Formación" y "Transporte".

Figura 1 – Porcentaje de anuncios por sectores productivos
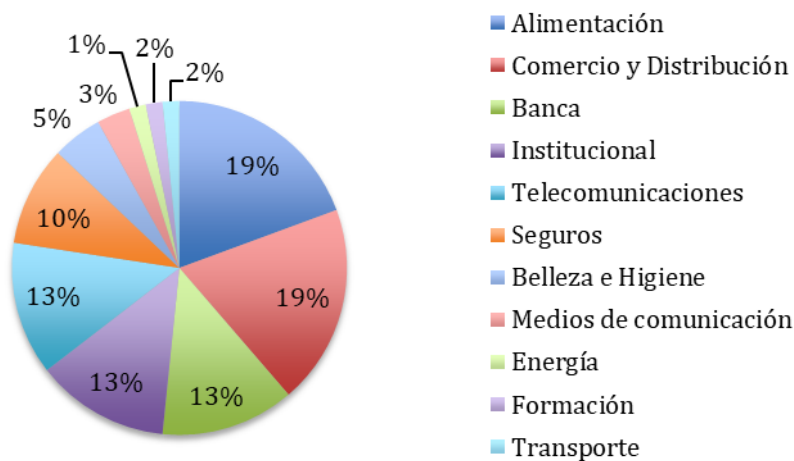
Fuente: Elaboración propia.

La presencia de las sub-variables en los anuncios (figura 2) refleja una superioridad evidente de escenas en las que la presencia femenina se ve asociada a: "Familia"; "Maternidad"; "Labores domésticas"; "Actitud contemplativa"; "Esfera profesional" y "Belleza e Higiene". En este sentido hemos de aclarar que las sub-variables no son excluyentes, es decir, en un mismo anuncio pueden aparecer varias pertenecientes a variables diferentes.

Figura 2 – Presencia de sub-variables en los anuncios
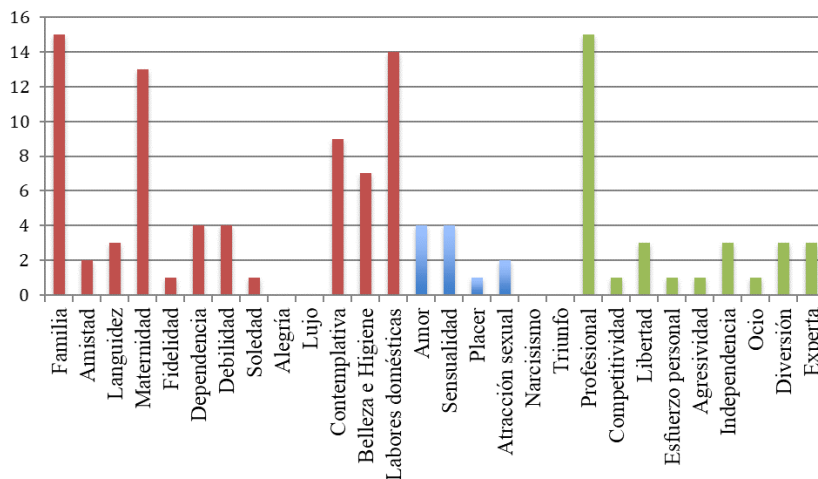
Fuente: Elaboración propia.

Para facilitar la comprensión y lectura de los resultados obtenidos, hemos generado una serie de marcadores temáticos que agrupan los aspectos más recurrentes observados en la muestra.

a) La mujer contemplativa, familiar, sensible y dependiente. Relacionado con la categoría "mujer objeto-belleza" encontramos reiteradamente apariciones femeninas en actitudes contemplativas. Con frecuencia se muestra a la mujer en casa, en pie mirando por la ventana o sentada, con gesto relajado y alguna bebida caliente en la mano (véase figura 3). Viste con atuendo hogareño; está sola en casa (CaixaBank; MGS Seguros; Aquaservice; El Pozo; Hofmann); sola en un exterior natural. (Turismo de Portugal; Continente; Worten) o incluso viajando (Renfe). En algunos casos llega a expresar cierta languidez y fragilidad (TVi). Otro aspecto a destacar es la aparición de la mujer como un ser sensible que necesita cuidados (Garnier; Dove; Orange), a la que le preocupa ante todo el contacto humano (Nivea) o que literalmente busca que "alguien mire por ella" (Multiópticas). En ocasiones aparece relajada y confiada, casi inconsciente de los peligros que le acechan en

la pandemia (Sagres). La mujer acompaña al hombre y le aconseja en silencio y a la sombra (Vodafone 2). En el ámbito familiar aparece como cuidadora de niños (CaixaBank; Gobierno de España; Banco Santander D); cuidadora de ancianos (Vodafone C; Cáser; Leche Pascual), y de mascotas (Vodafone B: Santa Lucía; Ultima-Purina). El cuidado de los niños implica también su entretenimiento en casa a causa del confinamiento y el control de su educación (Banco Santander). Lucha por mantener a salvo a la unidad familiar (Ikea). Está a cargo de los suministros básicos del hogar como la alimentación, la seguridad o la energía (Bankia; Aquaservice; Yoigo; McDonalds C; Siemens; Securitas Direct). Las mujeres de edad avanzada o bien son dependientes y necesitan el cuidado de otros o bien aparecen cocinando (Mapfre; Gallina Blanca; Schweppes). La marca de productos de limpieza Asevi afirma: ¿Limpias tu casa o ella te limpia a ti? A veces es una pareja cariñosa y fiel (Cofidis). Incluso en casos en los que aparecen mujeres jóvenes o adolescentes, ellas se encargan de "servir las bebidas" mientras el hombre se divierte en casa o en el balcón para aplaudir durante el confinamiento (Schweppes). Los momentos de diversión, ocio o celebración también son residuales (Amstel). Los personajes masculinos aparecen frecuentemente como meros ayudantes o acompañantes. Encontramos a algunos hombres realizando tareas domésticas simples, aparecen en segundo plano, ayudan a cocinar o a cuidar de los hijos.

Figura 3 – Mujer en actitud contemplativa

Fuente: YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wZpyo3lTkGs).

b) La opción de la mujer seductora, narcisista o erotizada queda relegada a un segundo plano, tan solo apreciamos un anuncio (Dr. Oetker) en que esta aparece envuelta en un contexto de sensualidad, amor y cierta atracción sensual (véase figura 4), también en este caso acompañada de un hombre.

Figura 4 – Mujer en actitud seductora

Fuente: YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sbd1OtYbBRU).
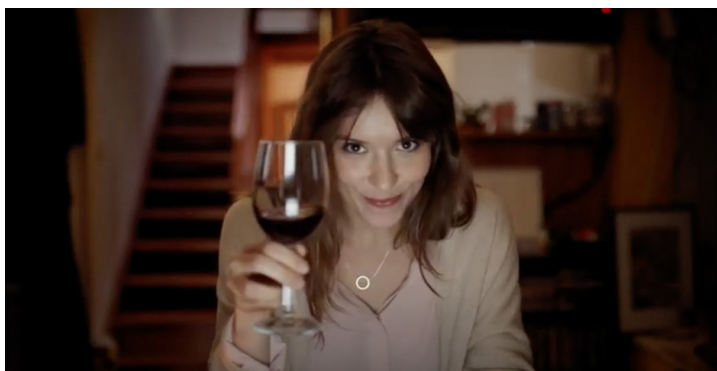
c) La mujer profesional, experta. Encontramos mujeres que hablan con la voz de la experiencia y la sabiduría en anuncios institucionales del Gobierno de España y de la Dirección General de Salud Pública en Portugal. En el primer caso encontramos profesionales reales: Sonia Zúñiga, viróloga (véase figura 5) y Vera Rodríguez, enfermera, que nos alertan sobre la eficacia de las vacunas. En Portugal, su papel queda relegado a una mera presentadora o busto parlante que nos ofrece recomendaciones sanitarias. Es escaso el número de apariciones de la mujer trabajando en casa (tele trabajando) comparado con el número de hombres que sí lo hacen. La mujer aparece frecuentemente desempeñando trabajos de baja cualificación en hostelería, limpieza, comercio o labores solidarias (McDonalds; Continente; Multiópticas). Las mujeres sanitarias siempre son enfermeras, los hombres aparecen caracterizados como médicos o especialistas. Incluso si es la mujer la que necesita

cuidados especiales, ésta es atendida por hombres especialistas (Asociación Española contra el Cáncer).

Figura 5 – Mujer profesional

Fuente: YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-gHdBUfzAiQ).

En algunos casos sí vemos a una mujer independiente, profesional, empresaria autónoma al frente de un negocio o desarrollando un trabajo cualificado, en el menor de los casos, pero estas imágenes se mezclan con otras en las que aparece desarrollando tares domésticas o familiares casi al mismo tiempo (véase figura 6).

Figura 6 – Mujer multitarea

Fuente: YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MCdmrdjdJhs).

Conclusiones y discusión

De lo visto hasta aquí podemos concluir que, durante el período más crítico de la pandemia por COVID-19 en España y Portugal, la imagen de la mujer, lejos de acercarse a representaciones igualitarias con los hombres, ahondó aún más en los estereotipos de género. La publicidad televisiva producida durante el periodo se centró en ofrecer seguridad y confianza en el futuro y utilizó los roles socialmente asociados a las mujeres para visualizar esas promesas; las mujeres contemplativas, sensibles y dependientes encarnaron el espíritu de la seguridad y el bienestar en el hogar; las mujeres profesionales y expertas se encargaron de generar confianza social; y las mujeres multitarea fueron el seguro del mantenimiento familiar, su trabajo garantizaba la continuidad de nuestro mundo. Llama la atención que en la muestra analizada (el total de los anuncios analizables) no hayamos encontrado Mujeres Eróticas y, las que podríamos definir como Empoderadas, en realidad están mostrando a una mujer multitarea; trabaja fuera de casa, lleva el mando en los suministros del hogar, se ocupa de tareas domésticas; alimenta y entretiene a la familia. En nuestra opinión esto se debe al hecho de las prioridades sociales, producto de la emergencia, ya que dentro de nuestra cultura se considera básica la figura de la mujer como garante del orden y la estabilidad y que confirman que el género es una estructura social básica. Durante lo peor de la pandemia, el rol cultural asignado a las mujeres condicionó la manera en que los medios de comunicación, y la publicidad fundamentalmente, las retrató. Abierta queda la discusión sobre porqué solo hemos encontrado el uso intensivo de uno de los estereotipos relacionados con las mujeres de los que hablamos anteriormente. Puede ser que en momentos de emergencia nuestras necesidades se reordenen, de forma que durante el periodo de inseguridad no había tiempo (¿ni ganas?) para el sexo, o quizás no era un motivo lo suficientemente poderoso para estimular el consumo y por lo tanto no servía como reclamo publicitario. Tampoco la mujer aparece empoderada, pero en este caso, ¿no podía aparecer como una mujer independiente

por qué era necesaria para la familia (en su papel tradicional de servicial sumisión) o por qué sus propias prioridades se habían visto alteradas?

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ARTIGO

A indústria transnacional do sexo na web: anúncios virtuais de brasileiras em Portugal e no Brasil

The transnational sex industry on the web: virtual advertisements by Brazilian women in Portugal and Brazil

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Resumo: *Objetivou-se analisar o comportamento das trabalhadoras sexuais de nacionalidade brasileira em anúncios de websites brasileiro e português. Foi realizada uma descrição estatística dos perfis anunciados, seguida de análise de padrões de distribuição e associação entre palavras por meio da mineração de dados. A amostra consistiu em 7.837 anúncios [5.303 – fatalmodel.com (Brasil) e 2.534 – classificadosx.net (Portugal)], entre 2020-2021. Foram observadas diferenças significativas entre os anúncios de brasileiras nos dois países. Os anúncios publicados no Brasil apresentaram maior proporção de comunicações sobre prevenção de risco à saúde e segurança. Dentre os bigramas mais mencionados nos textos das anunciantes, destaca-se "estilo namoradinha" no Brasil, que remete à maior intimidade e relação afetuosa; e "oral natural" em Portugal, que significa sexo oral-genital sem preservativo.*

Palavras-chave: *Trabalho sexual; Anúncios virtuais; Internet; Imigrante; Mineração de dados.*

Abstract: *The objective was to analyze the behavior of Brazilian sex workers in advertisements on Brazilian and Portuguese websites. A statistical description of the advertised profiles was performed, followed by analysis of distribution patterns*

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and association between words through data mining. The sample consisted of 7,837 advertisements [5,303 – fatalmodel.com (Brazil) and 2,534 – classifiedsx.net (Portugal)], between 2020-2021. Significant differences were observed between the advertisements of Brazilian women in the two countries. Advertisements published in Brazil had a higher proportion of communications about prevention of risk to health and safety. Among the most mentioned bigrams in the texts of advertisers, the "girlfriend style" stands out in Brazil, which refers to greater intimacy and affectionate relationship; and "natural oral" in Portugal, which means oral-genital sex without a condom.

Keywords: *Sex work; Virtual advertisements; Internet; Immigrant; data mining.*

Introduction

Increasingly, sex workers and their clients make contact using technology to facilitate personal services and arrange offline dates. Equally important, the digital revolution created a means through which sexual services are sold on online platforms. The internet-based sex market has become diffuse, facilitated by communication mediated by electronic devices through e-mails, chat rooms, social media forums and web-based advertising (PRUITT, 2005; SANDERS, 2008; ADRIAENSSENS; HENDRICKX, 2012; BLACKWELL; DZIEGIELEWSKI, 2013; KILLE *et al*., 2017).

The internet allows for the consolidation and national and transnational promotion of sex work, in addition to simplifying the search for sexual services. Individuals commonly publish images of themselves, describe the services they offer, their physical attributes and indicate the price they charge for the services (GRIFFITHS*et al*., 2016; CUNNINGHAM*et al*., 2017).

However, there are specifics to online sex work advertisements which vary according to each nation as, for example, the market size, level of centralization, sex work types and services, target-group strategies and the languages used). These characteristics depend on offline peculiarities of each market, as well as cultural aspects and national policies (PAJNIK *et al*., 2016).

Migrant sex workers may be at a disadvantage, affected by language skills and citizenship status. Although there is some evidence to suggest that migrants are becoming dominant in certain segments or geographic areas of the European sex markets, their online presence is not equally evident in numbers (SANDERS *et al*., 2018).

In Portugal, prostitution is not a regulated activity, therefore, there is a lack of precise statistical data, making it difficult to carry out quantitative studies. In fact, much of the academic research is qualitative and restricted to the capital and the northern area of the country (RIBEIRO *et al*., 2008; SILVA, 2013). Still, according to reports by Non-Governmental

Organizations (NGOs), it is estimated that the majority of immigrants in the sex trade in Portugal are of Brazilian nationality (OLIVEIRA, 2018).

In Brazil, the legislation on sex work is similar to that of Portugal (GRAÇA; GONÇALVES, 2016). Nonetheless, sex work is integrated into the Brazilian Classification of Occupations as a result of Gabriela Leite's campaign to recognize sex work as an occupation. In this way, sex workers can contribute to pension funds and, when they retire, they receive the corresponding benefits (LENZ, 2015). Even so, currently, there is a lack of statistical data on the number of sex workers in Brazil.

Quantitative studies on advertisements of Brazilian prostitution on the internet are scarce (PASSOS; ALMEIDA-SANTOS, 2020a), and, as far as we were able to investigate, no quantitative studies were found on Brazilian prostitution advertised on Lusophone websites, especially in Brazil and Portugal. Therefore, the general objective of the present study was to analyze the behavior of Brazilian sex workers in advertisements on Brazilian and Portuguese websites. The specific goal is to differentiate the communication in advertisements of Brazilian women posted in their country of origin from that of those who migrated in order to practice prostitution in another country.

Materials and methods

Outline and population

This is a descriptive and exploratory quantitative study of data extracted from advertisements by sex workers published on a Brazilian website [https://fatalmodel.com] and on a Portuguese website [https://www.classificadosx.net/pt], between March, 2020, and February, 2021.

The websites were chosen primarily based on their estimated organic traffic ranking according to a research by the information technology company, Similar Web [www.similarweb.com/], a company that functions as a search engine optimization (SEO) website. The subsequent selection criteria were: large number of advertisements

and a consistent and well-formed data structure (in other words, each profile must be designed to allow biographical information about the sex workers to be presented in a standardized online model).

In 2019, Fatalmodel.com took the 1st place among sex trade websites in Brazil, 103rd place among all the most visited websites in the country, and 107th in the world rankings in the "adult content" category. In total, there are over fifty thousand contact ads that are divided into three categories (Women; Transsexuals; Men). The advertisements can be viewed for free, the customer pays no fees and has no need to register. On the other hand, in the same year, Classificadosx.net also took the 1st place among sex trade websites in Portugal, 124th place among all the most visited websites in the country, and 1.115th in the world ranking of the "adult content" category. In total, there are over twenty thousand contact ads that are divided into fifteen categories (Women; Men; Couples & Swing; Massages; Male Massages; Transvestites & Transsexuals; Gays; Female Stripper; Male Stripper; BDSM & Fetish; Reduced Mobility; Accommodation & Recruitment; Virtual Sex & Sex Phone; Sexshops & others).

The chosen websites use a content management system in order to display information about each sex worker and feature several resource items in standard format for each sex worker. The dynamic nature of the website changes on a daily basis, therefore, the manual collection of advertisement data was carried out on pre-defined dates and at different shifts. Due to the possible temporary nature of internet ads, the images were captured using the "print screen" tool and stored in a password-protected folder.

Contact and registration information from the website were classified and used to identify duplicates of the dataset. All textual information was extracted from each ad. Based on previous researches into the content of the information reported in internet sex trade advertisements (BLACKWELL; DZIEGIELEWSKI, 2013; MANNING; BUNGAY, 2017; KILLE *et al.*, 2017), we used a coding system which includes specific relevant variables. Some variables were coded as dichotomous

("yes" or "no) in order to document presence or absence in the advertisement (Table 1).

Table 1 - Grouping of variables and their operational definitions

Grouping of the study's variables and operational definitions.					
Demographic characteristics	Age	Color of skin [a]	Body	Current geographic location (country region)	Country of origin
Health	Communication that speak specifically about practices related to health which could be considered protective or not (for example, the use of condoms or not) [b]			Mentions of the COVID-19 pandemic	
Security and Marketing	Place where sex services are provided [b]	Restriction communication for certain sexual services or customer profile	Communications of requirements imposed on the customer	Visible facial photo [b]	Visible genital photo [b]
Business	Business practices refer to communications detailing the amounts in Reais associated with the cost of sexual services [b]				

Notes: a.Ethnic-racial classification of Brazil in terms of color (white, brown, black) according to the images and/or textual self-declaration of the ad

b. Variables coded as "yes" or "no".

Data analysis

Initially, the coded categorical variables are presented in absolute number and percentages. The measures of association between categorical variables are analyzed using Pearson's chi-square test. Numerical variables are presented as average and pattern deviation. The comparisons between two groups are performed using Student's t-test with Satterthwaite's degrees of freedom, in order to adjust for possible variance heterogeneity.

After that, a quantitative content analysis was performed using the data mining technique. More specifically, through data mining it is possible to quantify non-quantitative and many times textual information. The method can by applied to information in various formats. It

demonstrates object composition and corpus clipping from mined data in an automated extraction process in databases, data warehouses, the web or any other kind of massive repository or data flow. Researchers who employ content analysis use coded unities. These keywords and codes vary according to the type of data (ZARGHAMI *et al.*, 2008;HAN; KAMBER; PEI, 2011;GHAEDI; GOLSHANI, 2016).

Since this is a study designed with a special focus on the quantitative assessment of textual elements, various techniques of extraction, systematic manipulation and analysis of data in text form were employed. A statistical approach to the most frequent terms was used and categories were created which represent classification patterns, that is, textual aggregates.

Natural language processing tools were employed to investigate distribution patterns and association between words. Before performing the quantitative analysis, the texts went though several stages during preparation, such as: exclusion of punctuation marks, symbols and numbers; transforming all words into lowercase in order to avoid problems related to the distinction between lowercase and capital letters; replacing misspelled words; removing blank spaces; applying a dictionary of "stop words" or "filler words" to exclude words that do not convey true meaning, such as "and", "this", "for"; segmentation and tokenization of sentences, therefore, transforming each valid word into a true count variable.

Subsequently, we calculated the lexical diversity, whose formula is the number of unique words divided by the entire number of words. The unique words were analyzed by country and overall. In addition, we presented sequences of two frequently combined words, also known as "bigrams".

The frequency distribution graphics were used to illustrate the distribution pattern of the most common words. We estimated the weighted prominence of words through word cloud graphics, where the importance of each word is given by its respective size and boldness. All estimates and graphics were performed in Python, version 3.7.10.

Ethical aspects

The research began after the approval by the Research Ethics Committee of the University of Tiradentes, on December 18, 2018, through opinion 3.092.950 (CAAE: 85367418.3.0000.5371).

The terms of the website agreement were evaluated to guarantee open access for all. Consent was not necessary because the research is carried out by the download of messages from the commercial website, and there is no intervention or interaction. The people who wrote the ads were kept anonymous.

Results

The sample was composed of 7.837 profiles of Brazilian female sex workers (Table 2), with 2.534 (32,33%) ads on the Portuguese website and 5.303 (67,67%) on the Brazilian website. The predominant age group varied between the two countries (p<0,001), being 18 to 23 years old (53,88%) in Brazil and 24 to 30 years old in Portugal (47,26%). The majority profile in both countries is of sex workers with white skin color (Brazil – 43,45%; Portugal – 53,00%; p<0,001) and body structure of normal pattern or "midsize", popularly known as "neither fat nor thin" (Brazil – 70,24%; Portugal – 59,79%; p<0,001). It should be noted that the advertisement presents a self-evaluation of the body, not based on technical parameters.

Table 2 – Profile of sex work advertisers on Brazilian and Portuguese websites

	Brazil		Portugal		
	N	%	N	%	p-value *
Age group					<0,001
18 to 23 years old	2.854	53,88	577	22,78	
24 to 30 years old	1.847	34,87	1.197	47,26	
31 to 36 years old	361	6,82	440	17,37	
37 to 43 years old	170	3,21	248	9,79	
44 to 49 years old	44	0,83	56	2,21	

A R T I G O

50 to 56 years old	19	0,36	12	0,47	
≥ 57 years old	2	0,04	3	0,12	
Skin color / ethnicity					<0,001
White	2.304	43,45	1.343	53,00	
Brown	1.940	36,58	985	38,87	
Black	960	18,10	196	7,73	
Indigenous	45	0,85	10	0,39	
Oriental	54	1,02	–	–	
Body					<0,001
Athletic	256	4,83	436	17,21	
Thin	884	16,67	417	16,46	
Normal	3.725	70,24	1.515	59,79	
Chubby	418	7,88	134	5.29	
Extra	20	0,38	32	1,26	
Stature					–
Short	–	–	173	6,83	
Medium	–	–	1.939	76,52	
Tall	–	–	422	16,65	
Hair					–
Black	–	–	831	32,79	
Dark brown	–	–	579	22,85	
Light brown	–	–	257	10,14	
Blonde	–	–	783	30,90	
Red	–	–	84	3,31	
Eye color					–
Dark brown	–	–	1.319	52,05	
Light brown	–	–	946	37,33	
Green	–	–	205	8,09	
Blue	–	–	64	2,53	
Languages					–
Native	–	–	1.288	50,83	
Bilingual	–	–	618	24,39	
Trilingual	–	–	418	16,49	
Multi-lingual	–	–	210	8,29	

*Chi-squared test

The Portuguese website presents a more stratified characterization structure than the Brazilian website (Table 2). In addition to the aforementioned variables, also declared in the ads are the profile of height (average – 76,52%), hair color (black – 32,79% and blonde – 30,90%), eye color (dark brown 52,05%), and languages (native only – 50,83% and bilingual – 24,39%).

Even though the ads published in Brazil have a greater volume of text, those published on the Portuguese website have greater lexical diversity (Portugal – 9,2%; Brazil – 8,2%). Therefore, Brazilian sex workers in Portugal use more vocabulary and less repetition of lexemes when producing the advertisement.

In Brazil, the ads commonly present more photos than in Portugal (p<0,0001), with averages of approximately 17 ± 72 e 4 ± 2 photos per ad, respectively. In addition to photos, the Brazilian ads feature videos as comparison media options, an average of approximately 2 ± 9 videos per advertisement. The average price for sex work offered by Brazilian women is lower in their country of origin (R$ 186,3 ± 79,9) than those who offer the service in Portugal (R$ 275,5 ± 186,7) (p<0,0001) (Table 3).

In both countries, the media presented in the ads, for the most part (p<0,001), do not feature media with a face (Brazil – 85,69% and Portugal – 94,71%) and visible genitals (Brazil – 78,67% and Portugal – 73,20%). In Brazil, the website specifies the target audience of clients for each advertisement. The vast majority are available for men (99,04%), 61,87% of individuals are available for couples and 43,90% are available for women (Table 3).

In Brazil, just over half of the advertisers (51,05%) have their own place for service. In both countries, female sex workers tend to accept commuting *in* (p<0,001), that is, commuting to hotels and/or domiciles (Brazil – 90,59% and Portugal – 68,94%) and not to accept commuting *out* (p<0,001), that is, trips to other cities/localities (Brazil – 63,06% and Portugal – 52,92%). Only 1,43% in Brazil and 0,12% in Portugal offer sex exclusively online (p<0,001) (Table 4).

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Table 3 – Characteristics of the ads for Brazilian sex workers on Brazilian and Portuguese websites

	Brazil			Portugal			
	Min-Max	Average ± SD	CI at 95%	Min-Max	Average ± SD	CI at 95%	p-value †
Number of photos	0 – 1860	16,9 ± 71,7	14,9 – 18,8	1 – 20	4,3 ± 2,3	4,2 – 4,4	<0,0001
Number of videos	0 – 273	1,5 ± 8,6	1,2 – 1,7	–	–	–	–
Price per hour *	50 – 900	186,3 ± 79,9	184,0-188,3	65,9 – 988,5	275,5 ± 186,7	247,8-305,8	<0,0001
	N	%		N	%		p-value *
Visible face (media)							<0,001
No	4.544	85,69		2.400	94,71		
Yes	759	14,31		134	5,29		
Visible genital (media)							<0,001
No	4.172	78,67		1.855	73,20		
Yes	1.131	21,33		679	26,80		
Available for men							–
No	51	0,96		–	–		
Yes	5257	99,04		–	–		
Available for women							–
No	2975	56,10		–	–		
Yes	2328	43,90		–	–		
Available for couples							–
Não	2.022	38,13		–	–		
Sim	3.281	61,87		–	–		

SD = Standard deviation; CI = Confidence interval. * Brazilian currency. Values converted to ads in Portugal (1 Euro □ 6,59 Brazilian Reais, Feb. 24. 20:01 UTC). † Student's t-test. *Chi-squared test

Table 4 - Health and safety communications in the service of sexual work advertisers on Brazilian and Portuguese websites

	Brazil		Portugal		
	N	%	N	%	p-value *
Own place					–
No	2.596	48,95	–	–	
Yes	2.707	51,05	–	–	
Commuting (in)					<0,001
No	499	9,41	787	31,06	
Yes	4.804	90,59	1.747	68,94	
Commuting (out)					<0,001
No	3.344	63,06	1.341	52,92	
Yes	1.959	36,94	1.193	47,08	
Online (exclusively)					<0,001
No	5.227	98,57	2.531	99,88	
Yes	76	1,43	3	0,12	
Available 24 hours/day					<0,001
No	1.105	20,84	432	17,05	
Yes	4.198	79,16	2.102	82,95	
Restrictions					–
No	4.966	93,68	–	–	
Yes	335	6,32	–	–	
Requirements					–
No	5.064	95,53	–	–	
Yes	237	4,47	–	–	
Independent					–
No	–	–	214	8,45	
Yes	–	–	2.320	91,55	
Condom use					0,199
No	5.153	97,17	2.475	97,67	
Yes	150	2,83	59	2,33	
No condom use					<0,001
No	4.856	91,57	1,945	76,76	
Yes	447	8,43	589	23,24	
Covid-19					<0,001
No	5.285	99,66	2.499	98,62	
Yes	18	0,34	35	1,38	

*Chi-squared test

In the discourses of the ads published on the Brazilian website, it was possible to notice some patterns of restriction (6,32%) and requirements (4,47%). The restrictions were mostly on anal sex, use of psychoactive substances and the non-service of customers with telephones without an identification number and/or lack of photo on social media. The requirements were mostly about hygiene and/or the customer's politeness. This type of communication was not found in the ads by Brazilian women in Portugal. The Portuguese website segregates the profiles into independents (91,55%) or not (2,33%), that is, those who are managed by pimps and/or work in brothels (Table 4).

As for health-related aspects (Table 4), 2,83% of the profiles advertised in Brazil and 2,33% of the profiles advertised in Portugal communicate the requirement of sex with condoms, and there is no significative difference in the proportion between the two countries (p=0,199). On the other hand, there is a lower proportion of sex without condoms being offered in Brazil compared to the offer in Portugal (8,43% and 23,24%, respectively, p<0,001). Regarding the topic of Covid-19, there are more ads with reports of compliance with protection measures in Portugal than in Brazil (1,38% and 0,34%, respectively, p<0,001).

An estimate was made in the form of "word cloud", in which the font scale of each word is proportional to its frequency (Figures 1 and 2). Among the words most frequently found in the ads on the Portuguese website (Figure 1), it is observed that they derive from attributes related to sexual service [pleasure, oral (natural), complete], related to commercial transactions (service, I do), personal characteristics (woman, brunette, sweet, tender, gorgeous, blonde), marketing strategy (photos, real, novelty, complete) and greeting (hello).

Figure 1 – Cloud of the most frequent words on the Portuguese website [classificadosx.com]

Among the words most frequently found in the ads on the Brazilian website (Figure 2), it is observed that they derive from attributes related to greeting and introduction [hello, (my name) is, (come meet) me], to sexual service [girlfriend (style), kiss, pleasure, (very) delicious, escort, (no) frills, anal], related to commercial transactions (service, customer, available, place, I do, to do, I like), and personal characteristics (hot, brunette, woman).

Figure 2 - Cloud of the most frequent words on the Brazilian website [fatalmodel.com]
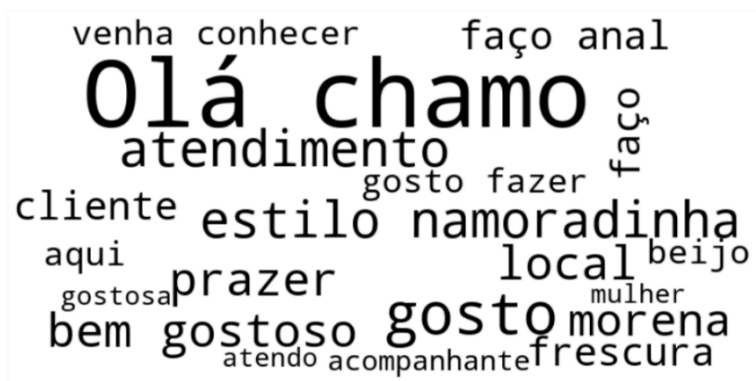
Figure 3 illustrates the most frequent words and bigrams in the ads by Brazilian sex workers on each website.

Figure 3 – Most frequent words and bigrams in the ads by Brazilian sex workers on the Brazilian website [fatalmodel.com] and on the Portuguese website [classificadosx.com]

Bigrams from Announcements in Portugal

Bigrams from Announcements in Brazil
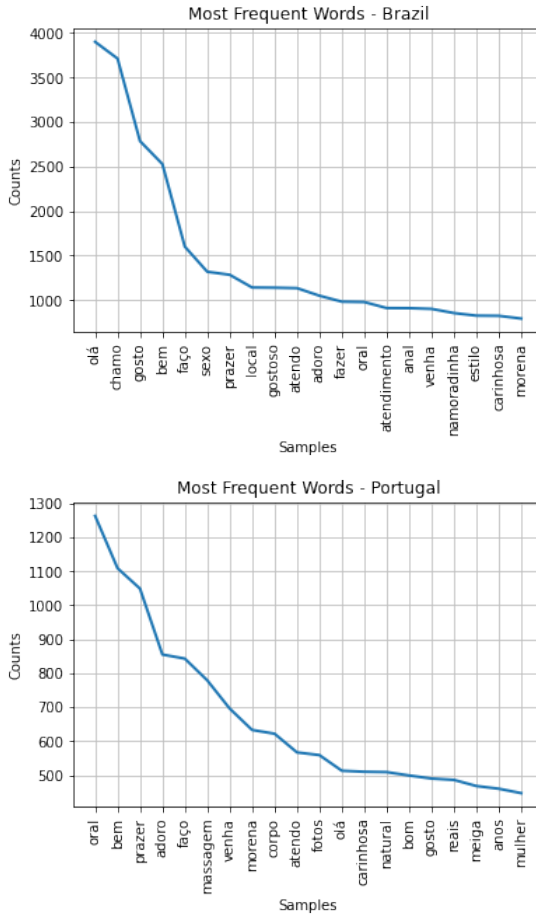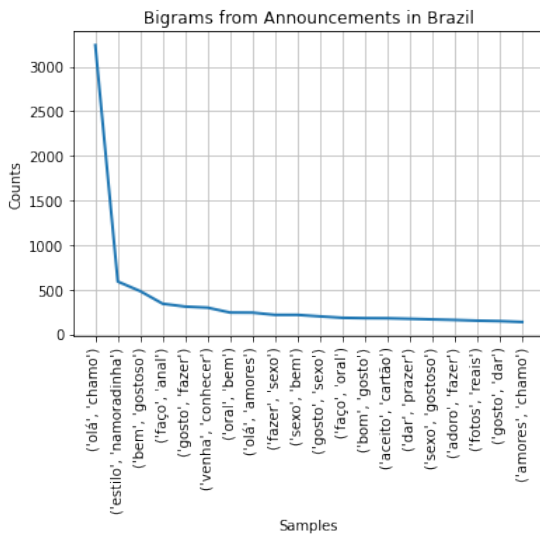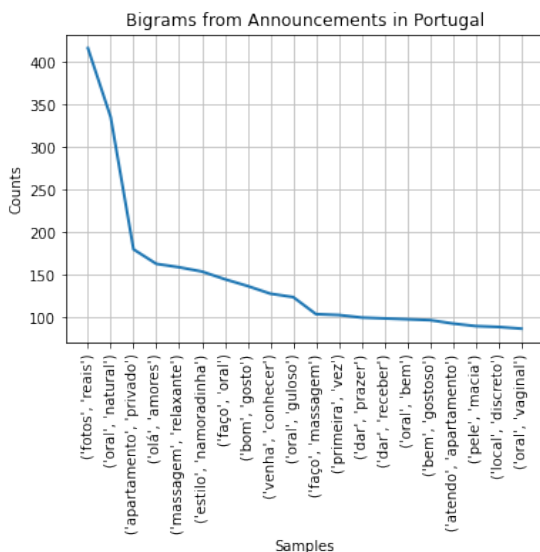
Note: a. Most frequent words on the Brazilian website. b. Most frequent words on the Portuguese website. c. Most frequent bigrams on the Brazilian website. d. Most frequent bigrams on the Portuguese website.

The majority of the ads in Brazil included an introduction greeting (hello; my name is); the offer of the "little girlfriend style" sexual service; and the qualification of the service (very delicious). On the other hand, the ads of Brazilian women in Portugal are usually more direct. The three most frequent binomials on the Portuguese website were: "real photos"; "natural oral"; and "private apartment" (Figure 3). It is worth noting that "natural oral" refers to the practice of oral sex without a condom.

Discussion

The study results are based on emerging empirical understanding of the content of web-based advertisements (KILLE*et al.*, 2017; CUNNINGHAM*et al.*, 2018; CAMPBELL*et al.*, 2019; SANDERS*et al.*, 2016, 2018, 2021). In these ads, sex workers communicated significant information that reflected demographic characteristics as well as their personal health and security practices (for example, the use of condoms, fitness, restrictions). These health communications provide important information about the nature and the norms of sexual service on the internet and the practices, health behavior and general well-being of those who advertise in this context.

The discoveries also provide some new insights into the characteristics of the population in prostitution ads such as the predominance of young people and white skin color. These characteristics are similar to those described in other researches on sex work based on the internet (CASTLE; LEE, 2008; GROV *et al.*, 2014; KILLE*et al.*, 2017) and in direct contrast with researches located in street markets (MIMIAGA, 2009, LIMA*et al.*, 2017), which demonstrate a larger number of non-white population over the age of 30 and different financial arrangements where the prices charged are values for service with lower income potential.

Differences between participants in Brazil and Portugal would be expected because sex work has been officially recognized as a profession in Brazil, but not in Portugal. In addition, authors consider that Brazilian

society is much more lenient to sex work than the Portuguese society (MULLET *et al.*, 2020).

Brazilian women in Brazil list more security communications in general and they do that by communicating restrictions and requirements, especially about services, behavior, payment, identification and substance use. Brazilian women in Portugal communicate minimum safety details. This discovery adds nuances about how strategies can be different among sex workers to mitigate the risks of violence according to demographic characteristics. In addition to demonstrating the role of internet-based communications within the area of traded exchange to prevent risks related to safety (MOORMAN; HARRISON, 2016; SANDERS; CONNELLY; KING 2016; SANDERS *et al.*, 2018; CAMPBELL *et al.*, 2019). The attempts to maintain privacy and security were also reflected in the pictures provided in the ads. A minority of advertisements, both in Brazil and Portugal, contained identifiable facial photos.

In Brazil, there is more security for the customer as well, since the platform encourages the attachment of comparison media to generate more credibility to the profiles. The comparison media consists of a video that is displayed on the announcer's profile and shows the person from various angles (front, side and back) holding a nameplate, with no editing and wearing underwear only. Since there is no such comparison media resource in Portugal, customers are more insecure about the real visual identity of the sex worker. This is reflected in the most mentioned bigram by Brazilian women in Portugal ("real photos"). The need to show credibility in the ad's discourse is noticed. Besides, the lexical diversity in a shorter text can be a rewarding communication strategy to convince the audience to consume the services offered.

Narrowing the modalities of anchoring an activity or daily interaction, is here referred to as anchors or parenthesis (brackets), also as the markers pointed out by Goffman (2012). The episodic conventions, announcers of initial or closing acts, can be analyzed, following what Goffman (2012) dismembered as external parenthesis (delimiters of an interactional episode) and external parenthesis (internally structuring

the scenic acts or the rounds). The initial word "Hello" in the ads represents the anchoring use of an interaction, it is an evidence of internal parenthesis applied to the mediatization of the interaction of sex workers with their clients.

The "little girlfriend style" bigram, defined as the offer of the activity of dating, sex and affectionate activities that would be expected in a non-commercial adult relationship, appeared with greater frequency in the ads by Brazilian women in their country of origin. According to a study carried out in Spain, in the last decades, a series of sexual services that offer company, conversation and, more generally, what is understood as "girlfriend experience", are increasingly offered to middle and upper-middle class customers (CARBONERO; GÓMEZ-GARRIDO, 2018).

In Portugal, the "natural oral" bigram, which means oral-genital sex with no condom, stood out. Although there is growing evidence that many sex workers can have similar or lower rates of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) similar or inferior to the general population (DONOVAN*et al*., 2012; WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION, 2013; PASSOS; ALMEIDA-SANTOS, 2020b), the lack of condom requirement for oral-genital sex can still represent a significant health threat (BIMBI; PARSONS, 2005; BUNGAY *et al*., 2013; KOLAR; ATCHISON; BUNGAY, 2014). For example, STIs such as syphilis, gonorrhea and chlamydia can be transmitted through oral-genital contact and may be asymptomatic.

In both countries, a small proportion mentions the COVID-19 pandemic in terms of compliance with social distancing, protective measures and online sex offers. These findings corroborate a study carried out on sex work ads on the internet in the Ibero-American context (PASSOS; ALMEIDA-SANTOS, 2020c).

Limitations

Regarding the limitations of the work in question, the present sample derives from a secondary source with information limited to what has been published on websites and ads by sex workers. Additionally,

differences between the structures of the websites prevented comparisons between variables only available on one of them. However, we sought to shed light on information and analysis about a growing market: as the internet continues to expand as a mechanism that facilitates relationships between individuals, it is estimated that a growing number of sex workers will announce services through this medium. The results of this investigation may generate policies focused on public health campaigns aimed at individuals who are directly or indirectly involved with sex work sold on the internet.

Final considerations

Content analysis through data mining revealed codes in the communication referring to personal characteristics, sexual services offered and risky practices. The language norms of the sex industry were evident in the titles of the works and in the physical features communicated throughout the ads with variations that mapped the gender.

The ability to advertise via the internet continues to contribute to changing the dynamics of adult commercial sex work by creating opportunities for sex professionals to determine how they will conduct their business and to allow greater control over their work. Still, the results suggest that Brazilian women who advertise on a website in their country of origin have communications that are less risky and more protective regarding health and security than those who migrated to practice and advertise sex work in Portugal.

Online communication continues to offer opportunities to connect, mobilize and spread information among direct service organizations. Important information can be obtained through the quantitative analysis of advertising content about practices of the industry. With this information, it becomes feasible to develop more effective health and safety education programs to better support the health of sex workers and their customers.

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A imprensa e o tabu do suicídio: uma proposta de rediscussão do tema

The press and the suicide taboo: a proposal for rediscussing the issue

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Resumo: *A partir dos anos 1950, observamos na imprensa brasileira um movimento que levou da espetacularização à interdição de notícias sobre suicídio (DAPIEVE, 2007), por receio do chamado "efeito contágio" (DURKHEIM, 2000[1897]). No entanto, apesar do cuidado em relação ao assunto nos principais jornais, o número de mortes autoinfligidas no país vem subindo de forma significativa. No intuito de contribuir com os debates sobre o papel da imprensa na prevenção do problema, apresentamos pesquisa bibliográfica sobre o tratamento editorial do suicídio, complementada por entrevistas com jornalistas que lidam com a questão em seu cotidiano profissional e levantamento sobre menções ao tema em três grandes jornais. Com base nos resultados, apresentamos um conjunto de recomendações complementares às já propostas pela OMS para abordar o assunto.*

Palavras-chave: *suicídio; jornalismo; procedimentos editorais, mídia e cotidiano.*

Abstract: *From the 1950s onwards, we observed a movement in the Brazilian press that led from spectacularization to the banning of news about suicide*

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(DAPIEVE, 2007), for fear of the so-called "contagion effect" (DURKHEIM, 2000[1897]). However, despite the care regarding the subject in the main newspapers, the number of self-inflicted deaths in the country has been rising significantly. In order to contribute to the debates on the role of the press in preventing the problem, we present a bibliographic research on the editorial treatment of suicide, complemented by interviews with journalists who deal with the issue in their professional daily lives and a survey on mentions of the topic in three major newspapers. Based on the results, we present a set of complementary recommendations to those already proposed by the WHO to address the issue.

Keywords: *suicide; journalism; editorial procedures; media and everyday life.*

Introduction

The general orientation of only reporting suicide under some very specific circumstances has prevailed for decades in the most important newsrooms, as indicated by Arthur Dapieve (2007). João Batista de Abreu Jr. (2020, p. 13) also claims that "without a doubt, of all the kinds of death – violent or natural – the one that most deserves silence on the part of the media is, definitively, suicide". Some editorial manuals suggest the publication of exceptional cases only, to be analyzed by the editorial office, or when they involve the death of public and/or famous people.

By releasing its suicide prevention program, in 2000, the World Health Organization (WHO) expanded the responsibility for combating suicide to media professionals, who even received their own manual: *A Resource for Media Professionals*, translated into Portuguese under the title *Prevenção ao Suicídio: um manual para profissionais de mídia*, updated in 2008 and 2017. According to the manual:

> The factors that contribute to suicide and its prevention are complex and not fully understood, but there is evidence that the media play a significant role. On the one hand, vulnerable individuals may be influenced to get involved in imitative behaviors by reports of suicide (…). On the other hand, responsible reporting can serve to educate the public about suicide and can encourage those at risk of suicide to seek help. (WHO, 2008, p. 5)

The document contains assertive indications of conduct on how to report suicide, but at no time recommends banning the topic. On the contrary, it records that "the media can play an active role in suicide prevention" (WHO, 2000, p. 3). In this work, we understand that journalism can play a crucial role in expanding the access of the population to health and quality of life, as long as it proposes to stimulate "the social practices of production and circulation of the meanings of health and the forms of appropriation of public policies by the population" (ARAÚJO; CARDOSO, 2014, p. 123). Instead of merely transferring information "from top to bottom", it would be up to

the media to promote a good debate on public health problems without giving up listening to the social groups afflicted by these problems. We consider that, by avoiding the topic, newspapers miss the opportunity to stimulate the audience to appropriate information and transform their own knowledge into practices capable of transforming the social reality.

The uneasiness of the press with self-inflicted death is brought up for discussion in this article. Our premise, in line with WHO's guidelines, is that the press must take an active role in preventing new deaths. As they ban the discussion, for fear of the "contagion effect" (DURKHEIM, 2000 [1897]), the media may be contributing to reinforcing the taboo around voluntary death.

To support the discussion, we carried out a bibliographic research on the treatment of the topic in the press and verified how often it has appeared in the three main Brazilian newspapers: *O Globo* (1995), *Folha de S. Paulo* (2001) and *O Estado de S. Paulo* (1997), in the last 20 years. We also retrieved the editorial guidelines for dealing with the subject in these newspapers' editorial manuals, all of them produced and sold with great editorial success, especially in the 1990s. As Mônica Caprino (2002) recalls, these works have become a source of consultation not only to other vehicles, press professionals and students, but also for the general public.

In addition to this, we heard professionals from the three researched newspapers to find out if the procedures indicated in these manuals, written over two decades ago, were still valid and how the journalists who deal with information about suicides in their professional routines act to transform it into news or not, and in what way.

Contagion effect and silence

Minois (2018) says that, in the beginning of the 17th century, when the first newspapers started to circulate in Europe, the publication of news about suicides was common in England. This kind of death was so frequent and numerous that some vehicles published monthly lists of victims. Often using sensationalist narratives, newspapers presented

as much detail as possible to increase the sense of veracity – the exact opposite of what is recommended today.

In Brazil, the subject was not a big taboo either until the 1950s (DAPIEVE, 2007). Suicide reports were common, among many police incidents that filled the pages of Brazilian newspapers. Also according to the author, the coverage of president Getúlio Vargas' suicide, detailed like other suicide cases that reached the newspapers, marked the transition period of journalistic work in the country, in the 1950s.

After this period, the topic is increasingly avoided, for motives such as respect for the privacy of the suicidal person and the pain of his or her relatives (DAPIEVE, 2017). Other factors for the topic not coming to light would be the fact that suicide becomes associated with the idea of failure, in addition to the main reason: the fear of encouraging deaths "by imitation".

The novel, *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, by German writer, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, describes the sufferings of a young man after the end of a love relationship. Published for the first time in 1774, the plot narrates the suicide of Werther, who did not accept the loss of his great love. Right after the book was published, several reports began to emerge in Europe of young people who committed suicide adopting the same method used by the character, which led to the book being banned in many countries. These reports originated the term "Werther effect" to designate the imitation of suicides in technical literature. Many deaths were caused by the same method used by the fictional character and, not seldom, copies of the book were found next to the dead bodies.

The case is mentioned in reference works on suicide, for example, the classic *History of Suicide*, by Georges Minois (2018) and in the sociology treatise *Suicide*, by Émile Durkheim (2000 [1897]). According to the sociologist, there is no doubt that the idea of suicide can be transmitted by contagion. It is worth mentioning, as Dapieve (2007) reminds us, that the use of the term "contagion" is metaphorical and, in the author's work, is associated with imitation and not with the possibility of transmission. The French sociologist also highlights that it is not how much is said

about suicides that influences society's perception, but how the issue is approached, which terms are used and which values are transmitted.

In 1962, another suicide, this time of a real-life character, reinforces the theory of the "Werther effect": that of the American actress Marilyn Monroe, diva of the Hollywood movies, who was only 36 years old at the time. The subject was covered with great prominence and detail, and then a 12% increase in suicides was noticed in the United States.

These considerations constitute the theoretical basis for the concerns that led WHO to produce its manual for media professionals. The international organization describes journalists as fundamental agents in suicide prevention, as they have the ability to influence attitudes, beliefs and behavior in society. Therefore, it mentions Werther's case as part of the body of evidence that suggests that "some forms of news and TV coverage of suicides are associated with a statistically significant excess of suicides" (WHO, 2017, p. 21), with greater impact among young people.

Sisask and Värnik (2012) argue that youngsters are, along with the elderly, an age group that is more vulnerable to the "Werther effect". For the authors, middle-aged individuals are usually "more accommodated in the institutional framework of society", due to ties such as marriage, children and work, among the elements of stability. The researchers also draw attention to the fact that it is not simple to establish a cause/effect relationship between the publication of news about suicide and the increase in cases. One difficulty lies in the issue of time and space, given that news from the print media are also published in digital media. This allows news produced in a specific location, on a given date, to be accessed anywhere in the world, with the potential to cause a suicide imitation many years later. However, one cannot state the opposite, that is, that the silence on the topic in the press may contribute to reducing the number of self-inflicted deaths.

In Brazil, the number of suicides has been growing in a consistent manner (Graph 1). In 2016, 11,433 people took their own lives, equivalent to a rate of 5.8 people per 100,000 inhabitants, against 5.7

in 2010, 4.5 in 2004 and 3.9 in 1994. It is the second leading cause of death among young people in the country, aged between 15 and 24, and organizations such as Fiocruz, in Brazil, and the international WHO, have already expressed concern that the situation may be aggravated as one of the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic[4].

Graph 1: Suicides in Brazil (per 100,000/inhabitants)
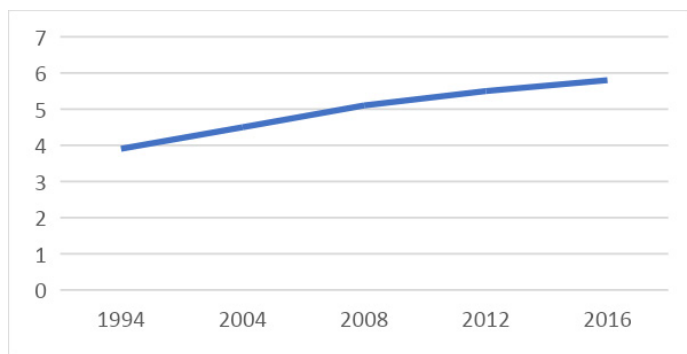
Source: World Health Organization[5]

Inversely to the growth curve of cases in Brazil, we observed a decrease in the number of articles dealing with the subject in two traditional Brazilian newspapers, especially in the last five years. The following graph, from the last 20 years, shows that 429 pages were published with the word "suicide", in 2002, in the newspaper *O Globo*, and 528 in the same year, in *Estado de S. Paulo*, with a peak of 495 to 574, respectively, in 2013 (Graph 2).

4   The following reports point out the concern: https://www.bio.fiocruz.br/index.php/br/noticias/1975-pandemia-aumenta-fatores-de-risco-para-suicidio and https://www.paho.org/pt/noticias/9-9-2021-apos-18-meses-pandemia-covid-19-opas-pede-prioridade-para-prevencao-ao-suicidio.
5   The 2007-2016 series is in a document available on the Ministry of Health website: https://portalarquivos2.saude.gov.br/images/pdf/2018/setembro/20/Coletiva-suic--dio.pdf The data from 1994 to 2004 are in Dapieve (2007). The last survey is the one from 2016.

Graph 2: Pages that mention the word suicide in newspapers *Folha de S. Paulo*, Estado de S. Paulo and *O Globo*
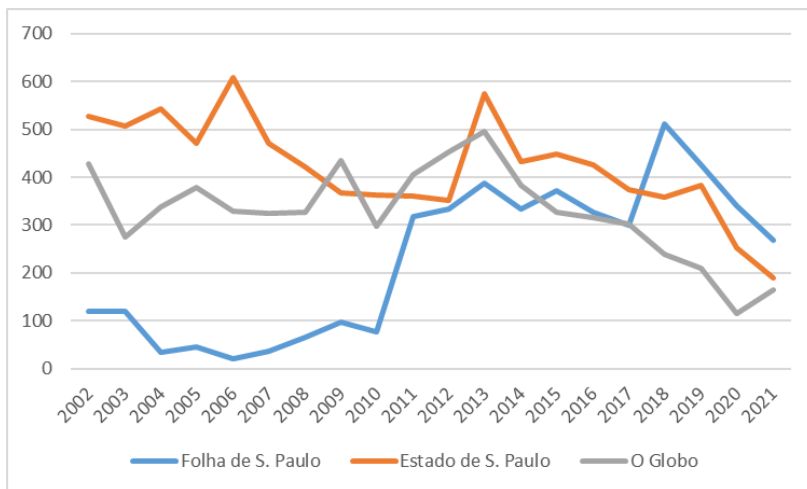
Source: elaborated by the authors, based on the search engines of the newspapers websites

In the newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo*, an increase in the uses of the word was verified, but the annual amount remained lower than in the other two newspapers for more than 10 years. The vehicle from São Paulo surpasses *O Globo*, in uses of the word, in 2015 and in 2018, it surpassed *Estadão*. Still, it was possible to observe that of the 512 times in which the word "suicide" was mentioned in 2018, in *Folha*, almost half of them (229) referred to a fictional episode, in the segments of culture and art. Synopsis about movies or plays appear in more detail in the newspaper of *Grupo Folha*, with frequent references to suicides of characters who are not involved with the journalistic focus of our work.

Since 2013, the number has been decreasing in *Estado de S. Paulo* and in *O Globo*. However, starting in 2019, even *Folha*'s curve began to point downwards. In 2021, only 165 pages approached the subject in *O Globo*, 190 in *Estado de S. Paulo* and 269 in *Folha de S. Paulo*. On the other hand, the number of suicides, as mentioned before, has continually grown. The crossing of data does not intend to suggest that there is a relationship of cause and effect between the embarrassment

around the topic in the traditional press and the increase in the number of suicide cases. We infer, however, that the current editorial policy has not contributed as much as it could to combating the problem.

Studies in Brazil

It is worth pointing out that the topic has received little interest in academic research in the filed of Communication and Journalism. A search of the *Capes'* theses and dissertations database, covering the last 30 years, reveals that only one study used suicide as a keyword in the area of Journalism/Editing, and 25 in Communication. Most of the research was developed in Psychology (236), Public Health (124), Medicine (110) and Nursing (105)[6].

Of the 25 studies in Communication, 16 discuss the topic in a more direct way. Among them, seven, defended between 2004 and 2002, address issues related to editorial aspects of suicide, only one being a PhD work. The others bring up issues such as the approach to suicide in social media, TV series and cinema, for example.

Most of the works are from 2019 onwards. The most recent one is the study by Arthur F. S. Pires (2002), entitled *"Quadros de suicídio: um estudo comparado das narrativas sobre autoextermínio no jornalismo diário"* ("Pictures of suicide: a comparative study of narratives about self-extermination in daily journalism"). The dissertation comparatively investigates how suicide is narrated in four English-language newspapers – Daily Mail (England), People's Daily (China), Times of India (India) and USA Today (USA) – and concludes that each country has a different kind of approach to the topic.

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6   Among the five most researched areas, Psycholgy appeared two times, one with 138 results and another with 98, adding up to 236. In the general searches, there are also other records in the areas of Teaching and Learning Psychology (7), Social Psychology (15), Social Psychology (3) and Cognitive Psychology (2). Likewise, Communication appeared twice. The number 25 registered represents the sum of these two results, respectively with 14 and 11 mentions. The total number of works found with the keyword "suicide" was 1809. Search performed on 03/31/2022.

In the dissertation *"O delicado lugar do suicídio no noticiário impresso paraibano"* ("The delicate place of suicide in the printed news from Paraíba"), Joana B. de Sousa (2019) seeks to identify the objective and subjective factors that explain why suicide is a topic that is not very present in the Brazilian press and analyzes the coverage on the subject in the *Correio da Paraíba* newspaper. Gabriela M. Ferigato (2019) produced *"Morte sem fama: critérios de noticiabilidade do suicídio de anônimos em portais brasileiros"* ("Death without fame: newsworthiness criteria of suicide of anonymous people in Brazilian portals"), a dissertation in which she uses the content analysis methodology to map in which circumstances the suicide of an anonymous citizen becomes news. Based on research on the UOL and G1 portals, she points out the violence factor in this news as evident.

In the same year, Patrik A. F. Batista (2019) produced the dissertation *"Agendamento midiático e o tratamento de temas estigmatizados: o fenômeno suicídio nos enunciados jornalísticos de sites de notícia em Campo Grande"*, ("Media agenda-setting and the treatment of stigmatized themes: the suicide phenomenon in journalistic utterances on news websites in Campo Grande"), with an analysis of coverage on the subject in the news portals *Campo Grande News* and *Midiamax*, over five years, during the *Yellow September* campaign, and in 2017, in the context of the release of the virtual game *Baleia Azul (Blue whale)*.

In the dissertation *"Por quê? Uma análise dos discursos sobre suicídio no jornalismo diário"* (Why? An analysis of the discourses on suicide in daily journalism"), Mauren de S. X. dos Santos (2019) verifies that, by promoting the debate on the subject, journalism contributes to the prevention of the problem. She did a study about the coverage on suicide in the *Folha de S. Paulo* newspaper.

The previously mentioned master's work by Arthur Dapieve (2006) relates Durkheim's theoretical formulations on suicide with the type of treatment given by contemporary press to people who take their own lives and analyzes reports on suicide published by the newspaper *O Globo*. The only thesis was written by Maurício M. de Souza (2004),

with the title: *"O juízo da morte: a violência letal dolosa na cidade de São Paulo nas páginas de Notícias Populares e nos arquivos do Tribunal do Júri (1960-1975)"* ("The judgment of death: intentional lethal violence in the city of São Paulo in the pages of Notícias Populares and in the file of the Jury Court [1960-1975]"). As the work is not available in the *Capes* database, since it is predates the creation of the Sucupira platform, we were unable to analyze its approach.

Interdiction and treatment of suicide in journalistic practice

If it is not the simple fact of reporting on suicide that produces a variation in voluntary death rates, what is the reason for the growing shortage of news about suicide cases in the pages of printed and digital newspapers? The interdiction on the topic in Brazilian newspapers is both explained in editorial and style manuals as shaped by an implicit norm that prevails in newsrooms (BREED, 1993 [1955], SOLOSKY, 1999 [1955]).

In its *Manual of Writing and Style*, item Ethical Issues, newspaper *O Globo* states that "the newspaper avoids reporting on suicides by unknown people, except when the fact has uncommon aspects" (GARCIA, 1995, p. 118). In the Security item, it says that, in cases of kidnappings and voluntary deaths, information that causes or increases security risks should be omitted. Interviewed by Dapieve, journalist Luiz Garcia, who died in 2018 and is the organizer and editor of the manual, said: "I always understood, and this was the newspapers' general policy, the idea that there are many people who are suicidal by imitation. We report the smallest possible number of suicides and only the ones which have some importance, some historical reference" (DAPIEVE, 2007, p. 107). For him, when in doubt, the best thing to do is not to report at all, because "It is difficult to conceive of news so important that it justifies the probability of losing a life" (DAPIEVE, 2007, p. 107).

Folha de S. Paulo has adopted a different treatment. In one of the first editions of its editorial manual, the newspaper already registered, in the

entry "suicide", that "when reporting a death by suicide, *Folha* does not omit the information that the person killed him/herself" (FOLHA DE S. PAULO, 1987, p. 97). In the last edition, from 2021, the orientation is maintained, this time in the context of the entry "death":

> DEATH – Prefer the words die, death and dead then pass away, decease and deceased. (…) Do not omit the cause of death of the character who is the subject of the news. In case of suicide, however, do not describe the method use. Exceptions, in both cases, must be discussed with the Editorial Office. The Deaths section, depending on the editor's evaluation, may respect the family's eventual request not to reveal the cause of death (FOLHA DE S. PAULO, 2021, p. 235, emphasis added)

Dapieve (2007, p. 76) noted that the position is coherent with the point of view of the newspaper's then editorial director, Otávio Frias Filho, who also died in 2018. The journalist worked for about one year as a volunteer at the *Centro de Valorização da Vida* (CVV – Life Valorization Center). Based on this experience, the journalist (FRIAS, 2003, p. 284) said that he had acquired the conviction that "knowing more about the ghost of suicide can be a way to dominate it (…)", including through the press.

As for the manual of *O Estado de S. Paulo* (1997), it does not mention the topic of suicide. There is no specific item on the subject, which is also not mentioned in the entry "death". The absence of the subject in the reference guide for journalists does not mean, however, that it is naturalized in the news, as demonstrated later in the testimony of a professional from the company.

Today's practices in these three newsrooms, regarding the editorial treatment of suicide, were raised in a survey with four journalists, one from *O Globo*, one from *O Estado de S. Paulo*, one from *Folha de S. Paulo*, and a professional who worked for *O Globo* until recently. We reached them through our networks of contacts as journalists, taking into consideration the following criteria: current or very recent work in editorial and writing processes in one of the three researched newspapers,

contact with the topic of suicide in the daily work of these vehicles and significant journalistic experience[7].

They all received the same questions via Whatsapp and answered them using the same channel, after learning that the content was intended for an academic research on the editorial treatment of suicide. The questions were: Do you consider that the topic of suicide is taboo in the newsroom where you work? Have you ever received any orientation to avoid the subject? What comment would you have on how the company approaches the subject? We left the interviewed free to answer via audio message, text or telephone call, and we had one recorded answer and three in text. Only one of them preferred not to be identified in the article, as he/she had not obtained formal authorization for the contact.

Two of the journalists expressed the perception that the tension in dealing with the topic was greater in the past: "I would say that it is more of a delicate topic than a taboo", summarized former assistant editor Cristina Azevedo, who worked at *O Globo* for almost 30 years, until 2020, in the International and Neighborhoods sections. In general terms, the interview confirmed the orientation that existed in 2006, when Dapieve concluded his master's research on the subject. The journalist said that the approach is analyzed on a case-by-case basis, for fear that the news might serve as stimulus to others. "My impression is that, if it's a story that you can avoid publishing, avoid it", she explained. However, if the suicide was committed by someone important, it is hard to ignore the motive for the death, which in this case is mentioned discreetly. On the other hand, "If the subject is about suicide cases among young people, for example, it will be published, but the topic is usually treated very carefully".

However, the transformations in the area produced by the arrival of the internet provoked some changes in the posture of journalists regarding the decision to report a suicide case or not. Journalist Luiz Cláudio Castro, cover editor for *O Globo*, believes that the scenario is

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7   Two testimonies were collected by journalist and researcher Luciano Dias as a contribution to this research, in April 2021, and two by one of the authors, in March and June 2022.

changing due to the influence of social networks. He said that, years ago, if the main newspapers decided among themselves that the best thing to do was not to say, in the news, that someone had committed suicide, the readers would find it awkward and sometimes even got in touch with the newspaper seeking for information, but in a few days the matter was left behind. However, with the emergence of networks as a platform of access to news, it has become almost impossible to avoid that the cause of a death that generates public interest is revealed. "If *O Globo* doesn't report it, someone will. Besides, the concern with the audience weighs a lot nowadays", pointed out the editor. For him, some companies with less tradition in journalism end up producing articles that are not very careful, in search of "clicks".

Cláudia Colucci, a special Health reporter for *Folha*, mentioned the coverage of the death of actor Flávio Migliaccio, by suicide, in 2020, as an example of how some vehicles still do not comply with the necessary precautions in addressing self-inflicted death. On the occasion, several vehicles published the letter left by the actor, information about how he killed himself and even pictures of the place where he died. The journalist considers suicide a taboo in the press, not because of the theme itself, but because of the way it is approached. For her, journalists still have many doubts about it:

> It has been 22 years since WHO released a manual on how the press should covered the topic of suicide, but to this day it is a territory in which journalists do not feel comfortable. I've been approached many times by colleagues asking for advice on the coverage of famous people's suicides. The last one that I remember was that of actor Flávio Migliaccio. His farewell letter was reproduced in several media despite the orientation of WHO not recommending this practice. I try to guide myself by these orientations and pass them on to my colleagues. But now and then someone still slips into these guidelines, publishing excerpts from a letter, or revealing some detail about the death.

Cláudia never received specific guidance on how to deal with the subject. She told us that it is understood in the newspaper that, if the

person who took his/her own life is not famous, there is no interest in publishing it, unless the case is within a larger context. "For example, during the pandemic, there were more suicide attempts among young people. In this case we can report individual cases, without identifying the person, in order to illustrate the whole picture", she explained. But, if on the one hand she sees neglect on the part of some vehicles, she also sees progress. For example, "there is more talk about the risk factors that lead to suicide and the promotion of help channels, such as the service provided by the CVV. I think we still need to demand public prevention policies with more emphasis" she reflects.

In the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo*, the orientation not to report suicide cases is known by the reporters. Usually, we simply don't report it, or if it's the death of someone famous, which can't be omitted, the recommendation is not to mention the suicide". Instead, they use alternatives such as saying that 'the cause of death was not disclosed' or 'the death was caused by an excess of substance X or Y'. "Anyway, like everything in journalism, there are exceptions, but, usually, this is the rule", said the reporter interviewed, who asked not to have her name mentioned.

The journalist added an important fact. If the concrete cases of suicide are surrounded by restrictions, the same does not take place when the issue is approached from the standpoint of health. She herself has written many articles on depression and suicide for the Science/Health section, without any kind of interdiction.

As Warren Breed (1993 [1955]) would explain, organizational norms are incorporated "by osmosis" by the staff, in their experience in the newsroom. Among the interviewees, none mentioned the orientation in the manual, but they all knew the current norm on the approach to suicide. When in doubt, the guidance is to consult the immediate superiors who, in turn, may feel the need to consult their superiors.

Soloski (1999 [1955]) reminds us that professional routines in the newsrooms work as a method of controlling procedures. In the case in question, the need for regular consultation with superiors is incorporated as a routine procedure, subject to a system of professional rewards. In

other words, even when the editorial policy on a topic leaves doubts, the routines and the commitment to professionalism act to perpetuate the norms. Here we defend the interlocution with the academic field as a way of fostering debates that may improve certain norms and procedures.

To get closer to a way to deal with the issue in order to generate a protective effect against suicide, we sought the research of the Austrian physician Thomas Niederkrotenthaler, who defends the possibility of reports acting in prevention, based on reports by individuals who had suicidal thoughts, but decided not to take their own lives. According to him, the easy access to information, provided by current technological devices, increases the chances of dissemination of content that can help lower the rates. Interacting readers, for example, can serve as active agents in the construction of a certain reality and help to combat suicide.

Niederkrotenthaler*et al.* (2010) consider that, if the media is capable of encouraging suicides, the journalistic discourse can also cause individuals, by imitation, to give up taking their own lives when they hear stories that emphasize the benefits of continuing to live. Based on the methodology of content analysis and collection of several reports in the most important Austrian newspapers, the physician created the concept of "Papageno Effect" to justify his theory that suicidal thoughts, not followed by an effective suicide attempt, may have a protective impact if disclosed.

The denomination of the "Papgeno Effect" comes from an opera by Mozart, produced in the 18th century, named *The Magic Flute*. In the opera, Papageno becomes desperate when he loses his beloved Papagena, and decides to kill himself. However, three geniuses intervene and convince him to go after his love. The result is that Papageno, unlike Werther, gives up on suicide and manages to find Papagena. They both declare themselves in love and start living together. Through this analogy, the authors consider that the intervention of the media, giving visibility to stories of people who gave up on taking their own lives, can act directly in the fight against suicide (NIEDERKROTENTHALER *et al.* 2010).

The key to prevention would be to generate identification between a reader who eventually has suicidal thoughts and someone who has gone through the same situation and got out of it. Articles that deal with social problems related to suicide, or the increase in rates, even with evaluations by specialists, when placed in a sensationalist context, can contribute to an increase in cases. Instead, if the media discourse focuses on reporting individual suicidal ideation, but brings testimonials from people who gave up on this idea, a bond of identification will be created with readers who are experiencing a similar situation.

Final Recommendations and considerations

In this article, we sought to reflect on how the traditional press has positioned itself regarding suicide, from an editorial point of view. We argued that, although well-intentioned, the practice of avoiding the subject, for fear of the so-called "imitation effect", is not necessarily the best contribution to reversing the number of self-inflicted deaths in the country. The use of caution not to naturalize or sensationalize stories of completed suicide should be maintained, in our understanding, as should the other recommendations in the WHO suicide prevention manual and its updates.

In summary, these recommendations, which we reiterate as a whole, are: that the sensationalist coverage be avoided, especially when it involves the suicide of celebrities or people who arouse admiration and identification; that articles which present suicide as an epidemic or an uncontrollable problem should not be published; that suicidal people are not portrayed as heroes; that pictures of the suicidal person, the scene, letters or details about the method are not published; that no visibility is given to theories that explain suicidal behavior as an answer to the degradation of society; that suicide is never shown as a way of dealing with problems,

It is also recommended that reports do not lose sight of the impact of suicide on the victim's relatives and survivors, in terms of stigma and family suffering, and that support services contacts be made public. It

is recommended to publish articles on how to identify risk behaviors and how to deal with stress factors and negative thoughts. To this set, we added new items, inspired by the idea of generating the so-called "Papageno effect", to deter suicidal ideas. In this way, we hope to contribute to bringing alternatives of responsible journalistic content to the daily approach on the subject:

- Not to base the subject on the occurrence of suicides, but on the perspective of recovery regarding the moments in which the person thought of taking his/her own life, and the support service;
- To give visibility to stories of people who gave up on the idea of taking their own lives and are doing well; to develop in these stories elements of identification between these people and the reader who eventually has suicidal ideas;
- To avoid extensive coverage of the same suicide – a practice that was associated by Niederkrotenthaler*et al.* (2010) with an increase in the number of occurrences of this kind of death;
- To interview professionals who can help in the multidisciplinary understanding of the problem, providing potentially useful content in the fight against suicide;
- Not to limit coverage to the General/Cities sections, but to address the issue from the Health/Science or even the Varieties, Behavior and Culture sections, always with the intent of giving visibility to care and the possibilities of recovery.

As noted by Dapieve (2007), the thin line between public interest and the right to privacy is often tensioned in debates involving the newsworthiness of suicide. The phenomenon is at the same time intimate and social, since in its social facet, it represents a serious public health problem. It demands constant ethical reflection from journalism, which, in turn, requires critical thinking.

Noting that there is an inversely proportional relationship between the number of suicides in Brazil and the number of references to the topic in newspapers, at least in the last two decades, suggests that the

press rethink its editorial procedures, in order to assume a more active role in fighting this problem. The central issue in this case is not to report or not, but how to report – as Émile Durkheim already noted in 1897. Our proposal is that the subject be exposed, with the media assuming its pedagogical function more strongly (VIZEU, 2009) in regard to helping people deal with feelings or problems that may lead to suicide.

Finally, we remind the reader that daily media coverage must take into account the susceptibility of certain age groups, especially young people, to news about deaths and diseases – a feeling that we observed to have been intensified during the Covid-19 pandemic (FELIX*et al.*, 2021; CONJUVE, 2020). Therefore, we recommend an effort to, as far as possible, counterbalance in the news the extremely heavy articles about death and suffering with others that show stories of recovery, solidarity and hope, in order to avoid that the experience of news consumption accentuates even more the traumatic fantasies of the moment we are living.

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Análise das estratégias promocionais no Facebook de jornais espanhóis tradicionais e nascidos em formato digital

Analysis of the Promotional Strategies on Facebook of Spanish legacy and digital-born newspapers

Análisis de las estrategias promocionales en Facebook de los diarios españoles tradicionales y nativos digitales

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Resumo: *O objectivo desta investigação é analisar as estratégias de gerenciamento de mídias sociais dos principais jornais espanhóis no Facebook, prestando atenção ao assunto, aos valores das notícias e ao sensacionalismo utilizado. O estudo é baseado em uma análise quantitativa do conteúdo (N = 2,821) do Facebook publicado por três jornais tradicionais (El País, El Mundo e La Vanguardia) e três nativos digitais (El Confidencial, El Diario e El Español). Entre os resultados obtidos, vale a pena salientar que os conteúdos sobre eventos e tribunais são os mais frequentes e a proximidade é o valor de notícia mais recorrente em ambos os tipos de jornais. Em termos de práticas sensacionalistas, os nativos digitais fazem mais uso de texto apelativo e clickbait.*

Palavras-chave: *Facebook; sensacionalismo; valores das notícias; tópicos; jornais diários.*

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Abstract: *This research aims to analyze the social media management strategies of Spanish main newspapers on Facebook, focusing on topics, news values and sensationalism. The study is based on a quantitative content analysis (N = 2,821) of the Facebook posts published by three legacy (El País, El Mundo and La Vanguardia) and three digital-born newspapers (El Confidencial, El Diario and El Español). Results show that contents about crimes and courts cases are the most frequent and that proximity is the most recurrent news value in both types of newspapers. As for sensationalist practices, digital natives rely more frequently on the use of appellative text and clickbait features.*

Key words: *Facebook; sensationalism; news values; topics; newspapers.*

Resumen: *El objetivo de esta investigación es analizar las estrategias de gestión de redes sociales de los principales diarios españoles en Facebook prestando atención a la temática, los valores noticiosos y el sensacionalismo utilizados. El estudio se basa en un análisis de contenido cuantitativo (N = 2.821) de los contenidos en Facebook publicados por tres diarios tradicionales (El País, El Mundo y La Vanguardia) y tres nativos digitales (El Confidencial, El Diario y El Español). Entre los resultados obtenidos, destaca que los contenidos sobre sucesos y tribunales son los más frecuentes y la proximidad, el valor noticioso más recurrente en ambos tipos de diarios. En cuanto a las prácticas sensacionalistas, los nativos digitales utilizan más el texto apelativo y el clickbait.*

Palabras clave: *Facebook; sensacionalismo; valores noticiosos; temas; diarios.*

Introducción

Aunque Facebook ha ido perdiendo peso en los últimos años en el tráfico de los contenidos periodísticos (SEGADO-BOJ *et al.*, 2021), la red social sigue siendo un complemento de los medios *online* para aumentar la difusión de sus noticias (SIERRA SÁNCHEZ *et al.*, 2021). Esto provoca que estos pongan en marcha diferentes tipos de estrategias de gestión de redes sociales con el fin de captar la atención del lector (SEGADO-BOJ *et al.*, 2022b; TORRES SÁEZ DE IBARRA; TORRE-CILLAS-LACAVE, 2019), que pueden referirse a distintos aspectos como la temática, los valores noticiosos o el sensacionalismo. Así, los perfiles de los medios en Facebook se han convertido en un escaparate promocional de sus contenidos, heredando en parte la función que cumplía tradicionalmente la primera página de sus ediciones impresas. De hecho, los recursos promocionales en redes sociales de los medios se han convertido en una parte indispensable de su estrategia de negocio (SEGADO-BOJ *et al.*, 2022).

¿Cuáles de estas prácticas son las más comunes en los diarios españoles? ¿Qué diferencias existen entre los periódicos nativos digitales, que han nacido en un soporte *online*, y los medios tradicionales, que han tenido que adaptarse al contexto virtual? En los últimos años se han publicado estudios sobre las diferencias entre los medios tradicionales y nativos digitales relacionados con la ética periodística (SUÁREZ-VILLEGAS, 2015; PÉREZ-DÍAZ *et al.*, 2020), aspectos económicos, como la financiación o la propiedad (NEGREDO *et al.*, 2020), los perfiles, patrones y cifras de audiencia (ARRESE; KAUFMANN, 2016; VARA-MIGUEL, 2020; NELSON, 2020; MAJÓ-VÁZQUEZ *et al.*, 2020) o la viralidad de sus contenidos en redes sociales (GARCÍA-PERDOMO *et al.*, 2018). Sin embargo, por el momento ningún estudio ha abordado en profundidad las estrategias que utilizan para difundir sus noticias en Facebook los diarios tradicionales por un lado y los nativos digitales por otro, que es el objetivo principal de esta investigación, basada en un análisis de contenido de las publicaciones de seis diarios españoles (*El País*, *El Mundo*, *La Vanguardia*, *El Confidencial*, *El Diario* y *El*

Español) en esta red social. De este modo, con este estudio se analizarán las prácticas de uno y otro tipo de diarios para lograr captar la atención de la audiencia en Facebook, que los medios utilizan como plataforma de promoción de sus contenidos periodísticos.

El uso de Facebook por los medios de comunicación

Temática

Con el fin de lograr un mayor *engagement* con sus lectores a través de sus perfiles en Facebook, los editores de las redes sociales de los medios de comunicación apuestan por noticias relacionadas con el entretenimiento en detrimento de los textos que tratan sobre economía o asuntos de política internacional (LISCHKA, 2021). Diversos trabajos, por otro lado, han señalado que diferentes temas son mejor recibidos por la audiencia en redes sociales. Según un estudio de Bright (2016), las noticias sobre tecnología y ciencia se viralizan más que las que cubren asuntos políticos o crímenes porque los lectores evitan difundir temas que puedan dañar su reputación. En esta línea, las noticias sobre entretenimiento y sociedad son las que registran un mayor número de recomendaciones en Facebook y las de deportes, las que menos (GARCÍA-PERDOMO *et al.*, 2018).

Asimismo, un estudio de García-Perdomo *et al. (*2018) reveló que las noticias sobre gobierno, política o sucesos se viralizan más en los perfiles de Twitter y Facebook de los medios tradicionales que de los nativos digitales. En estos últimos, los contenidos sobre estilo de vida y deportes tienen más difusión que en los medios tradicionales.

Por otro lado, en los últimos años se han publicado algunos estudios sobre los temas difundidos en Facebook por los diarios tradicionales, por un lado, y por los nativos digitales, por otro. Así, según una investigación de Coronado *et al.* (2017), los diarios tradicionales apuestan en esta red social por noticias sobre política nacional, asuntos internacionales y personajes famosos. Los diarios nativos digitales publican en Facebook

contenidos que tratan sobre política, nutrición y ciencia porque son los temas que mejor funcionan (MÉNDEZ *et al.*, 2020). La política precisamente es uno de los temas más estudiados desde el punto de vista del *engagement*, en detrimento de los demás, que no han recibido apenas atención por parte de la academia (SEGADO-BOJ *et al.*, 2022b).

Teniendo en cuenta los estudios anteriores, planteamos la siguiente pregunta de investigación:

PI 1: ¿Qué diferencias existen en la temática de las noticias difundidas en Facebook por los diarios tradicionales y los nativos digitales españoles?

Valores noticiosos

Los valores noticiosos establecen criterios comunes para seleccionar los hechos que van a convertirse en noticias (SHOEMAKER; REESE, 2014). Desde que Lippmann (1946) acuñase el término en los años 20 y Galtung y Ruge lo desarrollasen y popularizasen en el ámbito académico en los años 60 (BEDNAREK; CAPLE, 2012), los valores noticiosos han ido evolucionando en función de los cambios sociales, culturales y económicos experimentados (O'NEILL; HARCUP, 2009).

Con respecto a los valores noticiosos y las redes sociales, la mayor parte de los estudios publicados en los últimos años se refieren a la viralidad y el *engagement* que proporcionan estos valores a las noticias difundidas en los perfiles de los medios en Twitter y Facebook. Según una investigación de Lischka (2021), los editores de redes sociales de los medios señalan que las noticias en Facebook son más exitosas si incluyen emociones, sorpresa, impacto social y rareza. Este mismo estudio refleja que, en comparación con las noticias que se publican en las páginas web de los medios, las noticias en Facebook incluyen más emoción, sorpresa, éxito, proximidad, conflicto, impacto social y relevancia.

Por su parte, Trilling *et al.* (2017) concluyeron que la proximidad, tanto geográfica como cultural, es el valor noticioso con más importancia en la viralización de las noticias en Facebook y Twitter, seguida del conflicto y del interés humano. La proximidad, junto con la relevancia social, también es el valor noticioso más presente en las noticias

publicadas en Facebook según un estudio de Al-Rawi (2017), que analizó los perfiles de cuatro canales de televisión en esta red social.

Por otro lado, la investigación de García-Perdomo *et al.* (2018) reveló que el interés humano, el conflicto y la controversia son los valores noticiosos que más incitan a los lectores a compartir e interactuar con las noticias en Facebook y Twitter. Con respecto a Facebook, en ese mismo estudio concluyeron que el impacto, la relevancia, la utilidad y la rareza provocaron más recomendaciones en esta red social.

En cuanto a los valores noticiosos presentes en las noticias de los medios tradicionales, por un lado, y los nativos digitales, por otro, en los primeros, las noticias sorprendentes y de contenido emocional son las que más se comparten en Facebook (BEDNAREK, 2016). Si se añade Twitter, las noticias con conflicto y controversia se comparten más en los medios tradicionales que en los nativos digitales, mientras que en estos últimos tienen más difusión los contenidos sobre actualidad (GARCÍA-PERDOMO *et al.*, 2018).

No obstante, todavía no existe ninguna investigación que haya analizado en qué valores noticiosos se basa la estrategia promocional de los perfiles de medios de comunicación en Facebook, ni las diferencias que existen en este sentido entre diarios tradicionales y nativos digitales.

Así, tomando como punto de partida las investigaciones anteriores, se plantea la siguiente pregunta de investigación:
PI 2: ¿Qué diferencias existen en los valores noticiosos de los textos periodísticos difundidos en Facebook por los diarios tradicionales y nativos digitales españoles?

Sensacionalismo

Otra de las estrategias que los medios de comunicación utilizan para conseguir que sus contenidos se difundan en Facebook es el sensacionalismo. Los responsables de redes sociales de los medios indican que los contenidos emotivos y el tono positivo son los que cosechan más éxito desde el punto de vista de la audiencia en Facebook (RUIGROK *et al.*, 2016). El sensacionalismo, que busca involucrar al público a través de

un contenido simplista y atractivo que produzca emoción e interés, se manifiesta en distintas prácticas formales como son las listas y la personalización de los titulares, que son muy frecuentes en los contenidos *online* de los medios (KILGO; SINTA, 2016).

Una práctica habitual de los medios en sus redes sociales para conseguir visitas es el uso del *clickbait*, que persigue que el lector pinche en el enlace gracias a un texto redactado de tal forma que funciona como cebo (RONY *et al.*, 2017). El *clickbait* es una estrategia utilizada en los medios *online* cuyo objetivo consiste en llamar la atención a través de los titulares, apelando a las emociones y a la curiosidad de los lectores para que hagan *click* en la noticia (BRAVO ARAUJO *et al.*, 2021). Según García-Orosa *et al.* (2017), se trata de un titular "cuyo objetivo final es mantener al receptor en la página el mayor tiempo posible, no informar. En concreto, el titular cebo tendría como objetivo principal la comercialización o difusión de la información, mientras que el titular periodístico mantendría el rol principal de informar a los usuarios" (2017, p. 1265). Sin embargo, su abuso puede resultar molesto para la experiencia de los usuarios, que pueden llegar a considerarlo una forma de *spam* (POTTHAST *et al.*, 2016). Según varios estudios, el *clickbait* por omisión, que presenta un texto incompleto, es una acción muy extendida en los medios tradicionales españoles *El País* y *El Mundo* (BAZACO *et al.*, 2019; GARCÍA SERRANO *et al.*, 2019).

En cuanto al uso del sensacionalismo según la naturaleza de los medios, los nativos digitales son más innovadores que los tradicionales en sus estrategias *online* ya que utilizan recursos como las listas, los *gif* animados o incluso los memes (O'DONOVAN, 2013). Según una investigación de Kilgo y Sinta (2016), aunque ambos tipos de medios emplean prácticas sensacionalistas como la personalización, las listas y el *clickbait*, los tradicionales hacen un menor uso de ellas porque sus modelos de negocio no dependen exclusivamente de las visitas *online* y porque son propensos a mantener prácticas periodísticas tradicionales.

Partiendo de los estudios anteriores sobre sensacionalismo, planteamos la siguiente pregunta de investigación:

PI 3: ¿Qué diferencias existen en el empleo del sensacionalismo en las noticias difundidas en Facebook por los diarios tradicionales y nativos digitales españoles?

Metodología

La metodología utilizada en el estudio ha sido el análisis de contenido cuantitativo, una técnica habitual para estudiar los contenidos periodísticos publicados en Facebook (COLUSSI; ROCHA, 2020; ALMGREN, 2017). La muestra incluye textos publicados por los perfiles en Facebook de los tres diarios tradicionales y los tres diarios *online* con mayor promedio de visitantes únicos en enero de 2018: *El País, El Mundo, La Vanguardia, El Confidencial, El Diario* y *El Español* (véase la tabla 1).

Tabla 1: Características de los diarios analizados

Diario	Promedio de visitantes únicos en 2017	Tipos de diarios	Promedio de visitantes únicos en enero de 2018
El País	18.860.000	Tradicional	19.905.000
El Mundo	17.458.000	Tradicional	18.912.000
La Vanguardia	17.036.000	Tradicional	19.297.000
El Confidencial	11.608.000	Nativo digital	12.271.000
El Diario	7.852.000	Nativo digital	8.473.000
El Español	7.273.000	Nativo digital	9.146.000

Fuente: ComScore.

Siguiendo a Valenzuela *et al.* (2017) y a Hester y Dougall (2007), se construyeron nueve semanas aleatorias entre julio y septiembre de 2018. Los datos se recolectaron de la API de Facebook mediante la herramienta Next Analytics, que permitió descargar los mensajes publicados en la red social por los perfiles de los diarios analizados, así como los enlaces compartidos en cada publicación. Los textos que no incluían mensajes periodísticos, como anuncios o contenido patrocinado, fueron excluidos manualmente de la muestra. De este modo, se obtuvo una corpus de

análisis compuesto por 2.821 mensajes de Facebook repartidos en los seis diarios analizados (véase la tabla 2).

Tabla 2: Mensajes de los diarios analizados

Diario	n	%
El País	610	21,62
La Vanguardia	513	18,19
El Mundo	502	17,80
El Español	444	15,74
El Confidencial	440	15,60
El Diario	312	11,06

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Se tomó como unidad de análisis tanto el mensaje publicado en Facebook como el titular y el fragmento previsualizado de la información periodística. A continuación se describen los procedimientos de codificación efectuados:

Identificación

Se registró la fecha de publicación del texto, el nombre del medio y su naturaleza (tradicional o nativo digital).

Temática

Se identificó el tema principal de cada texto de acuerdo con las categorías empleadas por Kilgo *et al.* (2018) con ligeras modificaciones para ajustarlas al objeto de estudio: asuntos internacionales, temas gubernamentales, defensa y temas militares, sucesos y tribunales, deportes, economía, medio ambiente y animales, derechos civiles, educación y cultura, entretenimiento y *celebrities*, religión, estilo de vida y salud y ciencia y tecnología. Además, se añadió una categoría adicional de "otros asuntos".

Valores noticiosos

Se consideró como categoría dicotómica la presencia (= 1) o ausencia (= 0) de diferentes valores noticiosos. Última hora (noticias centradas en eventos urgentes, inmediatos o recientes), conflicto (sobre enfrentamientos o controversias), interés humano (focalizadas en aspectos o consecuencias personales de un evento) y utilidad (relacionadas con el periodismo de servicio) se tomaron de García-Perdomo et al. (2018). Otras categorías como sorpresa (textos centrados en los eventos imprevistos o chocantes), relevancia social (focalizados en eventos de envergadura en cuanto a sus consecuencias), élite (centrados en personajes famosos) y humor (con rasgos cómicos o divertidos) se basaron en el estudio de Al-Rawi (2019). Finalmente, de acuerdo con Trilling et al. (2017), se identificó con proximidad a aquellas historias que se desarrollaron en España. Estas categorías no son mutuamente excluyentes, de modo que cada mensaje de Facebook podía ser incluido en varias de ellas simultáneamente.

Enfoque y rasgos sensacionalistas

Siguiendo a Kilgo *et al.* (2018), se consideró la existencia de un enfoque sensacionalista en aquellos artículos que apelaban a la emoción, se centraban en circunstancias extremas, simplificaban o trivializaban asuntos complejos o se focalizaban en los aspectos más chocantes de la información.

Además, se identificaron distintas características consideradas sensacionalistas por varios autores. De acuerdo con Kilgo y Sinta (2016), se encontró *personalización* en aquellos casos en los que el texto apelaba directamente al lector y *listas* en aquellos que ordenaban la información a modo de listado. Asimismo, se reconoció la existencia del *clickbait* en aquellos casos en que el texto ocultaba información que prometía ofrecerse al pinchar y leer el cuerpo de la noticia (BLOM; HANSEN, 2015).

La codificación fue llevada a cabo por uno de los autores del estudio. Dado que únicamente una persona se encargó de este proceso, no

se precisó calcular ningún coeficiente de fiabilidad entre codificadores. Una vez extraídos los datos, se calculó la relación de independencia entre las variables consideradas mediante la prueba de chi cuadrado de Pearson. Para ello se empleó el lenguaje informático R.

Resultados

Temática y tipos de diarios (PI 1)

En los dos tipos de diarios estudiados las noticias publicadas en Facebook con mayor frecuencia tratan sobre sucesos y tribunales, con casi uno de cada tres textos publicados pertenecientes a esta temática (véase la tabla 3). Los siguientes asuntos más populares en el caso de los diarios tradicionales son entretenimiento y *celebrities* y, a continuación, temas gubernamentales. Los medios nativos digitales, por el contrario, publican en Facebook más noticias sobre temas gubernamentales que sobre entretenimiento y *celebrities*.

Por otro lado, las noticias sobre defensa y temas militares son las menos frecuentes en los perfiles de Facebook de los diarios tradicionales, seguidas por los textos sobre religión y educación y cultura. En el caso de los nativos digitales, la religión es el tema menos difundido, seguido por educación y cultura y medio ambiente y animales.

Tabla 3: Presencia de temas por tipo de diario

	Tradicionales		Nativos digitales	
	n	%	n	%
Asuntos internacionales	143	8,80	84	7,02
Medio ambiente y animales	50	3,08	16	1,34
Religión	11	0,68	3	0,25
Estilo de vida y salud	138	8,49	128	10,70
Ciencia y tecnología	49	3,02	21	1,76
Otros asuntos	85	5,23	56	4,68

	Tradicionales		Nativos digitales	
	n	%	n	%
Defensa y temas militares	10	0,62	26	2,17
Temas gubernamentales	189	11,63	276	23,08
Sucesos y tribunales	464	28,55	281	23,49
Deportes	114	7,02	38	3,18
Economía	21	1,29	42	3,51
Derechos civiles	23	1,42	24	2,01
Educación y cultura	12	0,74	10	0,84
Entretenimiento y *celebrities*	316	19,45	191	15,97

Fuente: elaboración propia.

En cuanto a la relación entre temas de noticias y tipos de diarios, el chi cuadrado arroja una diferencia significativa (x^2=137,26; p <0,001) entre nativos digitales y diarios tradicionales. Los primeros optan con mayor frecuencia por temas gubernamentales, economía y estilo de vida y salud (véase la tabla 4). Los tradicionales, en cambio, difunden en Facebook más noticias sobre sucesos y tribunales, deportes y entretenimiento y *celebrities* en comparación con la distribución esperada.

Tabla 4: Prueba de chi cuadrado a temas y tipos de diarios

	Tradicionales		Nativos digitales	
	n	Esperados	n	Esperados
Asuntos internacionales	143	130,76	84	96,24
Medio ambiente y animales	50	38,02	16	27,98
Religión	11	8,06	3	5,94
Estilo de vida, salud	138	153,23	128	112,77
Ciencia, Tecnología	49	40,32	21	29,68
Otros	85	81,22	56	59,78
Defensa, temas militares	10	20,74	26	15,26
Temas gubernamentales	189	267,86	276	197,14
Sucesos y tribunales	464	429,15	281	315,85
Deportes	114	87,56	38	64,44

	Tradicionales		Nativos digitales	
	n	Esperados	n	Esperados
Economía	21	36,29	42	26,71
Derechos civiles	23	27,07	24	19,93
Educación y cultura	12	12,67	10	9,33
Entretenimiento y *celebrities*	316	292,05	191	214,95

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Valores noticiosos y tipos de diarios (PI 2)

Respecto a los valores noticiosos analizados, el más frecuente tanto en los diarios tradicionales como en los nativos digitales es la proximidad, aunque este valor destaca en los segundos, ya que el 76% de las noticias lo incluyen, frente al 55% de los diarios tradicionales. Tras la proximidad, en este tipo de diarios son recurrentes la sorpresa y el conflicto, mientras que en los nativos digitales a la proximidad le siguen el conflicto y la sorpresa (véase la tabla 5).

Tabla 5: Valores noticiosos por tipo de diario

	Tradicionales		Nativos digitales	
	n	%	n	%
Última hora	59	3,63	30	2,51
Relevancia social	590	36,31	319	26,67
Conflicto	602	37,05	436	36,45
Interés humano	501	30,83	341	28,51
Proximidad	898	55,26	910	76,09
Utilidad	127	7,82	122	10,20
Sorpresa	668	41,11	367	30,69
Élite	462	28,43	354	29,60
Humor	14	0,86	8	0,67

Fuente: elaboración propia.

La prueba de independencia de chi cuadrado identificó una relación significativa entre el tipo de diario y los valores noticiosos. De manera concreta, la relevancia social es más habitual en los diarios tradicionales, al situarse su frecuencia por encima de lo teóricamente esperado. En cambio, los nativos digitales tienden a promocionar más frecuentemente en Facebook noticias de proximidad y de utilidad para el lector, al registrar valores superiores a la distribución esperada (véase la tabla 6).

Tabla 6: Prueba de chi cuadrado a valores noticiosos y tipos de diarios

	X^2	p	Tipos de diarios	n	Esperados
Proximidad	129,83	< .001	Tradicional	898	1041,47
			Nativo digital	910	766,52
Utilidad	4,87	.027	Tradicional	127	143,43
			Nativo digital	122	105,57
Relevancia social	29,29	< .001	Tradicional	590	523,62
			Nativo digital	319	385,38

Nota: se detallan exclusivamente aquellas relaciones que alcanzan el umbral de significatividad (p ≤ .05).
Fuente: elaboración propia.

Sensacionalismo y tipos de diarios (PI 3)

El enfoque sensacionalista de las publicaciones en Facebook muestra una presencia similar en los diarios tradicionales y en los nativos digitales, en ambos casos ligeramente por encima del 20%. En cuanto a la existencia de rasgos sensacionalistas, el titular *clickbait* es el recurso más utilizado en ambos tipos de medios, seguido por el texto *clickbait* (véase la tabla 7).

Tabla 7: Presencia de recursos sensacionalistas por tipo de diario

	Tradicionales		Nativos digitales	
	n	%	n	%
Enfoque sensacionalista	360	22,15	255	21,32
Texto apelativo	62	3,82	86	7,19
Titular apelativo	67	4,12	63	5,27
Texto *clickbait*	338	20,80	294	24,58
Titular *clickbait*	385	23,69	321	26,84
Texto lista	9	0,55	9	0,75
Titular lista	34	2,09	28	2,34

Fuente: elaboración propia.

De acuerdo con la prueba de chi cuadrado, la relación entre el tipo de diarios y los rasgos sensacionalistas es significativa en los casos del texto apelativo y del texto *clickbait*. En ambos casos los medios nativos digitales recurren con más frecuencia a estos elementos en comparación con la distribución esperada (véase la tabla 8).

Tabla 8: Prueba de chi cuadrado a rasgos sensacionalistas y tipos de diarios

	X^2	p	Tipos de diarios	n	Esperados
Texto apelativo	15,79	< .001	Tradicional	62	85,25
			Nativo digital	86	62,75
Texto *clickbait*	5,67	.017	Tradicional	338	364,05
			Nativo digital	294	267,95

Nota: se detallan exclusivamente aquellas relaciones que alcanzan el umbral de significatividad ($p \leq .05$).
Fuente: elaboración propia.

Discusión y conclusiones

El objetivo de esta investigación era analizar las estrategias de gestión de redes sociales que utilizan los diarios tradicionales y los nativos digitales

españoles en sus perfiles de Facebook desde el punto de vista de la temática, los valores noticiosos y el sensacionalismo de los contenidos. Con respecto a los temas, tanto en los diarios nativos digitales como en los tradicionales priman los sucesos y los tribunales, el entretenimiento y las *celebrities* y los asuntos gubernamentales. La mayor parte, salvo las de tribunales y asuntos gubernamentales, son noticias catalogadas como *soft news* ya que tratan temas considerados ligeros. Por esa razón, su protagonismo en Facebook podría deberse a que los editores de redes sociales les atribuyen más atractivo para el público, dado que son noticias más rápidas de entender y consumir que otros contenidos más densos relacionados con la política internacional o la economía, etiquetados como *hard news*. De hecho, esta tendencia ha provocado que algunos medios intenten suavizar el contenido de las *hard news* aportándoles rasgos de las *soft news* (STEINER, 2020). Este protagonismo de las noticias entretenidas y sobre personajes famosos va en la línea de estudios anteriores, que demostraban una mayor presencia de este tipo de temas en Facebook por su *engagement* con la audiencia (GARCÍA-PERDOMO *et al.*, 2018; LISCHKA, 2021).

Por otro lado, los nativos digitales publican más contenidos sobre gobierno, economía, estilo de vida y salud en comparación con la distribución esperada. Con respecto al primer tema, se corroborarían parte de los resultados del estudio de Méndez *et al.* (2020), que indicaba que los temas sobre política funcionaban bien en este tipo de medios. En cuanto a estilo de vida y salud, los resultados van en la línea de las conclusiones de García-Perdomo *et al.* (2018), que señalaban que este tipo de contenidos lograba una mayor difusión en los nativos digitales que en los tradicionales. Se puede señalar así una relación entre los temas más frecuentemente promocionados en los perfiles de Facebook de los medios y aquellos que generan mejores métricas de *engagement*. Existe una confluencia temática, al menos en términos generales, entre la agenda de los editores de redes sociales de los medios y las preferencias generales de la audiencia.

Otro de los resultados que arroja este estudio es la escasa presencia de las noticias medioambientales en los perfiles de Facebook de los diarios nativos digitales. Este hecho guarda relación con las inquietudes de los españoles, ya que solo un 6% de ellos considera que el medio ambiente y el cambio climático es uno de los dos retos más importantes a los que tiene que hacer frente España en la actualidad, frente al 18% de media de la Unión Europea (COMISIÓN EUROPEA, 2021). Por tanto, como a los españoles no les interesa apenas el medioambiente, los nativos digitales no apuestan por estos temas en sus perfiles de Facebook.

Los medios tradicionales, por su parte, difunden en Facebook más noticias sobre sucesos y tribunales, deporte y entretenimiento y *celebrities* con respecto a la distribución esperada. Esto confirma parte de lo observado por Coronado *et al.* (2017), que señalaban que este tipo de medios apostaban por contenidos sobre personajes famosos. Otra razón para que los medios tradicionales decidan publicar estos contenidos, especialmente los de entretenimiento y deporte, es porque son muy difundidos por los lectores en Facebook (COX, 2016).

En cuanto a los valores noticiosos, la proximidad es el valor más frecuente en las noticias de Facebook tanto de los medios tradicionales como de los nativos digitales. Esto se explica porque este factor provoca un alto grado de viralidad y *engagement*, como han demostrado diferentes investigaciones (AL-RAWI, 2017; TRILLING *et al*., 2017; LISCHKA, 2021). Además, tradicionalmente este ha sido uno de los valores noticiosos más relevantes ya que al público le interesa lo que se sitúa cerca de él, como señala la Ley de McLurg (SCHLESINGER, 1975) y la teoría de la proximidad cultural (STRAUBHAAR, 2007), ya sea geográfica o culturalmente. Por eso, es un factor clave en cualquier tipo de medio de comunicación.

En cuanto a tipos de diarios, otros valores noticiosos destacados en los medios tradicionales son la sorpresa y el conflicto, mientras que en los nativos digitales son los mismos valores pero en orden invertido. Con respecto a los diarios tradicionales, los resultados estarían en la línea de investigaciones anteriores, que identificaron el conflicto y la sorpresa

como valores noticiosos destacados en este tipo de diarios (BEDNA-REK, 2016; GARCÍA-PERDOMO *et al.*, 2018). Además, otro estudio demostró que en *The New York Times*, un medio tradicional de referencia, las noticias sorprendentes eran de las más difundidas por sus lectores por la alta excitación que generaban (BERGER; MILKMAN, 2010).

Con respecto al sensacionalismo, esta estrategia no se utiliza con frecuencia en ninguno de los dos tipos de diarios analizados. El rasgo sensacionalista más utilizado por ambos es el *clickbait* tanto en los titulares como en los textos de Facebook. No obstante, su uso es limitado, ya que únicamente está presente en una cuarta parte de los contenidos estudiados. Este resultado contrasta con estudios anteriores que detectaron un uso elevado de *clickbait* en los contenidos de los medios en Facebook (RONY *et al.*, 2017; BAZACO *et al.*, 2019; GARCÍA SERRANO *et al.*, 2019). Esta diferencia podría deberse a que esta investigación se focaliza en España, en seis diarios y en el uso exclusivo de Facebook, a diferencia del resto de estudios publicados hasta el momento, ya que ninguno de ellos reúne estas tres características. Además, también podría justificarse porque los diarios buscan atraer hasta sus páginas a un *target* específico, que evita este tipo de contenidos que se acercan al amarillismo y al morbo. Esta característica se acentúa en los medios tradicionales, que se posicionan como diarios serios y que aspiran a ser cabeceras de referencia para la sociedad. En cuanto a los nativos digitales, podemos concluir que no tienen por qué recurrir necesariamente en mayor medida al sensacionalismo porque su modelo de negocio está cada vez más basado en suscripciones y menos en la publicidad (TEJEDOR; PLA PABLOS, 2020).

Por tipos de medios, los nativos digitales registran más textos apelativos y *clickbait* en comparación con la distribución esperada. De este modo, el texto introductorio de las publicaciones de Facebook parece percibirse como un soporte para experimentar con algunos recursos sensacionalistas, alejado de los criterios clásicos que los periodistas siguen en la redacción de los titulares. Este resultado corrobora investigaciones anteriores que indicaban que los medios puramente *online* eran más

innovadores que los tradicionales en el uso de recursos sensacionalistas (O'DONOVAN, 2013; KILGO; SINTA, 2016).

Este estudio contribuye a aumentar la escasa producción científica existente sobre el uso de redes sociales tanto de diarios tradicionales como de nativos digitales. Como hemos mostrado en esta investigación, ambos tipos de medios ponen en práctica varias estrategias de gestión de redes sociales, en Facebook, en este caso, con el fin de atraer a la audiencia y conseguir así tráfico *online* e ingresos publicitarios.

En cuanto a las limitaciones de la investigación, se han estudiado las estrategias de Facebook de seis diarios españoles, por lo que resultaría de interés ampliar la muestra a otros diarios y medios de comunicación tanto de España como de otros países con el fin de contrastar los resultados obtenidos y observar tendencias. Además, se podrían abordar estudios que se basasen en técnicas de investigación cualitativas y que pusiesen el foco en los lectores con el objetivo de conocer sus percepciones sobre los contenidos que consumen en los perfiles de Facebook de los medios de comunicación.

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9ª Geração de Videogames e as dimensões que impactam a sua aquisição. Como os valores, risco e custo de mudança influenciam o comportamento de compra

9th Generation of Videogames and the dimensions that impact their acquisition. How values, risk and switching cost influence the purchase

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Resumo: *Jogar videogame a princípio é só diversão, mas esse mercado movimenta por ano quase 2 trilhões de dólares. Porém, apesar dos números, não são muitos os estudos acadêmicos sobre esse mercado. Desse modo, essa pesquisa pretende ampliar um pouco esse conhecimento, particularmente, sobre as influências na intenção de compra de um videogame novo. Existem diversas teorias sobre os fatores que a influenciam direta, ou indiretamente, no qual para este estudo foi utilizado um modelo adaptado baseado na Theory of Consumption Values. Para adaptação da escala, foi realizada uma varredura sobre as gerações de videogames, mercado e particularidades desse produto, seguida de uma survey respondida por 403 jogadores e analisada por meio de SEM-PLS. Os resultados demonstraram que os valores utilitários e hedônicos, bem como o custo de mudança e risco percebido influenciam consideravelmente a intenção de compra.*

Palavras-chave: *Videogame; Intenção de Compra; Risco Percebido; Valores; Custo de Mudança; Jogos.*

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Abstract: *Playing video games is just fun at first, but this market moves almost 2 trillion dollars a year. However, despite the numbers, there are not many academic studies about this market. In this way, this research intends to expand a little this knowledge, particularly about the influences on the purchase intention of a new video game. There are several theories about the factors that influence it directly or indirectly, in which an adapted model based on the Theory of Consumption Values was used for this study. To adapt the scale, a scan was carried out on the generations of video games, market and particularities of this product, followed by a survey answered by 403 players and analyzed using SEM-PLS. The results showed that utilitarian and hedonic values, as well as switching cost and perceived risk considerably influence purchase intention.*

Keywords: *Video Game; Purchase Intent; Value; Perceived Risk; Cost of Change; Games.*

Introduction

Video games on all platforms, which include the consoles, computers, portable consoles, tablets and smartphones, have become part of everyday leisure and social activities for many families (BASSIOUNI *et al.*, 2019). In 2017, this market moved U$ 1.9 trillion worldwide, and the expectation is that by 2022 it will grow another 5.3%. It is worth mentioning that this growth is not restricted to the market, in bibliometrics carried out by García-Sanchéz *et al.* (2019), there is a high growth trend, with an increase of 60% of articles published on the subject from 2013 to 2018. However, the gap persists in terms of the market since most of the works are related to Health, Psychology and Education (MARCHAND; HENNIG-THURAU, 2013; MARTINS, 2015).

The recently released ninth generation of videogames, object of this study, is an expensive technological product, with several attributes, with much expectation about a truly superior performance compared to previous generations. In this generation, Sony and Microsoft have brought great improvements in the attributes related to processing speed, graphics performance, memory and storage. There were also improvements in subscription programs, backward compatibility and in the forms of social interaction (SPENCER, 2020). Nintendo, so far, has not commented on the ninth generation, and has taken Switch as belonging to the ninth generation, following the previous strategy of searching for casual players, with a greater age spectrum, with its family-friendly games and greater interaction between players (ROUSSEL-TARBOURIECH *et al.*, 2019).

For Gammarano (2018) this is an aggressive market, dominated by only three companies that are increasingly trying to generate value for the users, adding to each generation more elements such as interaction, sociability, portability, convergence etc. This addition of several services, according to Parasuraman *et al.* (1985), is a way to obtain a key for success in competitve markets, where products are not easily differentiated. This market is also characterized by growth and revenue, and a high degree

of innovation and dynamics alongside other entertainment industries (CABRAS *et al.*, 2017).

On the other hand, videogame consumers, also known as gamers or players, today have an average of 34 years old, and have been playing for more than a decade (GUINS, 2016). As for gender, according to a survey by NEWZOO (2018), women represent 46% of the market, but there are differences in the forms of consumption. Women play more on their cell phones, leveraged by the famous game Candy Crush, than on the computer and the videogame. In videogames, the difference reaches 24% less then men, that is, in terms of consoles, males would have 62% of the share, and females 38%. This proportion result is widely discussed because it does not involve the types of games, or the time played, as some games, such as cell phone games, are often not considered "real" games. A survey of 270,000 players worldwide obtained a different percentage figure, according to which 18% were women. This survey also found that 70% of users of games like Candy Crush and Farm Ville, typically cell phone games, are of this gender, whereas in shooting, racing and sports games, they do not reach 8% (YEE, 2017).

Currently, companies even get a direct connection with players. Due to this condition, the industry has given greater preference to the online use of its products, thus allowing the collection of an array of data on the consumption of its clients. This data has provided the construction of more consistent relationships, enabling the promotion of additional content, promotions and targeted recommendations, based on algorithms and artificial intelligence based on the gamers' profiles (CALDERON-VILCA *et al.*, 2020).

Considering the gaps presented, it is interesting to understand what values motivate the consumers in buying a videogame, in this case, the newly released ninth generation videogames, and the weight of switching costs and perceived risks, but for that, we need to better define what is a 9th generation videogame. A videogame is a dedicated hardware, that is, a hardware developed for a specific function (STOCCO *et al.*, 2015). This hardware is called a console. The consoles are designed

for players to have the best possible experience when they are playing (NAN *et al.*, 2022). Games are the software that runs on these consoles. As technonolgy develops, new generations of hardware are successively released. During 2020 and 2021, the ninth generation consoles were released, which embed the most advanced technologies and provide an experience almost as if you were manipulating a movie (the lives of the characters) with each play.

Thus, to add another brick to this collective construction of knowledge, this study uses as a basis the study by Chunmei and Weijun (2017), which dealt with the same predictors for purchase intent and future purchase satisfaction, but in a market different from the one in this study. The justification for this choice lies in the fact that purchase satisfaction and intent are preconditions for survival in competitive markets such as the market of game consoles. Researches like this one have not yet been carried out for this market. Therefore, we pose as a research question: What is the influence of the utilitarian, hedonic and social values, as well as of the perceived risk and the switching cost in the purchase intent of these devices?

For this purpose, an explanatory and descriptive survey was carried out using Popper's (2002) hypothetical-deductive scientific method and employing structural equations modeling, as well as those used by Chunmei and Weijun (2017) in their model adapted from the Theory of Consumption Values by Sheth *et al.* (1991). The data were obtained from a questionnaire sent to all the main groups of Brazilian gamers on Facebook.

Literature revision

The evaluation of a product and its attributes is usually the result of what it means, and not what it does. This meaning can have more to do with the performance expectations of the product and attributes, than with the product itself (SOLOMON, 2002). Some authors, like Zeithaml (1988), call this value. The utilitarian or functional value is the perceived utility of the product's ability to perform its functional purposes, usually

through the functional, utilitarian or physical attributes (SHETH *et al.*, 1991). It is related to the product's objective and concrete functionalities (LOVELOCK *et al*, 2011). As for the hedonic value, it is subjective and symbolic, a status, an image, less functional and often associated with intangible aspects, it is something felt by costumers (ROCHA; BRANTES, 2012). For some people, a computer may have a high hedonic value, but for others, only the utilitarian value is perceived (HOLBROOK; HIRSCHMAN, 1982). A video game is a product that involves both natures, utilitarian and hedonic (BRIKEN *et al.*, 2017) and its attributes respond in a similar way, having a large number of intrinsic attributes, normally more connected to utilitarian values, and extrinsic ones, connected to hedonic values.

H1a: Utilitarian value positively affects satisfaction with video game consumption.
H1b: Utilitarian value positively affects the purchase intent of a video game.
H2a: Hedonic value positively affects the satisfaction with video game consumption
H2b: Hedonic value positively affects the purchase intent of a video game.

Sheth *et al.* (1991) designed a theoretical structure called Theory of Consumption Values, which also declares social value as a predictor of behavior. It is a perception of the product associated with the feeling of belonging to relevant primary and secondary reference groups, in demographic, socioeconomic, political, cultural or ethnic segments, positively or negatively identified. Consumers are driven by social value according to the groups to which they belong, identify themselves with or wish to belong to (LONG; SCHIFFMAN, 2000). In contrast to the opinion that playing video games is a solitary activity, this form of leisure is an intense source of social interaction. Sometimes it is even the reason to start playing them (van ROOIJ *et al.*, 2017).

The video game, since the first generations, was not something built to be played by only one person, but by two. With the improvement of technical capacities, especially in the eigth generation, there was an explosion of online games, allowing thousands of people (friends, acquaintances and strangers) (NASCIMENTO, 2013) not only to play, but also to share and chat within this virtual world of the platforms (LIU, 2017).

H3a: Social value positively affects satisfaction with video game consumption.

H3b: Social value positively affects the purchase intent of a video game.

Chunmei and Weijun (2017), in their model, also mention the perceived risk, which is an expectation of uncertainty about possible unpleasant results of purchasing the product, and the fear of loss in that purchase (JACOBY; KAPLAN,1972), when customers cannot predict the consequences to their decision to buy (NIKHIL; ANUP, 2016). Risk is an accumulation of various smaller facets, the main one being financial risk, but there are also performance, time and social risks (BAUER, 1960). Risk is especially relevant in products that are expensive, complicated or difficult to evaluate before consumption. In these cases, less experienced users are likely to face a greater uncertainty, and to mitigate this, seek recommendations or chose the company with the best reputation, so as not to purchase something that proves to be disappointing during use (ZEITHAML, 1988). In the case of video games, the first one to be mentioned is related to price, that is, the financial risk. This happens because this product has a high purchase value, since it is a modern technological product. The second one is related to performance, to the possibility of buying something that will perform less than expected, given the advertised performance characteristics, with high expectations about performance. At last, we have the psychological and social risks, since video games are a strong instrument of sociability (ARRUDA

FILHO; GAMMARANO, 2018), resulting in the risk of acquiring a new platform that is different, or discriminated by the group of customers to which they belong, thus influencing the decision making process.

H4a: Perceived risk significantly and negatively affects satisfaction with video games consumption.
H4b: Perceived risk negatively affects the purchase intent of a video game.

The switching cost is the cost that the consumer faces when changing from one supplier to another. It may be seen as the additional cost needed to end the current relationship and secure an alternative (PORTER, 1980). This switching cost acts as an exit barrier. In this case, the customer may remain in the relationship because the psychological and financial costs of changing are considered too high (KLEMPERER, 1987). A customer may want to avoid the psychological and emotional stress that ending a relationship, even if unsatisfactory, could bring, and therefore remains in the relationship (PING, 1993), especially when the available alternatives are limited. In the video game market, these costs are potentially important, since there are three dominant suppliers and the cost of acquiring a ninth generation video game is high, so the change needs to be really advantageous (GALLANGHER; PARK, 2003).

A clear cost of this migration is the loss of the library of games acquired over time, since not all games are cross-platform. Another point is the built network, which involves online friends, your persona and achievements in this network; there are also the complements, or accessories, which are additions of products and services to complement the most important ones (DHARGALKAR *et al.*, 2016) such as steering wheels, joysticks, avatars, movies and the applications purchased. Finally, there is the tacit knowledge of use, which involves familiarity with the joystick and the interfaces, although it is not as relevant as the

other items, given the easy usability and the fact that the target public is young and easily adaptable (GALLANGHER; PARK, 2003).

H5a: The switching cost negatively affects satisfaction with video games consumption.

H5b: The switching cost negatively affects the purchase intent of a video game.

We also have satisfaction as a pleasure resulting from a product's performance in relation to the expectation placed on the use of the product. This satisfaction can also be an expectation of future satisfaction, or anticipated satisfaction, as in the case of this study (KOTLER, 2000). For Oliver (1997), the expectation of satisfaction exists when the consumer aspires to quality and performance in producing companies. Satisfaction has already been extensively studied and positively tested by several authors, and is also considered an important determinant (GRONHOLDT *et al.*, 2000).

H6: The expectation of satisfaction positively affects the purchase intent.

Figure 1 – Proposed model with addition of the switching cost
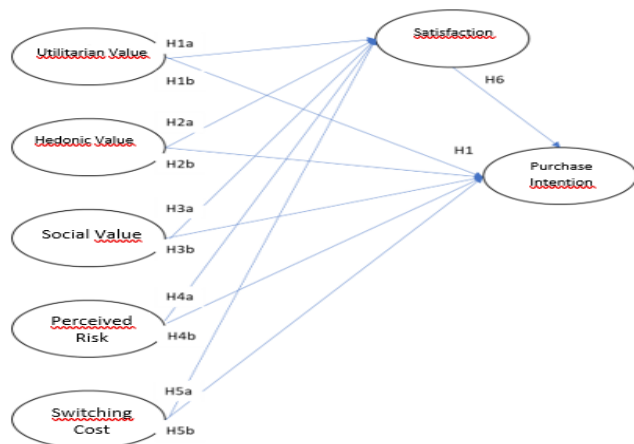
Source: Author himself

Methodology

The study was carried out by probabilistic sampling; the respondents were obtained randomly from the disclosure of the questionnaire in January, 2021, in the largest Brazilian gamer groups present on Facebook. This survey had 412 respondents which after a scrutiny of repeated answers, reached 403 valid responses.

The research instrument was composed of 26 objective questions, divided into 4 sessions. One of these questions made up the core of the research, the understanding of the model, with 29 items. This core obeyed a non-comparative ordered semantics differential scale of 5 points varying from "I Totally disagree" to "I Totally agree". In this case, the possibilities of answers were reduced from the original with 7 points by Chunmei and Weijun (2017), to 5, with the aim of making the questionnaire more dynamic without losing its precision, being better than the 7-point scale (DALMORO; VIEIRA, 2014). In addition, the original scales of the model constructs were translated into Portuguese and adapted for the product in question, videogames.

For the validation of the semantic clarity of the questionnaire and the performance, following the orientation of Hair *et al*. (2009) and Malhotra *et al*. (2017), before the official submission, 10 regular and casual players were selected, and they proposed adjustments in the wording of the questions and other improvements, providing greater clarity in the reading.

Presentation of results

Sample Profile and Model Validation

As a result of the descriptive statistics analysis, 88% of the respondents are males, 77% are between 20 and 39 years old, 69% have a higher education level or above,72% play more than three times a week and 86% have been playing for over 10 years. Regarding the income of the interviewed, many of them (43%) are in the range of R$ 1.000,00 to R$ 3.000,00 per month. As for the multivariate analysis, we used the structural equations modeling based on partial least squares, as employed by Chunmei and Weijun (2017). About this, the SMARTPLS software was used for validations and tests of the model and structure (RINGLE et al, 2014). It has the following constructs: Purchase Intent (PI); Perceived Risk (RK); Hedonic Value (HV); Social Value (SV); Satisfaction (ST) and Switching Cost (CM).

Initially, a confirmatory analysis was performed to evaluate the measurement model, and then the AVE of the constructs was evaluated. All the indicators were above the proposed minimum limits of 0,4, except for the observed variables UV2, RK2 e RK1. These were excluded from the model in order to increase its consistency.

Table 1 – results of several indicators of scale and model adjustments

	AVE [a]	CC [b]	R²	Cronbach's Alpha	Communality	Redundancy
CM	0,523	0,764		0,592	0,523	
PI	0,674	0,891	0,620	0,835	0,674	0,003
RK	0,576	0,730		0,271	0,576	
SV	0,562	0,836		0,754	0,562	
UV	0,616	0,826		0,682	0,616	
HV	0,660	0,886		0,829	0,660	
ST	0,663	0,855	0,597	0,751	0,663	0,107

[a] AVE – Average Variance Extracted   [b] CC – Composite Reliability
Source: Author himself

The initial analysis of the model showed that the CM construct had an AVE < 0.5, or, 0.41. For correction without elimination of the latent variable, two observed variables (CM2 and CM5) that had the lowest factorial loads in this construct were removed, increasing to the minimum required. As for the Convergent Validity, based on the observation of the values of the Internal Consistency (Cronbach's alpha) and Composite Reliability (CC), we notice that all values are above the minimum required limits, > 0.6 and > 0.7 respectively. The exception is the Cronbach's Alfa of the perceived risk (RK), but because it has adequate AVE and Composite Reliability, it was kept in the model. The observed variables CM5 and CM2 were excluded from the model to ensure quality because they have the lowest factorial loads. Regarding the discriminant validity, following Chin's criterion, it is found that the factorial loads of the observed variables are always higher in the original constructs than in the others. And according to the criterion of Fornell and Larcker (1981), we also observe the discriminant validity, with all the square roots of the AVEs of each construct being greater than the other correlations.

Table 2 – Data to prove the discriminant validity test of Fornell and Larker (1981)

	CM	PI	RK	SV	UV	HV	ST
CM	0,724						
PI	-0,362	0,821					
RK	0,402	-0,172	0,760				
SV	0,091	0,256	0,158	0,750			
UV	-0,311	0,648	-0,152	0,271	0,785		
HV	-0,336	0,627	-0,023	0,237	0,632	0,813	
ST	-0,479	0,750	-0,240	0,204	0,664	0,655	0,815

Note: Diagonal values are the square root of the average variance extracted from each construct.
Source: Author himself

Regarding the evaluation of the paths, the R2 was verified. As seen, PI (62%) and ST (59%) have values considered high (greater than 26%). The second one is the evaluation of significances based on the verification of values above 1.64, preferably 1.96. The relations between latent and observed variables were significant, with a p-value less than 0.05 (values greater than 1.96), except for the relations between RK -> PI and CM -> PI.

Table 3 – Values of Q^2 and f^2

VL	Q^2	f^2
CM	0,104	0,104
PI	0,391	0,462
RK	-0,107	-0,107
SV	0,280	0,280
UV	0,249	0,249
HV	0,427	0,427
ST	0,381	0,327

Source: Author himself

Regarding model quality indicators, the predictive validity (Q2) and the effect size (f2) were evaluated, and both the Q2 and f2 values indicate that the model is accurate and that the constructs are important for the general adjustment of the model. This time the RK had a low, but valid accuracy. And finally, the evaluation of the GoF, a general indicator of the quality of the model, which must be greater than 0.36, in this case were greater than the required value.

Figure 2 presents the results of the paths' coefficients and their respective confidence levels. The explained variances of purchase intent and satisfaction are 0.62 and 0.59, respectively; that is, the constructs used represent approximately 60% of the influence, both in purchase intent and satisfaction.

Figure 2 – Model and coefficients of the paths and confidence levels
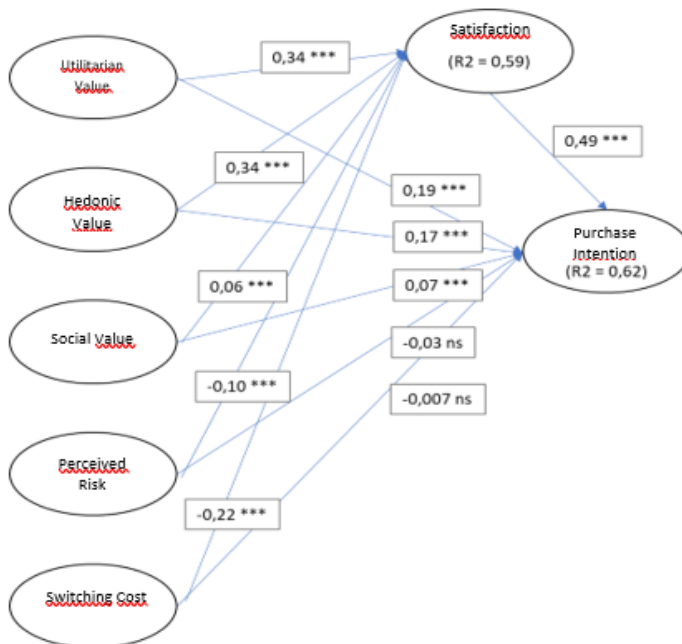
Source: Author himself

Table 4: Result of the hypothesis tests

Relation	Significance		Hypothesis	Status
UV -> ST	7,1918	***	H1a	Confirmed
UV -> PI	4,0923	***	H1b	Confirmed
HV -> ST	7,2831	***	H2a	Confirmed
HV -> PI	3,5552	***	H2b	Confirmed
SV -> st	2,0962	***	H3a	Confirmed
SV -> PI	2,1282	***	H3b	Confirmed
RK -> ST	2,8406	***	H4a	Confirmed
RK -> PI	1,0006	ns	H4b	Not Confirmed
CM -> ST	5,7274	***	H5a	Confirmed
CM -> PI	0,2382	ns	H5b	Not Confirmed
ST -> PI	10,7455	***	H6	Confirmed

Note: ns = p > 0,05; *** = p < 0,01
Source: Author himself

Discussion and conclusion

This study explored the effects of values, switching cost and perceived risk on satisfaction and purchase intent. The result showed that both utilitarian and hedonic values have the greatest positive and significant impacts on satisfaction expectation and purchase intent, a result similar to the work of Chunmei and Weijun (2017), and compatible with specific studies on video games. Video games strongly involve both natures, utilitarian and hedonic (HIGUCHI, 2018). For Venkatesh (2012), both kinds are important when it comes to technology. However, the purchase intent is slightly more influenced by the utilitarian value. Perhaps it is just a logical justification for the acquisition. On the other hand, video games indeed have several functional attributes related to the utilitarian view, such as Blu-ray, access to the internet and running various applications (VAN ROOIJ *et al.*, 2017).

The social value did not prove to be very influential both in the purchase intent and in the satisfaction expectation, which contradicts

several studies that praise video games and the sociability inherent to this product, since it was built to be played with at least two people, and currently with the explosion of online games, it was expected that there would be a greater influence (WANG; GOH, 2017). According to Grant (2010) and Jimenez (2019) this is an important factor when choosing a video game and its related products. Perhaps this low significance is due to the prevalence of other values that end up outshining social relevance, as video games have notorious characteristics more associated with hedonic and utilitarian values, such as high processing capacity and the number of games, which already have existed in this product for some generations (ARRUDA FILHO; GAMMARANO, 2018).

Regarding the switching cost, it had a great negative influence on the satisfaction expectation, however, its direct relationship with the purchase intent was not significant. As for its high and negative impact on satisfaction, it corroborates what Hauser et al (1994) and Yen (2010) said. Remembering that in the case of video games, the switching cost is related to the possible loss of games and accessories purchased, and to losses related to items and scores, since it is not always possible to transport them to those of the same brand as the current video game. Some studies also highlight that the more complex the product, the greater this influence (FORNELL *et al*., 1996).

As for the perceived risk, this had a reasonably negative influence on the satisfaction expectation, however, less than the switching cost. In terms of purchase intent, the direct effect was also not noticed, as well as the switching cost. The same occurred in the research by Chunmei and Weijun (2017). It can be understood that risk is evaluated by the consumer, and it causes expectation and dissatisfaction, however, it is possible that the notorious knowledge, trust and parity between the brands means that there is no impact on purchase intent itself (LOVELOCK *et al*., 2012). And finally, satisfaction has a high impact on purchase intent, being decisive, as expected, and seen in many previous studies (AAKER *et al.*, 2004).

Implications

From a theoretical point of view, this work was aimed at researching a topic that has been little studied, the video games market, more specifically the dimensions that influence satisfaction and purchase intent of a ninth generation video game. About this, the high impact of hedonic and utilitarian values was confirmed in both, however the other dimensions were not as significant. Nevertheless, these results tend to assist and update knowledge about the consumption of video games. Furthermore, a great benefit was the 23-item scale, an adaptation to the video games market of an already established scale, which obtained high quality rates in this study, and can now be replicated in other countries, to compare the results, as well as in similar products such as computers, laptops and mobiles, which are also products competing with video games.

In practical and organizational terms, this research has helped to better understand the Brazilian gamer audience, and knowing the consumer is a key factor for any type of market. In this case, the audience is mostly composed of young and adult males, with higher education levels, who have been playing for more than ten years, quite different from the popular concept which indicates that video games are for children only (CHESS *et al.*, 2016). The results of the model, in which utilitarian and hedonic values stand out, are compatible with the highly competitive and equivalent scenario among competitors, in which the latest generation video games are quite similar (*Xbox* and *Playstation*) and loaded with both values. And this has implications since, as for the common consumer, it makes it difficult to distinguish offers, investment in social values can be a differential; although the impact of other dimensions is currently low, it may become relevant in the future, if properly stimulated by the market. This idea is reinforced by the current context of the successes of online games and the culture aimed at the socialization of gamer content by the influencers (TÖRHÖNEN *et al.*, 2019).

Special attention can also be given by the industry in relation to the result seen in the perceived risk. It is interesting to evaluate strategies related to its reduction, given the impact that is caused, including directly on the purchase intent. People with lower incomes, for example, are more affected by the risk in more expensive products, such as video games; more practical consumers tend to suffer more from performance risk; and those who are more insecure tend to be more affected by social risk. Knowing this, the industry can create a strong and favorable perception of the risks, either assuming and praising certain attributes, such as guarantees, or stimulating quality assessments to obtain a good reputation (NIKHIL; ANUP, 2016).

And even though the study was focused on the platforms, the present results may help in different ways with insights to all the players in this huge industry, which involves not only platform providers, but also game developers, software publishers, hardware manufacturers and distribution channels (BRIKEN *et al.*, 2017).

Limitations and suggestions for future research

Because this is a study on a market which has been little explored academically, there are few specific references to the subject, and even less when searching for more recent sources. The use of online questionnaires also has some disadvantages, such as the impossibility of solving doubts, and it was noticed, after feedback from some respondents, that some questions might not have been fully understood. And finally, it is hard to find consistent discussions in recent social sciences literature about criteria that could be used by researchers to make decisions about how justifiable it is to vindicate the reality of attributes and constructs in models.

As for future research, since there are few academic studies in this area, the possibilities are many, some of them related to limitations presented earlier, such as the application of this model and scale in different regions for comparison. In addition to the suggestions based on limitations, it is also interesting to evaluate the permanence of a player

with the same brand for generations, the loyalty to the brand, and the influence of exclusive games on this decision. These are two notorious aspects that are often mentioned in gamer communities and promoted by the market itself.

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ARTIGO

O bem-viver à luz da boa mesa: modos de endereçamento e convocações ao consumo em programas culinários do GNT

The well-living in the light of the good table: ways of addressing and convocations for consumption in GNT cooking shows

Nara Lya Cabral Scabin[1]

Resumo: *Tendo em vista os tensionamentos verificados no estatuto da cozinha no panorama da produção audiovisual recente, este artigo procura compreender as formas pelas quais programas televisivos buscam cativar seus espectadores em sua força de seguidores de valores de consumo. Para tanto, formula operadores de análise para a identificação dos modos de endereçamento no programa culinário, que propomos compreender como gênero específico do discurso televisual. Assim, por meio desse ferramental metodológico, o trabalho examina os programas culinários Tempero de Família – Não joga fora (2021) e Que Marravilha – Delivery (2020), exibidos pelo canal GNT. Como principal resultado do estudo, destaca-se a identificação de convocações que atendem a demandas potenciais de bem-viver formatadas à luz do consumo da comida e da cozinha.*

Palavras-chave: *Programas culinários; Televisão; Modos de endereçamento; Convocações ao consumo; GNT.*

Abstract: *Considering the displacements verified in the kitchen statute in the panorama of recent audiovisual production, this article intends to understand the ways in which television programs seek to captivate their viewers in their strength as followers of consumer values. Therefore, it formulates analysis operators to identify the ways of addressing in the culinary program, which we propose to*

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understand as a specific genre of the television discourse. Thus, through these methodological tools, the work examines the culinary programs Tempero de Família – Não joga fora (2021) and Que Marravilha – Delivery (2020), broadcasted by GNT channel. As the main result of the study, it might be highlighted the identification of convocations that meet potential demands for well-living formatted in the light of food and cooking consumption.

Keywords: *Culinary shows; Television; Ways of addressing; Convocations for consumption; GNT.*

Introduction

From highly competitive reality shows to journeys of gastronomic discovery, through the emergence of the figure of "celebrity chefs": in contemporary audiovisual culture, the profusion, diversification, and segmentation of narratives of food presentation, preparation and tasting (OLIVEIRA, 2016) show displacements in the media visibilities of the kitchen universe and the tensioning of regimes of representation of food, eating and cooking established throughout the 20th century, a period marked by the emergence and predominance of cooking shows and segments with a didactic-instructional proposition, then directed to a female audience formed by housewives (BUENO, 2016; REZENDE; LAVINAS, 2017).

At the same time, it is urgent to recognize that, this scenario of possible expansions and evident re-articulations in how cooking practices are represented in audiovisual culture corresponds to the emergence of a true "wave of consumption of the kitchen universe" (OLIVEIRA, 2016, p. 136). It is also in the wake of this appreciation of the "consumption of experiences" (FONTENELLE, 2017) that categories such as "gourmet" and "gourmetization", for example, become popular. Thus, the summoning of refinement, *haute* gastronomy, and distinction consolidates processes aimed at aggregation, valorization, and exploitation of an experience value from edible consumer goods (OLIVEIRA, 2016).

Considering this conjuncture, given such recent tensions verified in the status of the kitchen in consumption practices and the landscape of audiovisual production, we are interested in understanding how audiovisual productions seek to captivate their spectators in their force as followers of consumption values. In other words, we propose investigating how TV productions invite the consumption of the kitchen. By modes of summoning for consumption, we understand, according to Prado (2013), how media devices direct "calls" to their spectators, challenging them to occupy discursive roles linked to projects of "good living" (PRADO, 2013).

We conceive here the "good living" as an unsaid underlying the regimes of visibility and interaction articulated by media enunciators, understood as "symbolic analysts" who reckon between "two symbolic points, on a temporal scale," like calculated routes (PRADO, 2013, p. 10). In these regimes of media visibility, the ideals of well-being relate to "idealized places" projected "according to a certain conception of life and desired world, one's own body, and the meanings of the future available to each one by the system of commodities." (PRADO, 2013, p. 10).[2]

To do so, we chose to prioritize television productions as the empirical object of this research. TV can be understood as a privileged locus of rearticulation of media representation regimes of food in contemporary life, influencing the visibilities engendered in other spaces of media culture, such as streaming platforms and digital social media. Thus, with such a methodological choice, it becomes possible to direct our efforts to a media that, since the 20th century, presents itself as an important space for the circulation of discourses on cooking practices (BUENO, 2016).

From the Brazilian television programming about cooking, we chose titles aired by the pay-tv station *GNT* as the focus of attention. Besides the viewer segmentation of pay-tv channels, another relevant aspect in the discussion on how cooking programs engender consumption is that cable TV has been playing a decisive role in Brazil by incorporating foreign influences in the renewal of cooking television shows, including trends like the predominant appeal to the senses in *haute* cuisine and the protagonism of male chefs[3] (NILSSON, 2013; NEGRA; TASKER, 2019;

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2   Following this conception, it is possible to assume that, while well-being concerns quality of life socioeconomic indicators based on quantitative and qualitative data, good living contemplates a kind of "subjective well-being." (ALCÂNTARA; SAMPAIO, 2020).

3   Although the historical course of television cooking shows has, in recent years, replaced the traditional (female) role of culinary experts with the (male) role of chefs (AUTHOR), the protagonism of whiteness in these programs appears to be structural and systematic throughout the history of Brazilian TV. We find examples of female chefs and hosts in contemporary shows, like Rita Lobo heading *Cozinha Prática* aired by GNT. Cases of Black male and female chefs are even rarer: one of the few exceptions is the case of chef Bela Gil, who was in charge of four seasons of the program *Bela Cozinha*, also on GNT.

LEER, 2016). At the same time, *GNT* constitutes a case study of interest for the importance that cooking shows represent in its programming: in the first quarter of 2021, for example, the broadcaster broke a record for share and average time in the whole day and prime time, with four cooking shows among the five most watched in the period (TELA VIVA, 2021). In 2020, the Grupo Globo channel had already climbed ten positions up to 17 in the pay-tv ranking, given the good performance of cooking shows during the pandemic (SANTIAGO, 2020).

From the *GNT* schedule, we focused on productions that we can classify as belonging to the genre of televisual discourse[4] that we propose to denominate as a *cooking show*. We understand *cooking shows* are television audiovisual products whose thematic contents do not simply cover issues related to food or nutrition but, more precisely, *cooking practices*. In addition, the appreciation of recipe preparation narratives fundamentally characterizes its *compositional structure*, which can focus on different stages and processes involved in transforming ingredients into food[5]. In terms of *style*, cooking shows are, to a greater or lesser extent, productions of a didactic or instructional proposition, which seems to be one of the most decisive aspects for defining the genre, given its social function, namely, teaching the viewer to reproduce recipes and cooking techniques.

Among the cooking shows we could call "traditional," whose origin in Brazilian TV goes back to women's shows in the 1950s[6], we observe relatively stable stylistic aspects, for instance, the detailed exhibition of

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4   We understand discursive genres as "relatively stable types of content" (BAKHTIN, 2016, p. 12) characterizable by the specific conditions of the field of human activity and identifiable by three main elements: thematic content, compositional construction, and style (BAKHTIN, 2016).
    We understand discursive genres as "relatively stable types of content" (BAKHTIN, 2016, p. 12), characterizable relative to the specific conditions of the field of human activity and identifiable by three main elements: thematic content, compositional construction, and style (BAKHTIN, 2016).

5   In this sense, the cooking show distinguishes itself from other discursive genres typical of television programming about food, like game shows or reality TV shows, even if characteristics of the latter are frequently and fragmentarily incorporated into the cooking show style.

6   That was the case of *Revista Feminina* aired by *TV Tupi*, the first women's show on Brazilian television, which opened space in 1958 for a regular culinary segment led by Ophelia Anunciato that later gave rise to the *A Cozinha Maravilhosa de Ofélia* show.

recipes' steps, the highly didactic tone, and the host or culinary expert (almost always women) leading in studios fitted to look like domestic kitchens (REZENDE; LAVINAS, 2017). On the other hand, in recent years, we find more and more cooking shows that present re-readings of previously stylistic aspects, a trend of which the *GNT* broadcaster is an exemplary case.

In this sense, we must recognize, following a Bakhtinian perspective, the historicity of the cooking show, understood as a relatively stabilized form, whose constitutive traits accompany social practices in transformation, as the practices taking place around the kitchen and television production and consumption practices. In the first case, it is necessary to recognize the historical movement by which the kitchen is no longer a space relegated to women's domestic life to the extent that professional practices affirm themselves as part of the process of forming a gastronomic field (PREVIATTI, 2019). In the second case, we highlight processes such as more content and audience segmentation (Rezende; Lavinas, 2017), the convergence between platforms, and the "double movement" (JOST, 2019), from the TV to the internet and from the internet to TV content, of discourses, productive forces, and consumers.

Back to the criteria for building the empirical object of the research, we selected for the composition of the analytical corpus the most recent seasons of two cooking shows, which had already been completely exhibited on *GNT* by the time of this work's analysis: *Tempero de Família*, headed by the fashion model and presenter Rodrigo Hilbert, and *Que Marravilha!* starring chef Claude Troisgros. More precisely, we considered the *Não joga fora* season from *Tempero de Família*, aired in 2021, and the Delivery season from *Que Marravilha!* aired in 2020.

Besides appearing amongst the productions with the highest ratings on the channel, this work focuses on the two TV shows as they prioritize different representations of the kitchen. As its title suggests, *Tempero de Família* [*Family Seasoning*] seeks to value a representation of the kitchen marked by meanings of affection, familiarity, and domesticity.

In *Que Marravilha!*, the kitchen's representation is marked by meanings of *haute cuisine*, professionalism, and expert knowledge (materialized in the figure of the host chef), images that translate themselves in the French accent presupposed in the misspelled word "*marravilha*" ("wonderful") in the show's title.

Thus, although a superficial look may suggest that the differences are more expressive than the similarities between the shows, a close examination reveals the existence of more convergences than contrasts. In other words, although the recurrence of different socially crystallized representations of the kitchen can confer a certain sense of diversity to the *GNT* timetable, both productions seem to position the spectator and invite them to consume the culinary universe through similar strategies.

Analysis operators in cooking shows

To advance in the reflection on the ways *Que Marravilha!* and *Tempero de Família* convene to the consumption of the culinary universe, we verified, during this research, the need to define efficient analytical tools for collating the discursive materiality of cooking shows. Thus, more than merely thematic descriptors, we find in the concept of mode of address, as defined by Gomes (2011), a way to respond to the questions raised in this work. That is because the mode of address, giving specific modulations to relatively stabilized generic aspects, indicate how television shows seek to establish particular forms of relationship with their audiences.

Initially developed within the scope of screen theory, focusing on film analysis, the notion of "mode of address" has been appropriated and re-dimensioned since at least the 1980s in television studies. From the perspective of the latter, "mode of address is what is characteristic of the specific forms and communicative practices of a program. It concerns how a specific show tries to establish a particular form of relationship with its audience." (GOMES, 2011, p. 36). In other words, examining modes of address in TV shows makes it possible to understand the

reception practices requested by the shows through the construction of "specific styles."

In this sense, given the interdependent relationship between enunciator and the receiving end, the mode of address concerns an "orientation towards the receiver" (GOMES, 2011, p. 37) and establishes the "appeal" that the shows launch towards their audiences (HARTLEY, 2001). Therefore, from this dual perspective, the orientation towards reception as a fundamental element in the production of meaning in television programs and as a stylistic specificity, we propose considering modes of address in cooking shows.

This way, the individual style of a show is linked invariably to how it addresses its audience and seeks to win it, which, in turn, has implications for how this audience is "summoned" to consume symbolically the program and the representations contained in it. Thus, in this work, we propose to discuss the modes of address in cooking shows as a methodological tool for understanding the strategies by which these audiovisual productions establish *calls for consumption*, as defined by Prado (2013).

To conceptualize analytical operators adequate for examining cooking shows, we start with Gomes' (2011) methodological protocol for studying television news programs, rereading it considering the specificities of the empirical object in focus in this research[7]. We, therefore, propose three analytical operators for the study of modes of address in cooking shows, namely:

(1) *Mediator/host.* In the case of this analytical operator, it is about understanding the performance undertaken by cooking show hosts – many of them chefs raised to the status of celebrities and digital influencers – including their interactions with other characters eventually present in the productions. At the same time, if applicable, one should not lose sight of the status achieved by these mediators from their work in different media spaces.

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7   Although we sought an analogy with Gomes' (2011) proposal, we chose not to consider the "communicative context" as an analysis operator of the modes of address – as the author does – since we already presuppose it as part of the concrete conditions of discursive production.

(2) *Instructions for use*. Here, we have an analytical operator quite similar to how Gomes (2011) understands the instructions for using television news programs, considered as the "regulating principles of communication – how senders present themselves, how they represent their receivers, and how they place each other in a concrete communicative situation" (GOMES, p. 39). In the case of cooking shows, the instructions for use concern, in a more evident dimension, how the recipes are taught (with more or less didacticism, with more or less precise indications of the measurements of the ingredients, etc.). Nevertheless, this analytical operator also encompasses how mediators address their audiences directly – including the use of vocatives and marks of greater or lesser proximity to the spectator, for example – and how each show makes its proposal explicit. Still, in a global sense, the instructions for use understand the role played by cooking shows as mediators of social, cultural, and material relations established with and around the kitchen.

(3) *Thematic approach*. Making evident the existence of bets on interests and skills on the part of the viewer, this analytical operator regards the observation of how cooking shows: construct representations of food, culinary practices, and food consumption rituals; frame interpersonal or social relationships articulated around cooking and food; and adopt narrative frameworks to present the preparation of recipes. Moreover, the analytical operator regards audiovisual resources responsible for engendering sensory stimuli and affectivities around food and cooking, including choices of framing, lighting, montage, etc., and the establishment of relationships between the shows' principal theme – the presentation of cooking recipes – and its secondary themes.

Taken together, we believe that the three analytical operators make it possible to highlight the tacit agreements that inform viewers of cooking shows what they should expect to find in these productions. However, it is necessary to remember that examining the modes of address in television products cannot take place without considering the concrete circumstances inscribing the interactions between production

and reception (GOMES, 2011). Correspondingly, Voloshinov (2017) defends the examination of the material and immediate conditions of interaction in discursive communication as a first methodological procedure. Specifically in the case of the object of this work, we must observe that interest in television productions with a culinary theme is present mainly among an audience with high purchasing power, given that shows on free-to-air television channels are also available on the internet, pay TV, and streaming services. So, the format has good commercial potential for broadcasters (STYCER, 2019).

That is the case of *GNT*, which ranked in July 2020 in seventh place among TV stations watched by classes A and B in Brazil, according to data collected in June of that year by Kantar Ibope Media. According to the survey, 71% of its viewers belong to the wealthiest social strata (FELTRIN, 2020). But this audience profile is nothing new and accords with the history of the broadcaster, especially since 2003, when GNT assumed women from classes A and B, aged between 25 and 49, as its principal target viewership (PROPMARK, 2006). Not by chance, the prioritization of this target audience occurred at a time of brand repositioning, when GNT sought to build a new identity for itself, described as a "female soul" by its Marketing manager at the time, through the lineup of shows (CHAMUSCA, 2019). With the perception that women accounted for 60% of its audience and 80% of its advertising revenue, the broadcaster began to invest in behavior, beauty, health, current affairs, and gastronomic themes (CHAMUSCA, 2019). Almost ten years ago, the launch of the *Saia Justa* program was a milestone in repositioning the channel's timetable, which sought to "affirm a distinction concerning what was commonly called female shows, a space usually evaluated by critics as low-quality" (CHAMUSCA, 2019, p. 83). In this way, the claim for a "differentiated" place relative to television programming involved an attempt to distance itself from the traditional domestic life themes and approach the reality of a female audience with growing consumption power. At the same time, *GNT* consolidated its vocation for so-called "entertainment" programs, thus moving away

from the news channel label it had assumed upon its inauguration definitively.

With such considerations on our horizon, in the next section, we will move on to the results of the reflections developed regarding *Que Marravilha! – Delivery* and *Tempero de Família – Não Joga Fora* based on the analytical operators proposed for examining the modes of address in cooking shows. First, however, we need to clarify the criteria that guided us in structuring the presentation and discussion of the results.

Although we carried out the analysis of the shows using a descriptive grid that characterizes each episode according to the *mediator/host*, *instructions for use*, and *thematic approach* operators, we chose to highlight the recurrences observed in the analyzed corpus, that is, without individualizing the findings by episode, to favor textual organization and conciseness. Still, to enable the systematization of research findings in the space of an article, we resorted to examples extracted from the inaugural episodes of each season to illustrate the observed recurrences, a choice owed to the fact that, in these episodes, we found particularly clear delimitations of the singularities of each production.

Tempero de Família and Que Marravilha!: good living proposals served at the table

A rustic workshop located in an attic of a house filled with tools. A cozy kitchen with appliances that refer to trivial domesticity, although decorated in a meticulously planned way (see Figure 1). From these two spaces, the workshop and the kitchen, host Rodrigo Hilbert – famous star of social media memes that highlight his simultaneously "unreachable" and "deconstructed masculinity" – presents the *Tempero de Família – Não joga fora* season, recorded at his family's farm in Teresópolis, Rio de Janeiro, and exhibited in the first half of 2021 (NA TELINHA, 2020). In each episode, a new object undergoes renovation in the workshop and then finds its use in the kitchen, where presented recipes propose to reuse common foods in the fridge.

Figure 1 – The kitchen in *Tempero de Família* in a scene from the first episode of the *Não joga fora season*

Source: Screenshot by the author. *Globoplay* (2021).

A compact and modern space with stainless steel appliances and utensils reminiscent of restaurant kitchens (see Figure 2): this is the scenario of the 2020 *Que Maravilha! Delivery* season in which celebrity chef Claude Troisgros – the owner of luxurious restaurants, active figure on social media, and lead host of successful television programs – is challenged by ordinary people to prepare an "affectionate" recipe, always accompanied by his assistant, Batista. Having as a subtext the desire for communion at the table in the pandemic situation, Claude announces, in the first episode, the proposal of the season: to create meals to "gift people who love to gather around the table."

Figure 2 – The kitchen in *Que Marravilha!* in a scene from the first episode of the *Delivery* season

Source: Screenshot by the author/*Globoplay* (2021).

In *Tempero de Família* and *Que Marravilha!*, mediators Hilbert and Claude present the food and the kitchen as elements that give access to meanings of social responsibility (*Tempero de Família*), community (*Que Marravilha!*), and affection (both). Such meanings emerge, above all, from characteristic aspects in the ways the shows construct instructions for use – summoning the viewer to assume a place in social, cultural, and material relations around the kitchen – and the principal thematic approach – such as their narrative frameworks and, in the case of *Tempero de Família*, the form of representing the spatiality of the kitchen. In this sense, the shows seem to represent food and the kitchen as means to access different ideals of self-fulfillment and aspirations in themselves that one can achieve through the enjoyment of eating and preparation rituals.

In the case of *Tempero de Família*, the thematic approach includes the representation of food preparation rituals that refer to senses of everyday life, triviality, and familiarity. That is evident, for example, in how the *Globoplay* streaming platform describes the show: "Rodrigo teaches the secrets he learned from his mother and grandmother in the

kitchen. The series demystifies the idea that to cook, you need to use difficult ingredients and utensils." In this case, as instructions for using the program, we have the position of the viewer as a non-expert in the kitchen interested in learning or, at least, *being in contact with* culinary secrets.

Detaining this culinary know-how, Hilbert is a popular and charismatic media figure. Although he has no training in gastronomy, he receives recognition as a celebrity whose career currently centers on audiovisual productions related to food. In this sense, Hilbert has a "professional" relationship with the kitchen. At the same time, his performance on the show refers to a laid-back attitude, like someone who cooks "by eye" because he learned the art of cooking at home, with his family, "by watching." This semantic ambiguity – on the one hand, cooking as a socially differentiated practice; on the other hand, everyday non-professional cooking – emerges as a characteristic feature of the thematic approach and instructions for using *Tempero de Família*, also reflected in the recipes presented.

Hilbert describes the raw materials used in the recipes as trivial, given the proposal of the season to reuse food forgotten in the fridge. In the first episode, for example, the presenter prepares gnocchi with arrabbiata tomato sauce from leftover rice, popcorn made with the rind of parmesan cheese, and orange *pavê* made with the peel of the fruit. The dishes, however, presuppose access to high-cost ingredients, which places the spectator in a privileged position from the point of view of their food consumption, especially when we consider the alarming data on food insecurity in Brazil[8]. In this sense, it seems clear to us that, by proposing the reuse of certain ingredients, the season invites the viewer to enjoy the ideal of sustainability more as an *individual lifestyle* than as a means of social transformation or solving practical everyday problems (for example, the high cost of food in Brazil).

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8   According to a 2021 study by Research Network on Food and Nutritional Sovereignty and Security (PENSSAN), during the Covid-19 pandemic, hunger in Brazil rose to 2004 levels, when moderate food insecurity reached 12% of the population, and severe reached 9.5% (PENSSAN NETWORK, 2021).

For all these reasons, although *Tempero de Família* values, as we pointed out at the beginning of the work, a representation of the kitchen as a daily and family practice, its modes of address invite the spectator to appreciate a culinary experience aimed at those who *like to cook* – and not who *need to cook* – as a distinctive feature of a somewhat hedonistic and evidently elitist lifestyle. This call is reinforced by the figure of Hilbert himself, whose relationship with the kitchen is marked by *pleasure*, *affinity*, and *affection*.

In the case of *Que Marravilha!*, Claude constantly claims to *fall short* of the priceless value of family recipes, though he always positions himself *beyond* everyday cooking when creating authorial versions of the dishes – again, a semantic ambiguity that seems to characterize both the thematic approach and the instructions for using the show. In the first episode, for example, when cooking a "bogged-down cow," the host replaces the beef ribs with lamb meat and adds plantain to the preparation. Positioning himself according to his specialized knowledge as a *chef*[9], Claude makes re-readings that mobilize senses of distinction, authorship, and refinement. At the same time, narrative frames that explore the tension established in the opposition between different versions of the same dish mark the show's thematic approach. In this sense, the show seems to make the kitchen visible as a space for dispute – albeit playfully and humorously[10].

Concerning the social relations articulated around the kitchen in the production, the way it establishes the interaction between Claude and Batista deserves attention for revealing the role of whiteness in the televisual making of cooking shows. A professional relationship – experienced cordially, but no less hierarchically – between a (white) chef and his (black) assistant guides the dynamics between Claude and Batista. Hence, the program shapes a social relationship articulated with

9   The professional and hierarchical character that marks the host's relationship with Batista also composes this way of positioning himself, despite the cordial interaction between the two.
10   Not by chance, we found it in *Que Marravilha!* the presence of fragments of stylistic resources typical of reality shows, a genre of television discourse linked to senses of competitiveness and high performance and highly aestheticized representations of food (REZENDE; LAVINAS, 2017).

such recurrence around the kitchen in Brazilian culinary shows that we never see a white kitchen assistant supporting a black host.

Still, regarding the instructions for use in *Que Marravilha!*, it is worth noting the show positions the viewer from the non-expert perspective of non-chefs. At the beginning of the first episode, the host addresses the audience asking, "Do you know that traditional recipe of your family or that classic dish at meetings with friends?" At the same time, the show invites the spectator to enter Claude's kitchen, witnessing his performance as a privileged observer. At the end, the episodes invite the viewer to assume the role of "taster" of the dishes prepared by the chef, which families who own the original recipes consume amidst the euphoria generated by Claude's unusual visit as a delivery service person. In the first episode, for example, upon learning that her "bogged-down cow" had turned into a "bogged-down lamb," the character "Aunt Cida" – whose dream is to "taste food made by Claude's hands" – states: "it got even chicer!"

Knowing that taste, understood as an aesthetic judgment, is produced through processes of "distinction" (BOURDIEU, 2007), we observe in *Que Marravilha!* the recourse, as is usual in representations of food in audiovisual culture, to an "aesthetic affectation" linked to the conception of "good taste" (OLIVEIRA, 2016). In this sense, its modes of address summon the spectator to enjoy a unique gastronomic experience, which presents itself as pleasurable through the mediation of both the taste (flavor, palate) and the taste (aesthetic judgment) of the food.

Final considerations

Through the mobilization of the proposed analytical operators, this work sought to understand how the modes of address in cooking shows demonstrate how these productions "appeal" to their viewers and summon their strength as followers of consumption values (PRADO, 2013). Thus, in the analyzed shows, we found calls that meet potential demands for good living, formatting these under the light of food consumption and cooking. As Prado (2013, p. 12) observes, the call

offers "not a pure and simple satisfaction of a 'natural' need but gives form to a latent demand, making it express itself in a cultural want."

In *Tempero de Família*, the call positions the culinary experience before an audience, presumed to have high purchasing power, as a means to accessing a lifestyle articulated around a (re)valuation of everyday life and the domestic space itself, seen as an environment where you can occupy your free time productively and pleasantly through the practice of cooking understood as a hobby.

To this end, the show offers the spectator *know-how*, not intending to provide *information* to satisfy a need (that of simply knowing how to prepare food), but rather to *summon* people to enjoy an experience reserved for those who like cooking and can choose when and how to do it. Thus, in the case of the call established in the program, senses of creativity, sustainability, and affectivity mediated by cooking and food are presented as potentiating aspects of the culinary experience as an object of desirable consumption. In this sense, though the show values its representation as an everyday and family practice, cooking appears as a mediating element of a lifestyle whose access is available only to economically privileged sections of the population, in which the appreciation of everyday pleasures becomes a sign of personal achievement.

In *Que Marravilha!*, the call positions the access to the cooking experience of professional chefs and gastronomists as desirable, understanding it not only as an experience of sensory satisfaction of the palate but also as a form of social distinction. Thus, while it gives shape to a demand for the enjoyment of good food, the call suggests it takes place in the symbolic consumption of tasty images of food, the guests' descriptions of the dishes, and the ideal of high-quality performance represented by the performance of a chef-host. In this sense, the show aims to summon the spectator to the consumption of a know-how ideal potentiated by the meanings of *haute cuisine* transversal to the production.

Thus, even if a superficial look at the shows *Tempero de Família* and *Que Marravilha!* may suggest the presence of very different approaches to the universe of cooking, the examination of their modes of address highlights more similarities than differences. At the same time, the research findings help shed light on the historical transformations of cooking shows, which, following the social practices that articulate this discursive genre, concern mainly the displacement of the exclusively "instructional" character that predominated throughout the twentieth century in these television productions.

Although viewers can still watch current cooking shows with the intention of learning and reproducing specific recipes, calls for assistance include factors such as aesthetic enjoyment, acquisition of gastronomic knowledge, and the search for distinction based on sophistication and refinement values. In fact, one does not have to be a frequent cook to occupy the position of spectator requested by these productions – as our analysis of *Tempero de Família* and *Que Marravilha!* shows. Thus, despite some stylistic peculiarities, both shows summon the viewer to consume the same discursive universe in which "good food" and "good cuisine" appear as synonyms of wealth and distinction.

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Imbricações entre tradição e modernidade: as inscrições coloniais no discurso imobiliário de um Recife urbano

Imbrications between tradition and modernity: colonial inscriptions in the real estate discourse of an urban Recife

Marcela Barbosa Lins[1]
Cristina Teixeira Vieira de Melo[2]

Resumo: *Este artigo analisa anúncios imobiliários da década de 1970, ao percebê-los como sintoma da manutenção de traços coloniais na constituição da paisagem metropolitana. Para isso, evocamos Gilberto Freyre e sua discussão sobre os traços patriarcais transplantados à lógica urbana do século XIX, em articulação com Lúcia Leitão, em sua atualização do pensamento freyreano. Em um primeiro momento, descrevemos as condições históricas de possibilidade das produções simbólicas aqui discutidas: a metropolização do Recife e seu processo de adensamento concomitante à profusão dos anúncios. Em um segundo momento, apresentamos a atualização da ordem patriarcal que se inscreve nos centros urbanos associada aos ímpetos modernizantes vigentes à época. Por fim, analisamos algumas peças publicitárias que evocam as imbricações entre tradição e modernidade, reiterando a tese freyreana de que há uma transplantação da ordem colonial patriarcal à vida moderna.*

Palavras-Chave: *Publicidade imobiliária. Cidade. Discurso. Gilberto Freyre.*

Abstract: *This article analyzes real estate advertisements from the 1970s, by perceiving them as a symptom of the maintenance of colonial traits in the*

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constitution of the metropolitan landscape. For this, we evoke Gilberto Freyre and his discussion about the patriarchal traits transplanted to the urban logic of the 19th century, in articulation with Lúcia Leitão, in her update of Freyrean thought. In a first moment, we describe the historical conditions of possibility of the symbolic productions discussed here: the metropolization of Recife and its densification process concomitant to the profusion of advertisements. In a second moment, we present the actualization of the patriarchal order that is inscribed in urban centers associated with the modernizing impulses. Finally, we analyze some advertisements that evoke the imbrications between tradition and modernity, reiterating Freyre's thesis that there is a transplantation of the colonial patriarchal order to modern life.

Keywords: *Real estate advertising. City. Discourse. Gilberto Freyre.*

Introduction

> "The Brazilian house expresses our originality, that is, our identity, our existence, [and allows] an analysis of who we are and have been and also a reflection of what we have become and are being. (GILBERTO FREYRE, *Sobrados e Mucambos*, 1933, p. 19).

What would be the social media reaction to an ad announcing the sale of a property featuring a couple resting in their bedroom on a Sunday morning while "Zefa," the maid, takes care of the family's children? We bet a part of internet users would denounce the ad as classist, pointing out in it the permanence of traces of a slave society in which social inequality and the exploitation of domestic work prevail.

The abovementioned ad is not mere speculation: it circulated back in 1975 in Recife newspapers. The advertisement (which we will explore in detail below) describes the property in the Madalena neighborhood: "Apartment with three bedrooms. One with a private bathroom. Large living/dining room. Social bathroom. Kitchen/pantry. Service terrace. Maid's room. Beautiful balcony." In this passage, we want to highlight the reference to the convenient 'maid's room'."

Like the character Zefa, countless Brazilian maids lived part of their lives in the tiny "maid's room." In Brazil, this space is usually next to the kitchen and service area of the dwelling. Overall, the room is poorly lit and has little or no ventilation.

Viana and Trevisan (2016) point out the argument of the domestic worker's origins justified the existence of this room. With no family or fixed residence in the city, maids would need to have a place to stay overnight in their employers' homes. However, until recently, it was common for maids to sleep at their employers' homes during the week, even if they lived in the city where they worked. Once sleeping in their

employers' house, maids would perform their duties morning, noon, night, and, if necessary, at dawn.

This reality has changed, especially after the approval of a Proposed Constitutional Amendment, PEC das Domésticas[3], in 2013, which instituted the payment of overtime and the obligation to formally contract employees who work for three or more days in the same residence. The law that regulated the constitutional amendment was sanctioned in 2015, adding the right to extra pay for night shifts. Instead of the steady maid, a more frequent figure in Brazilian homes became the freelance worker who, in general: a) works in several households, b) earns per hour or per day to perform domestic services, and c) returns to her own home at the end of each workday.

As a result of this change in the domestic work sector, the "maid's room" lost its original function and began to have other uses. Many began to serve as junk storage (the so-called "little mess room"). In pandemic times, with the various family members needing to share the space of the house, the room naturally acquired other purposes: many became an office or even a new room for a family member (VIANA; TREVISAN, 2016).

The maid's room is a legacy of our colonial, slave, and patriarchal past. In this article, we seek to identify continuities and discontinuities between that historical past and the urban growth of the capital of Pernambuco in real estate ads that circulated in Recife newspapers in the 1970s. We presume we can more strongly notice the ambivalences of a discourse aiming at the "new" but not disassociated from the "old" in the advertisements of that time.

To make this argument more evident, in topic 2, we briefly discuss the process of constitution and modernization of the city of Recife. In topic 3, we discuss the permanence of colonial values in the practices and discourses of modern Recife. It is important to clarify that the ads we analyze here are part of a corpus of 4,000 ads that appear in a previous

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3   Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/lcp/lcp150.htm. Accessed on 11 May 2022.

work[4]. The immensity and richness of these advertisements allowed us a segmented approach to this material. In this article, we work exclusively with ads that refer to the country's aristocratic, slave, and patriarchal past. We reiterate Freyre's thesis of a transplantation of the colonial order to modern life through an imbrication between tradition and modernity.

The modernization process of Recife

Despite its urban features designed since the 17th century, the modernization process in Recife began in the 19th century, consolidating in the 20th century, when the city's avenues became broader, and its initial linear character was lost, giving way to a continuous mass. It was the moment when Recife experienced a relevant demographic growth process, accentuated in the 1950s, with inland migration flows (BARRETO, 1994). In 1970, Recife surpassed the mark of one million inhabitants and ranked third among the most populated metropolises in the country, behind Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The city thus conquered metropolitan features with a dense urban center and a vertical horizon[5.]

Some elements overdetermine the appearance of verticality in Recife. According to Mário Melo (1978), with the expansion of built space, the lengthening of distances, and the increase in expenses and time with transport, the search for land in the city center grew considerably. The consequent increase in the prices of these spaces made their use outside the configuration of multi-story buildings uneconomical. Concomitantly, the technical progress of civil construction also boosted the landscape transformation process.

Besides the argument of territory use based on land value, we must mention a series of legal measures and reforms implemented since

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4   The corpus derives from research for Marcela Lins' master's dissertation titled *Formas de ser e habitar na publicidade imobiliária do Recife*.

5   However, the verticality of buildings in Recife is before the 20th century urban growth process. In the 19th century, there was a profusion of two-story sobrados (townhouses). It is believed the scarcity of dry lands in the region near the port, where Recife emerged, justifies the feature (CASTRO, 2013).

the beginning of the century that culminated in the densification and verticalization of Recife. City managers pursued values in vogue in large European urban centers in an imaginary associated with progress and modernization. In 1909, the principles of Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann's plan in Paris6 also circumscribed the planning of the capital of Pernambuco. Thus, a series of reforms began to be outlined with the purpose of beautifying, sanitizing, and "putting Recife on the path of modernity." (NASLAVSKY, 2013, p. 251). This process was legitimized by the new urban elites, predominantly linked to commercial activities and liberal professions.

Despite the consolidated verticality, it was only in the 1950s that the first strictly residential apartment building emerged: the Capibaribe building, located on Rua da Aurora in the Santo Amaro neighborhood. In subsequent years, this kind of real estate began to attract some middle and upper-class sectors, occupying the city center primarily. In 1970, the first real estate boom took place with the creation of the National Housing Bank (BNH), a public bank specializing in housing loans, and the Housing Financial System (SFH), a set of financial instruments, such as real estate credit societies and bills7 (ROLNIK, 2015).

The imbrication between tradition and modernity

The emergence of liberal professions, anonymity as the code of living in the metropolis, and the incorporation of values and symbols into the urban layout did not fully supplant the sociabilities associated with the agrarian, patriarchal, slave, and aristocratic regime. For Gilberto Freyre (1933), since constituting a centuries-old social landscape, many characteristics of Brazilian agrarian societies remained inscribed in urban social practices.

6   Baron Haussmann became known for a series of urban reforms during his mandate. Haussmann took the position in 1853 at the command of Louis Bonaparte. His mission was to help solve problems of capital surpluses and post-1848 unemployment through urban development.
7   Originally, the BNH and SFH planned to support the construction and financing of houses for low-income families. However, they have become the principal source of finance for the middle class to purchase their own homes.

According to the author, patriarchal heritage figures not only in symbolic inscriptions – like the names of villages, cities, and neighborhoods – but also in how we socially experience urban life. In this context, the *"casa grande"* ("big house") plays a central role, not only because most cities emerged around farms (and, in this sense, Recife is an exception), but because it originated the patriarchal structure responsible for disseminating fundamental values and customs in Brazilian society.

The big house, in this sense, is the protagonist of the shaping of a colonized social space – when transposed to Brazil, the Portuguese logic became something else (FREYRE, 1936); that is, the big house is not a precise translation of the Portuguese manor. As established, the big house evoked architectural symbols capable of defining a style of culture and civilization (LEITÃO, 2014). A blocked space with the ambition of self-sufficiency and with an evident character of withdrawal, hostile to what is outside and maintaining its order through what Freyre calls a balanced antagonism (BENZAQUEN, 1994).

In the 19th century, through changes in the country's social structure, determined, to a certain extent, by the arrival of the Portuguese Crown and the first signs of modernization, an urban culture began to superimpose itself on rural values. However, as Freyre points out, there were no disruptions or eliminations but a mixture of combinations that "integrated and disintegrated" (1936). A transition that transforms and preserves symbols, values, institutions, and social distances, culminating in "Brazilian modernity" (DA MATTA, 2013), created from the translation of the modern project, based on local historical values and experiences. In the mansions and shanties, forms and styles of a society with profoundly patriarchal and slave roots unveiled themselves, despite the insertion of a political agenda based on European modernity.

Freyre uses the expression *"brasileirinhas da silva"* ("Da Silva Brazilian") to refer to the architecture rising in Brazilian cities in the 19th century. About this architecture, he states: "Honest and authentic, sincere expression of the needs of interests, of the broad pace of

patriarchal life." (FREYRE, 1933, p. 28). The existence of the "servants' room" in *sobrados* (townhouses) is clear evidence of the transposition of the colonial logic of the old slave quarters to the city. The old ads reproduced below attest to that:

> Two-story townhouse for sale […]. Elegant architecture and some rooms with stucco ceilings, all rooms, cabinets, and bedrooms lined with wallpapers of the latest taste […] good carriage house, stable for seven animals, servants' room, two kitchens, tanks for the animals to drink and the laundry, garden, vegetable garden, and country house. (Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro, October 2, 1821 *apud* FREYRE, p. 443, 1936)

> [...] townhouses that may accommodate one family, that is, that have at least one living room, a dining room, two bedrooms, two or three rooms for the servants or slaves, an attic, and a yard. (Diario do Rio de Janeiro, February 9, 1822 *apud* FREYRE, p. 443, 1936)

Thus, settled in the 19th century, urban townhouses - a type of housing aimed at the elites and liberal professionals in the new social environment - updated many of the logic dear to the big house, such as the prevalence of domesticity and private values. By succeeding the master's residence as a noble living space, the townhouse expressed hostility towards those excluded from these environments; and they maintained functions that were very dear to the big house: guarding women – whose access to the street was prohibited – and valuables.

By way of illustration, townhouses often had broken bottle pieces skewered on the walls to ward off thieves and don Juans (FREYRE, 1936). There is another series of architectural indications that point to the maintenance of patriarchal values, such as the false windows facing the streets, which suggest a negation relative to the surroundings, and the *urupemas*, screens endorsing the logic of "seeing without being seen" (FREYRE, 1936), reproducing the perception that what is not domestic is residual. The contempt for the urban space is also perceptible in the habits of townhouse residents who, "almost with the same arrogance as in the mill house or farmhouse", committed abuses, "chopping firewood on the sidewalk, throwing dead animals, leftover food, the

served water, and, sometimes, even the potty dirt in the middle of the street" (FREYRE, p. 31, 1936).

The architect Lúcia Leitão (2014), when interpreting Freyre's thought in the light of *Sobrados and Mucambos* (*The Mansions and the Shanties*), argues that the Brazilian built environment, the visible face of cities, has as a backdrop the patriarchy that characterized the country's social organization. Therefore, the big house expresses and ratifies a series of values that remain inscribed in our social landscape. In line with what Freyre proposes, Lúcia Leitão states that "the big house and the primacy of the private space that it symbolized were not just a way of living, but rather, a way of living marked by segregation, exclusion, the search for distinction and nobility" (LEITÃO, p. 35, 2014). For the author, the urban environment, though marked by modern ideals, maintained characteristics of rural Brazil, such as confinement and hostility towards the surroundings.

Contemporary *condomínios* (housing complexes) update the preeminence of private space over public space. It is not by chance that advertising materials for this type of property emphasize that complexes are closed, indicating an intention to separate the living space from the urban public space. Psychoanalyst Christian Dunker (2015), aware of the atomized sociability of Brazilian housing complexes, emphasizes that their model is more like an occupation fort where military grammar prevails than to a model of community life. It is a collective dwelling that, hegemonically, manages individual values. The wide range of services provided within the complexes – transformed into space-blocks, just as the patriarchal big houses were – also combine a logic of interdiction with the lack of definitions of the public space, a strategy transplanted to real estate marketing.

Colonial inscriptions in real estate ads

After this social-historical contextualization, we will continue analyzing real estate ads published in the 1970s to show imbrications between tradition and modernity.

As already explained, until 1950 in Recife, strictly residential buildings were unusual. As already explained, until 1950 in Recife, strictly residential buildings were unusual. The real estate market had to resort to specific communication strategies to sell them as qualified and suitable housing for the middle and upper classes.

According to Caldeira (2011), during the 1920s, vertical residential buildings were associated with low social status and overcrowded tenements, the single-family housing being the great holder of prestige. Loureiro and Amorim (2005) also point out that, at that time, collective life was associated with decadence, lack of hygiene, discomfort, and lack of privacy. The consolidation of the building as a space not only for work but also for living in Recife was due to the desire of the public administration to modernize and make the city adopt the values of progress found in the large Western metropolises. This modernizing impetus was aimed mainly at the middle classes, relying heavily on defending private property. On the foundation of the abovementioned BNH in 1964, Sandra Cavalcanti, its first president, stated that: "Owning a home makes a worker a conservative who defends the right to property." (ROLNIK, 2015).

Economic and cultural changes of the period culminated with the need of the real estate market to "create" in the consumer a new living habit and a new expectation of the ideal housing standard. In this sense, the notion of land use governed the expanding market and materialized itself in the considerable quantitative increase of robust ads for buildings, which started to compete with graphics referring to houses and lots in the 1970s (LOUREIRO; AMORIM, 2011). A dominant discursive recurrence in the ads published at the time was the characterization of the building as the locus of distinction. To this end, it was common for ads to evoke references to the colonial past. That past was strongly present in the names of buildings and at the base of an entire semantic network used in the ads.

For example, the ad mentioned at the beginning of this paper does not show the building's facade or the apartment interiors. The only

illustration referring to the property is a small floor plan on the lower right side, next to the corporate brand of the real estate company. If, on the one hand, we may not see the building itself, on the other hand, the verbal narrative, quite extensive even by the standards of the time, depicts a way of life that is assumed to be desired by potential buyers of the apartments.

Figure 1 – Ad for the Edifício Pasárgada

Source: Diário de Pernambuco, April 6, 1975.

By using you as the pronoun, the ad invites the reader to take on the position of head of the family or housewife ("In the suite, with air-conditioning, *you* wake up"). The image shows two children: one plays

on her little wooden horse, and the other reads on the sofa. The text informs that, before, the two had been in the playground of the building. Zefa, the maid, takes care of the children, waters the plants, and prepares the food while the parents sleep in the air-conditioned room. The couple only gets out of bed when the "sun is already up high" (after all, let us not forget, it is Sunday, a rest day). The ad states, "Everything is a poetic vision of the happy family." And continues:

> All days are simple and beautiful for someone happy. The well-known "material things" do not bring happiness to anyone: but it is not easy to be happy in our society without possessing them at the minimum. The most you have of love, dedication, and affection are the least we can offer you with the comfort, beauty, convenience, and elegance of living in the Edifício Pasárgada in Madalena. […] It is so poetic to live in an apartment at Edifício Pasárgada that every day feels like Sunday. (DIÁRIO DE PERNAMBUCO, 04/06/1975)

From the passage above, the desired ideal of happiness emerges. This ad from the 1970s already expressed the imperative of happiness we see on social media today. Not surprisingly, since we are talking about advertising rhetoric, which always emphasizes/invents the qualities of the product or service it sells as something that will benefit the consumer. Although the ad says that "'material things' do not bring happiness to anyone," it emphasizes that, in our society, it is not easy to be happy without having them. And it ends by assuring that the Pasárgada apartment building can offer its residents comfort, beauty, convenience, and elegance so they can achieve a happy life.

In fact, except for Zefa, for whom the text shows no signs of happiness, everyone else seems happy. For instance: the child playing on the little horse has a smile stamped on her face, and the other is calm in her reading. The couple, in turn, is graced with the opportunity to remain asleep in the air-conditioned room on a Sunday while the children play and eat under Zefa's supervision. They also enjoy the beautiful landscape of Recife framed by the large window in front of the room. And as soon as they decide to enter the living room, where the scene in

the ad takes place, they will be able to enjoy "the beauty of the flowers in the crystal vase" and sit at the table with breakfast ready.

The happiness of the ad refers to the idyll of the domestic life of a traditional heteronormative family: father, mother, and children. In this context, the maid is a "strangely familiar" element. Although invisible in the image, Zefa's existence in the verbal narrative is the element that makes the family's Sunday happiness possible. Without her, parents would not be able to sleep until late, children would not have anyone to go down to the playground, and meals would not be ready for consumption. Zefa ensures the obligation of domestic chores – cleaning the house, cooking, and taking care of the offspring – does not threatens Sunday rest.

Besides being focused on the family nucleus, the happiness of the ad limits itself to the private space – the apartment or the building. It is not necessary to go to the street, to the public space, to be happy. Happiness is within walls. The children play safely in the living room or the building's playground, just as it happened with the "boy raised in a wealthy father's house, away from the dangers of the street, 'from the vulgarities of the street'." (LEITÃO, 2014, p. 118). The city of Recife itself, as it transforms into a landscape framed by the bedroom window, is summoned into private life. Something that takes us back to the familism hostile to the surroundings referred to by Freyre. It is essential to reiterate that contempt for public life is nothing new or limited to recent decades. Instead, such contempt has shaped Recife's urban sociability, given that there is a transplantation of the traditional order to modern cities, especially in Recife.

We cannot ignore the name of the building. "Pasárgada" is also the title of a poem by Manuel Bandeira from Pernambuco. In the poem, the lyrical subject says that he is leaving for Parsárgada, where he is "friends with the king" and can "have the woman he wants, in the bed he chooses." The Parsárgada in the poem is a place that "has everything," "another civilization." In Parsárgada, the poet can do gymnastics, ride a bicycle, ride a wild donkey, climb a greasy pole, and bathe in the sea."

And if he gets tired, he can "call the mother of water to tell him stories like Rosa used to do to him when he was a boy."

Poem and ad claim Pasárgada as a place of endless happiness, a kind of utopia. Often, a utopia hides a dystopia because the joy of some is the sacrifice of others. The poem and the ad reduce the Other to the place of the one who serves. In both, this servant figure is predominantly female. In the ad, Zefa works on Sundays for her bosses. In the poem, not only are prostitutes available to the poet, but he can go to bed with any woman he wants, and Rosa is always ready to tell him stories.

Finally, we can infer that both possible residents of the Pasárgada apartment building and the enunciator of the poem "Pasárgada" aspire to receive the treatment of kings, given that only royalty can live as if every day was Sunday, that is, days of leisure with no obligations or commitments.

The names of other buildings also express this desire to live like kings. Several of them include the word "*solar*" ("manor"), whose meaning is: 1) the land or castle where the nobility lived and which gave the title to the families, 2) palace, estate, or land belonging to nobles, which served as their home and passed on to their descendants by inheritance.

The "Solar do Giqui" in the ad published on May 28, 1978, for example, is sold as "the big house of Rosa e Silva." Far from any criticism of colonial sociability, the ad seeks to construct a positive effect on the reader by transposing a supposed distinction to the building, referring to it as the big house. The text even says that the apartment building is a place of "class, a lot of class." We notice the distinction in the ad's emphasis on the location of the property (on the corner of Rosa e Silva and Conselheiro Portela) and description of the various spaces, whether inside the apartment (4 bedrooms, one suite, closet, two large living rooms, balcony) or in the building (playground, game and party rooms, private parking space).

Figure 2 – Ad for Edifício Solar do Giqui

Source: Diario de Pernambuco, 05/28/2022.

The ad for Solar do Gayppió, which ran on January 11, 1976, also sold the apartment building as having been "inspired by the old big houses and famous sugar mills." Besides the "antiquity," the ad says "the future and the past meet" in the building, given the property was backed by the Sociedade Techinica de Engenharia de Comércio Ltda.

Figure 3 - Ad for Edifício Solar do Gayppió

Source: Diario de Pernambuco, 01/11/1976.

Gayppió directly references the Gaipió mill, dating from the 1870s, located in the municipality of Ipojuca, 51 kilometers from the city of Recife. Modernity, in turn, is evoked in the urban life form of the vertical building construction. According to the ad, the apartment building was constructed "within a bolder technique" (Diario de Pernambuco, January 11, 1976), an evident association between technique and future/progress. Below we have an ad for Edifício Solar dos Amarais published in the classifieds of the DP in 1977.

Figure 4 – Ad for Edifício Solar dos Amarais

Source: Diario de Pernambuco, 09/11/1977.

At the time of the circulation of this ad, clubs mentioned in it, such as Country, Náutico, and O Português, were linked to the prestige of wealthier social classes since only members and their guests could go to them – which indicates the exclusive nature of these places. São Luís, in turn, is a very traditional private school, formerly designed to teach boys only. Therefore, in the symbolic geography of Recife, Solar dos Amarais evokes a privileged way of life marked by sociability in differentiated and exclusive spaces. Furthermore, the advertisement says the apartment building is close to commercial establishments.

The idea of exclusivity and distinction manifests in other elements of the ad. For example, the image accompanying the text shows two white women, one older and another younger. They are sitting side by side on a couch. A side table with a lamp, a picture frame, and a vase are behind the sofa. On the wall, there is a painting. Smiling, the women show off their elegant outfits, jewelry, and hairstyles. Such an image could

easily compose the album of a family heir to the local aristocracy. The very expression "Solar dos Amarais" endorses that image. The statement "The Bairro dos Aflitos is a neighborhood of traditional housing for an aristocratic social class" also confirms that it is an aristocratic dwelling.

The distinctive traits of the property materialize in the mention of its exposed concrete coating, marble, anodized aluminum, separate halls (service and social), and separate elevators – which implies that employees and residents do not need to access the same resources. The ad also associates the apartment with a quiet dwelling, in a peaceful and "typically residential" street, in a "strictly residential" building, to the detriment of mixed-use buildings (commercial and residential), which generate sociabilities and hustle in their surroundings.

The ad is also consistent with a logic that associates domesticity with the feminine since two women appear in the image – something that also takes us back to the colonial patriarchal familism referred to by Freyre in *Casa Grande e Senzala* (*The Masters and the Slaves*) and *Sobrados e Mucambos* (*The Mansions and the Shanties*). Women are also a prominent element in the ad for the Zumbi apartment building, as the advertiser addresses her saying, "It is freedom for the children and peace of mind for you, mother.".

Figure 5 – Ad for Edifício Zumbi

Source: Diario de Pernambuco, 05/28/1978.

When appearing next to the word "freedom," the term "Zumbi" reminds us of the figure of Zumbi dos Palmares, leader of Quilombo dos Palmares, the largest community of enslaved Black people who escaped farms, prisons, and slave quarters in the Brazilian colonial period. There, Black people freed themselves from the White Portuguese oppression that enslaved them. Quite possibly because of this, the ad sells the building by associating it with a place conducive to children's freedom. But it is worth asking what freedom is involved here?

Life in Quilombo dos Palmares revolved around the issue of security since the colonizers represented a significant threat to the lives of those populations. Three large palisades (wooden walls) with watchtowers surrounded the capital of Palmares, Cerca Real do Macaco *mocambo*.[8] The "peaceful" life of the mothers who live in the Zumbi apartment building can only happen because an intramural leisure structure guarantees their children's freedom. But the intramural life of the children living in the Zumbi apartment building does not compare with the intramural life of Quilombo dos Palmares, whose residents needed to isolate themselves and remain under constant vigilance to survive.

Final considerations

Throughout the text, we argue how there was a patriarchal logic transplanted to the urban order of Recife, which, in turn, is evident in real estate advertising. In this sense, there is an imbrication between the narratives of tradition and modernity in the forms of narrating the city as it was becoming vertical.

By adhering to the values of modernization, Recife not only maintained traces of the patriarchalism that constitutes it but also translated from its cultural practices a given conception of modernity, something that concerns a transnational notion, a "Brazilian modernity," as DaMatta (2013) tells us. In other words, by acclimatizing itself, the

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8   Palmares was the result of a combination of mocambos that formed a quilombola confederation that extended over a reasonably vast territory on the border of the current states of Alagoas and Pernambuco.

modern paradigm repeatedly produces a space impregnated with the past. Instead of thinking in terms of a global-local opposition, in which the global (the modern) is opposed to an authentic cultural tradition, one can think in terms of *other* modernities, resulting in negotiation processes between the modern and the native.

In this sense, real estate ads served as an interesting interpretive key to a city that, by incorporating Haussmanian ideals, epitomized in the logic of anonymity and universalism, translates and transplants its colonial heritage – related to patriarchy and slavery par excellence. An inheritance that produces cities hostile to the vagueness of the public space and that violently inscribes social differences.

In this sense, real estate ads served as an interesting interpretive key to a city that, by adhering to Haussmanian ideals, the epitome of the logic of anonymity and universalism, translates and transplants its colonial heritage – related to patriarchy and slavery par excellence. An inheritance that produces cities hostile to the vagueness of the public space and that violently inscribe their social differences. Thus, if the big house represented the ultimate demonstration of distinction, with its block shape and ambitions of self-sufficiency relative to its exterior, Recife, since its constitution, very precisely circumscribes the place of the dispossessed and the place of the wealthy classes (whether in territorial or housing terms). And the vertical apartment building – this form of collective housing, though based on individual values – today constitutes a kind of synthesis or symbol of a city that constantly evokes its inequalities.

Finally, returning to the image of the maid's room that opened this text, it is worth mentioning that the Brazilian bourgeois family continues to depend on the manual labor of domestic workers. The lockdown caused by the Covid-19 pandemic illustrates this hypothesis well. At the time, there were many calls for the most intransigent employers to renounce domestic services so that domestic workers could stay in their homes. But calls did not sensitize many of them. It is even quite symptomatic that the first death recorded in Brazil from Covid-19 was

that of a domestic worker infected by her employer.[9] Also quite symbolic – and cruel – is the case of another maid who left her son in the care of her employer while walking the household's dogs and, upon returning, had to soothe her dead son's body, lying on the ground of the building[10]. These cases illustrate the permanence of colonialist traces as constitutive of the Brazilian experience.

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Entre o consumo dos cidadãos espaciais e dos sub-cidadãos: Reflexões sobre a pirâmide da cidadania midiática

Between the consumption of space citizens and sub-citizens: Reflections on the pyramid of media citizenship

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José Antonio Ferreira Cirino[2]

Resumo: *Este artigo apresenta um estudo sobre consumo, cidadania e comunicação, destacando o papel da mídia na construção identitária de cidadanias diferentes, baseadas no consumo de bens materiais e imateriais, na forma de existência compartilhada nas mídias sociais e na excentricidade de um dos itens constitutivos da cidadania, o lazer. Com pesquisas sobre o turismo espacial, em contraste com o agravamento da fome na Terra, este estudo reafirma a existência da pirâmide da cidadania midiática, criada por Cirino e Tuzzo (2016) e que representa os diferentes níveis de cidadania. As bases teóricas se firmam nas reflexões sobre sociedade e cidadania, com análise crítica de discurso midiático sobre as expedições interplanetárias de bilionários e o contraste com os miseráveis, demonstrando uma sociedade incivil (SODRÉ, 2021a), excluída dos direitos habituais.*

Palavras-Chave: *Consumo; Pirâmide da Cidadania; Mídia; Desigualdade Social; Comunicação.*

Abstract: *This article presents a study on consumption, citizenship and communication, highlighting the role of the media in the identity construction of*

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different citizenships, based on the consumption of material and immaterial goods, on the form of existence shared in social media and on the eccentricity of one of the constitutive items of the citizenship, leisure. With research on space tourism, in contrast to the worsening of hunger on Earth, this study reaffirms the existence of the pyramid of media citizenship, created by Cirino and Tuzzo (2016) and which represents the different levels of citizenship. The theoretical bases are based on reflections on society and citizenship, with a critical analysis of media discourse on the interplanetary expeditions of billionaires and the contrast with the miserable, demonstrating an uncivil society (SODRÉ, 2021a), excluded from the usual rights.

Key words: *Consumption; Citizenship Pyramid; Media; Social Inequality; Communication.*

Introduction

The year 2021 will go down in history due to some remarkable facts. For instance, the Covid-19 pandemic, which started in 2019, continued to evolve, demonstrating the need for the State to act developing health policies. Hunger worsened in dozens of countries around the world, reaffirming the invisibility of people cast to a sub-human condition. On the other hand, billionaires promoted a new space race for those who enjoy the possibility of carrying out space tourism as the novel leisure consumption.

The events highlighted the existence of different levels of citizenship, in which some fight for survival in search of the basics within the axis of health and food, while others have everything conceivable on Earth and enjoy the possibility of traveling to space, perhaps a new hobby for billionaires eager to post pictures of their eccentric trips on their social media.

Moreover, the wealthiest people in the world also explore the use of the capital they already own to generate more, a practice Sodré (2021a) describes as bonds capitalism, which is uncommitted to the territory in which it circulates, abstract, and committed to its logic of investments in stock markets, treasury bonds, and high-profit securities that generate social inequality. More recently, these investments can also involve cryptocurrencies and ticket sales for trips to space.

The relationship between rich and poor has always existed. However, the offers of modernity and the material goods that money can buy aggravate the division of society between those who have a lot and those who have nothing, widening the gap between citizens, categorizing them in absolutely differentiated hierarchies, establishing places of belonging in the world and now, beyond it.

According to Drake (2021), some space industry specialists say that the access barriers for space flights are difficult to cross, as they have always been, but gatekeepers are changing, and so are the criteria for choosing who flies. As space becomes a commercialized place, personal wealth (of just a tiny portion of society) decides who can leave Earth and

how because it is the world's millionaires and billionaires who can pay stratospheric values to fly or gift people with these tickets.

When his company launched *Inspiration 4*, Elon Musk said the flight would be opening the way to the stars for humanity. But to what humanity was he referring?

In that respect, we can make an analogy with the commonly used expression *everybody*. For example, we often hear people saying that *everybody* accesses the internet or that *everybody* is connected. We know these statements are untrue and that a considerable part of the world's population cannot access the internet because they do not have access to the equipment or the connection. In short, *everybody* does not exactly refer to all people but only those who have access, placing as excluded those who are no longer part of a statistic of exclusion, not only digital but also social and human.

To build the theoretical framework, we start with a reinterpretation through a critical reading of the media to analyze the context permeating these events. "The reinterpretation proposal consists of the theoretical and methodological review of the historical process of Critical Reading of Communication since its implementation in the 1970s" (TUZZO, 2014, p. 160).

According to Paiva and Gabbay (2009, p. 10), in Brazil and Latin America, the basic reference on the proposal of the Critical Reading of Communication has always been referenced in the work of the Brazilian Christian Union for Social Communication (UCBC). To instrumentalize the critical reading of the media, we opted for a critical discourse analysis, drawing from Fairclough (2001), who argues there is a three-dimensionality in the textuality composed by the text, discursive practices, and social practices.

In this sense, when examining media products, we are not exclusively analyzing the textual structure but also practices of content production, distribution, and consumption, as well as social realities involved and interconnected in the symbolic systems of each piece of news and the events narrated therein. In this research, we apply the critical reading to

analyze the corpus, correlated to the theoretical and conceptual aspects proposed here, focusing on the pyramid of media citizenship.

This work also has a reflexive theoretical basis on society and citizenship as a framework, supported by authors such as Marshall (1967), Souza (2012), Tuzzo (2014), Figueiredo and Tuzzo (2011), and Sodré (2021), for the critical discourse analysis of pieces published in the media from 2019 to 2022 with a focus on space tourism and hunger on Earth. The focus was to undertake a descriptive investigation with a qualitative sample by convenience through a search for keywords related to the themes mentioned above, arranging news clippings for the presentation of the scenarios narrated in the test of the pyramid of media citizenship structured by Cirino and Tuzzo (2016).

Don't look up: media sub-citizenship of the right to life

The science fiction film *Don't look up* (2021, Netflix) highlights the elusive role of news outlets that, thinking only of serving their investors, chose not to report with the necessary seriousness the nearing collision of a comet with planet Earth, putting all humanity at risk. Here, we can establish a parallel when we see news that clearly deals everyday with worldwide sub-citizenship and understand the reasons, motives, and explanations to support this scenario. In this way, if we choose to look up, we will see that some are walking on the moon, but if we look down or to our sides, we will see that many are no longer able to survive on Earth.

If considering citizenship "[…] a status granted to those who are full members of a community […]" (MARSHALL, 1967, p.76), we can see that there is subjectivity in this process of being a citizen, which goes beyond obtaining nationality registration documents or even paying fees and taxes in a specific geographic location.

Due to this intangible, fluid, and sometimes nebulous nature of the criteria for being a citizen, inequalities and discrimination exist and profoundly impact the lives of a large part of the population deprived of basic survival rights for not fitting into a pre-conceived citizenship profile.

Since citizenship is a status, a level to be climbed, fatefully, not everyone has that possibility, being at the mercy of social benefits, including those from State resources. The mechanisms of this distinction between bodies and beings intrinsically link to the meritocratic system of living in society, which directly draws from the effort versus the result of every individual.

The big issue with this structure aimed at rewarding efforts and achievements is precisely the fact that everyone is not on the same starting line. That is a race in which each one is in different marks, far from each other, with equipment and conditions that are also different, which leads us to believe that it is a system that needs revisions on the role of the State and the necessary historical repairs.

According to Guarinello (2008, p. 35), that is noticeable since Ancient Greece in the forming of city-states: "we cannot understand the formation of these communities only as a process of inclusion since the closure of the city-state necessarily implied the definition of the other and its exclusion." In this way, any categorization or structuring of limits for the inclusion of people into a given status segregates and leads several other bodies to obscurity.

When we establish spaces for people with classified requirements, we ignore all others that fall outside the defined standard. Thus, the status of being a citizen configures around itself other beings that do not reach it.

Previously, we proposed (CIRINO and TUZZO, 2016) a hierarchical gradation of media citizenship in contemporary society, aiming to organize the amalgamated forms of mention of the most common press vehicles when we visualize the conception of discourses, which interfere in the formation of public opinion and the construction of social representations of citizenship (TUZZO and BRAGA, 2009), configuring markedly different places for human beings. For the construction of each of the layers of the pyramid of media citizenship (Figure 1), we also considered the theoretical reflections of authors such as Marshall (1967), Souza (2012), Tuzzo (2014), Figueiredo and Tuzzo (2011), and Sodré (2021).

Figure 1 - Pyramid of Media Citizenship
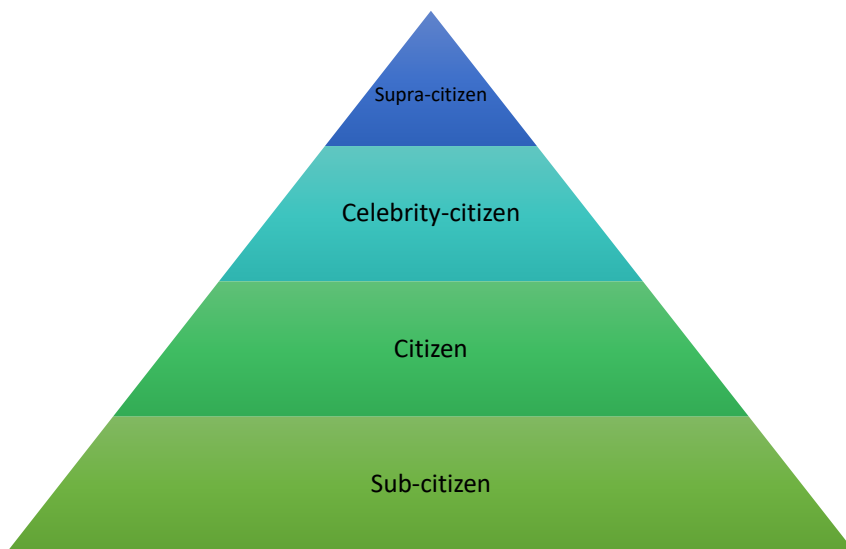
Source: Cirino; Tuzzo (2016, p. 60)

The pyramid presents some citizenship categories: the citizen would be that human being with a balanced life and who has access to the basic rights of citizenship, such as health, education, safety, leisure, employment, transportation, freedom to come and go, among others enacted in the constitution of Brazil. Here, the State does not guarantee access, but the subject can pay for it, meaning, according to Tuzzo (2014), it is a purchased citizenship. Though "privileged" compared to other strata, we can understand this citizenship category as the majority in quantity but the minority in power. The popular and massive media is built and worked daily to deal mainly with these individuals (BRITO JUNIOR, 2015).

Below the citizen, we have what Souza (2012) classifies as sub-citizenship and that we understand here as human beings who fall short of citizenship rights. Even if sharing spaces and cities with others, sub-citizens suffer the invisibility of not having access. Lines prevent these people from entering environments, consuming products, and

in many cases, even the non-consumption of drinking water, getting medicines and vaccines, and other essential items for survival, resulting in a low-quality and low-expectancy life. The media covers sub-citizens in situations of tragedy, absence, lack, and scarcity. They lack everything and have nothing (TUZZO, 2014).

Among the higher strata of the pyramid, we propose the definition of citizens or sub-citizens who, temporarily, are elevated to a different status, in which they have priority and differentiated access due to some accomplishment. For instance, a person may become a hero for saving someone's life, finding and returning money, or saving several animals in a catastrophe. There are several examples of people who leave their citizen or sub-citizen status to become famous citizens – humans exalted for their characteristics or for being under the media spotlight. That is the case of people who participate in reality shows or other TV shows or, more recently, exhibit themselves on digital social media and see their lives improve temporarily.

It is important to point out that they hardly ever go beyond this position since the next layer of the pyramid is very exclusive. The stratum of the celebrity-citizen begins to touch power but does not maintain it, as it is often a temporary power and only discursive or apparent, therefore, ephemeral (FIGUEIREDO and TUZZO, 2011).

The supra-citizen is a type of citizenship that one cannot easily accomplish since it is usually associated with great fortunes and political power. The distinction is due to their rights above the rights of other living beings in communities without directly proportional duties. That is the stratum that controls and manages the others since it is from where rules, spaces, and limitations flow. Through power, direct or indirect, it structures the whole of society, its values, and its directions (CIRINO; TUZZO, 2016).

Having composed the pyramid, we understand that there is no non-citizen since everyone, even those without rights, is not born outside the social context. There is not anyone exterior to or totally unharmed by the powers of this citizen chain.

The pyramid of media citizenship is a possible way to translate some concepts and unify them in a visual aspect of a perspective on how the media builds its discourses about citizens and their different types of access and permissions to social rights and also about vigilance as to their duties.

Therefore, it is necessary to discuss the social structures and their hierarchies since they result in many people being on the margins of complete social experience and the possibilities of life. A large part of this format derives from the ideology of performance, which, as Souza (2012, p. 170) points out, "[...] not only stimulates and rewards performance capacity but legitimizes permanent differential access to life chances and appropriation scarce goods.".

We understand, then, that the media conglomerate has a significant role in reproducing and sustaining the status quo, intending to maintain the hierarchization of individuals and their accesses. But it is not our focus to blame the press, but the contrary, since here we adopt the paradigm of medicine/poison, which in different amounts can save or eliminate a life. The toxicity in journalism, which enables the maintenance of this scenario, is not different from what is present in other ideological apparatuses (ALTHUSSER, 1983), such as educational and religious institutions. The issue is that, due to its power of diffusion and reach, the media can be an instrument for healing social foundations for changes in these other places of coexistence too (SOARES, 2013).

Space Tourism

The year 2021 was marked by space tourism for millionaires. Besides being eccentric entertainment, which few citizens who have bank accounts far above the world average can enjoy, the activity that lasts a short time and costs a lot of money can generate fame and even more fortune. Apart from wanting to take a walk through space, entrepreneurs interested in this business aim to increase other new businesses, which may yield them even more profit, reaffirming their condition at the top of the citizenship pyramid, where only supra-citizens can orbit.

Launching space tourism businesses requires vision and money. In 2021, some of Earth's most prominent entrepreneurs decided to look up. Jeff Bezos, the owner of Amazon, and Elon Musk, the CEO of Tesla and founder of SpaceX (Space Exploration Technologies Corp.), two of the wealthiest men in the world[3], besides Richard Branson, from Virgin Atlantic, took the first steps towards the new millionaire hobby.

Richard Branson, the British billionaire, was the first businessman to go to space on July 11, 2021, on the inaugural voyage by Virgin Galactic.

Jeff Bezos – North American tycoon and founder of the Blue Origin company – went shortly after, on July 20, in a capsule attached to the top of the New Shepard rocket along with three other people on board on a fully automated and non-scientific journey. They were able to see the Earth from a window and experience microgravity for three or four minutes, starting a new era of private space travel that marks yet another episode in the space tourism business.

Jeff Bezos traveled with his brother Mark Bezos to a historic feat, taking with them the youngest and the oldest person to go into space, namely, the 18-year-old Dutchman Oliver Daemen and the former American pilot Wally Funk, 82 years old (LUSA and REUTERS, 2021). The date of the flight celebrated the 52nd anniversary of the landing of Americans on the moon.

Wally Funk fulfilled his dream of going to the moon after being part of a private program with 12 other women in the 1960s. At the time, however, NASA only admitted pilots with engineering degrees for space missions, and women could not perform these functions, preventing Wally from traveling into space.

Oliver Daemen is fascinated by space, the moon, and rockets and is the son of a multimillionaire who bought the ticket, auctioned by a candidate who gave up on the trip, for almost 24 million euros.

In an interview with Fox Business Network, Bezos said before the trip: "I am excited, but I am not anxious. We will see how I feel when

3   Estes são os 10 homens mais ricos do planeta. Forbes Internacional and Paulo Marmé, April 7, 2022. Available at: https://www.forbespt.com/estes-sao-os-10-homens-mais-ricos-do-planeta/.

I am strapped to my seat. We are ready, and the vehicle is ready. This team is incredible. I feel great, and I think my traveling companions do too." (LUSA and REUTERS, Jornal Público, 2021).

Unlike Branson and Bezos, Elon Musk was not aboard the SpaceX Falcon 9 rocket in a Crew Dragon capsule called Resilience, launched from the NASA Kennedy Space Center on September 15, 2021, which carried the first crewed mission completely deprived of humanity into orbit, named Inspiration4 mission.

None of the four crew members were professional astronauts, nor did they have experience with spaceflight. With them, the capsule also took some items that would later go for sale at a charity auction, such as an unpublished version of the song "Time in disguise" by King of Leons (DRAKE, 2021).

The figure below shows the Inspiration4 crew during a zero-gravity training flight. Left to right: Hayley Arceneaux, a medical assistant at St. Jude Children's Research Hospital, childhood cancer survivor, and the first person with a prosthetic to fly in space; Chris Sembroski, an Air Force veteran who filled the seat from a donation made to St. Jude, who offered it in a draw (he did not participate in the contest, but his friend did and gave him the ticket); the millionaire Jared Isaacman, commander of the Inspiration4 mission, who chartered the SpaceX vehicle for an undisclosed amount; and Sian Proctor, the winner of an internet contest, which consisted of making a video describing why she wanted to go to space. The more viral, the better. Thus, the geoscientist who was close to being part of the NASA astronaut class of 2009 managed to occupy the fourth vacancy on the ship.

Figure 2 – Inspiration4 Crew

Source: John Kraus (DRAKE, 2021).

The Inspiration4 mission crew could see Earth through a glass dome installed on the spacecraft and helped raise $200 million for St. Jude in Memphis. In media terms, *Netflix* will show a documentary about the mission. TIME magazine put the photo of the crew on the cover of a special edition with the title "The New Space Age." The website *Axios* produced a podcast with several episodes that reveal behind the scenes of the mission. Also, several companies use Inspiration4 to promote their products.

The Inspiration4 Flight introduces a new type of ticket to space. Mission Commander Jared Isaacman is a 38-year-old man who made his fortune with Shift4 Payments, a payment processing company that generates more than $200 million in sales annually. In October 2021, Jared chartered the orbital flight claiming it had cost less than $200 million (a reference to his company's annual profit). He stated that he would not fly with friends or relatives but with three other people chosen randomly. He baptized the four seats as Hope, Generosity, Prosperity, and Leadership, the latter occupied by him as commander of the ship.

In the case of Elon Musk, it is worth noting that his plans for many people to pay for trips to space are under construction. As he wrote on his Twitter account, "the plan is in motion. I intend to build 100 spacecraft

a year and send thousands of people from Earth to Mars when the orbits of the two planets align, reducing the distance and thus minimizing travel costs. The goal is to make several flights a day." (ELON, 2020, online). In addition, he stated that "anyone can apply to be a passenger on the spacecraft, as long as they pay for the trip and, if they don't have money, they can ask for a loan." (ELON, 2020, online).

Besides the trips and high profits, Musk began to invest in, publicize, and propagate easy profits and the possibility of many people becoming rich with investment in cryptocurrencies. According to Knight (2022), on the website Economy Watch Follow the Money, Musk, who has a net worth of more than 185 million dollars, is heavily involved with cryptocurrencies. And it is common to see internet concepts such as Elon Musk Bitcoin 2022, Elon Musk Bitcoin Trading, Elon Musk Bitcoin Trader, Elon Musk Bitcoin Cryptocurrency, and many others.

Sodré (2021a, p. 57) explains the phenomenon by stating that "the discourse of the conservative and bourgeois ideology of capital is fading away, and there is not much need for it [...]. It must convince the middle, upper, and emerging classes that capital is the way out and the destination. In finances, this is the ultimate in abstraction."

Still in 2021, on December 8, the Russian spacecraft Soyuz MS-20 took special tourists Yusaku Maezawa and Yozo Hirano, accompanied by cosmonaut Alexander Misurkin, for a 12-day stay at the International Space Station (ISS). Yusaku Maezawa, a Japanese millionaire, booked in March 2021 a seat on the flight operated by SpaceX for a trip to the moon in 2023. Throughout his stay at the International Space Station (ISS), he was busy making videos for YouTube and posts on Twitter with the help of producer Yozo Hirano (travel companion). According to Redação Away (2021), the Japanese millionaire paid 80 million dollars for his special "vacation."

In detail, Yusaku posted on social media proposing challenges with snacks, besides explaining what it was like to sleep or go to the bathroom while in space. Another mark of the trip was the first space delivery of the Uber Eats company.

Figure 3 – Uber Eats delivery at the International Space Station

Source: Redação Away.

The news was released by Redação Away (2021), confirming that Uber Eats had sent a meal off planet Earth to the International Space Station, with Japanese businessman Yusaky Maezawa responsible for delivering the food on December 11, 2021, after a journey from Earth to space.

"Our goal is to help people go anywhere and achieve anything. So, we are very proud to serve astronauts on the International Space Station," Uber CEO Dara Khosrowshahi said in a statement about Uber Eats' marketing action (REDAÇÃO, 2021). Paraphrasing the famous American astronaut Neil Armstrong, the entrepreneur claimed it had been: "A small delivery for Yusaku Maezawa, but a big delivery for Uber Eats!".

Between getting the mermaid's kisses or having her tail for supper!

A novidade veio dar à praia
Na qualidade rara de sereia
Metade, o busto de uma deusa maia
Metade, um grande rabo de baleia

A novidade era o máximo
Do paradoxo estendido na areia
Alguns a desejar seus beijos de deusa
Outros a desejar seu rabo pra ceia
Ó, mundo tão desigual
Tudo é tão desigual [...]
Ó, de um lado este carnaval
Do outro a fome total.[4]
(Gilberto Gil, 1994)

Despite portraying a chaotic scenario, the lyrics of Gilberto Gil's song express so clearly what happens in today's society, where some have so much money that they can no longer spend it only on Earth, and others do not have the basics for survival. Thus, between space tourism in the leisure axis of citizenship, there are the axes of health and food, which many people experience through the lack of resources for personal care and hunger.

In this article, we do not aim to discuss the pertinence of space exploration. Incidentally, this discussion has settled already since man stepped on the moon, being poetically explained in an emblematic letter written by a nun who lived in Zambia, called Mary Jucunda, in 1970, addressed to a scientist, Dr. Stuhlinger. In the letter (ABREU, 2016), the central question was: Why spend on space exploration with so many people starving?

The nun exposed the serious problems of hunger and all that it brought to the population; the scientist explained that, despite understanding and having a strong awareness of the situation, the space race had the function of improving the way of life on Earth, presenting the gains with research and the discovery of new technologies. In his

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4   The news came to the beach/ In rare mermaid quality/ Half the bust of a Mayan goddess/ Half a big whale tail/ The novelty was a must/ From the paradox stretched out in the sand/ Some craved her goddess kisses/ Others craved her tail for supper/ Oh, such an uneven world/ Everything is so uneven [...]/ Oh, on one side, this carnival/ On the other, total hunger.

words, the scientist believes and demonstrates that if human beings want to improve living conditions on Earth, they need to invest in knowledge in physics, biology, medicine, chemistry, and physiology to fight against problems like hunger, diseases, food and water contamination, and environmental pollution.

Hence, the American Government managed public money with strategic activities to develop new technologies and research. The space program was among such activities and a path for transforming humanity. Thus, going to the moon was not a way of looking up but down, using a strategy to transform humanity itself.

The nun thanked him and said that, understanding his response, she would then firmly believe in the profound value of the space program.

But now, in 2022, we see nothing in common between the attempt to research in space to develop life on Earth and the self-centeredness of billionaires traveling to space.

Therefore, in this article, we focused on reflecting on the different forms of social existence of those having plenty and those who lack everything.

But these people are invisible, outside a media that generally does not address the problems of hunger, misery, and deaths by diseases of those who have become 'invisible people,' as described by Fernando Braga da Costa in his master's thesis "Public Invisibility." For the study, as a Psychology student at USP, Braga dressed as a street sweeper to understand the invisibility of that professional category, disregarded as people by society and cast to social invisibility (DELPHINO, 2008).

Thus, social invisibility is present in countries, states, and cities in different proportions and different ways. However, there is a veiled relationship between people who have too much and people who lack everything and the notion that the latter does not need to exist because they do not produce, generate profit, and therefore no longer participate in society. Looking up is one more way of not having to look down, of occupying oneself with what is beyond and not with what is within.

Covid-19 and the climate crisis have increased the number of people living below the poverty line, who cannot fight for survival alone and

depend on human reaction to save them and give them back hope for a dignified solution. In August 2021, a United Nations report warned that 23 countries would be the focus of hunger, reaching 41 million people. FAO and WFP reported that, in 2020, 155 million people faced acute food insecurity and that, according to the Global Report on Food Crises, 55 countries were at their worst hunger levels. The fact represents an increase of more than 20 million compared to 2019, with trends worsening in 2021 (CRISE, 2021).

The problem of hunger is complex and ranges from obstacles for food and humanitarian aid to reach places in need to a lack of drinking water, poor sanitation, and pests, such as infestations of desert locusts in the Horn of Africa and swarms of migrant locusts in Southern Africa. For instance, the Horn of Africa needs US$ 138 million urgently to avoid a food crisis (CRISE, 2021).

This paper focuses on the absurdity of events and the disparity of social relations by making it possible to understand that the structures of society remain unbalanced, leaning more towards some groups when offering them a complete life experience in terms of basic needs and much more beyond them, and leaving others without the minimum – food, education, health, and safety, for example.

Conclusion

Sodré (2021a) describes a civil society parallel to an uncivil society. For the author, the civil society organizes itself around the productive system, leaving aside sectors that are not directly productive, specifically the plebs, the poor people, the subalterns, and the excluded.

The uncivil society emerges with the decay of civil society to the extent that it loses strong ties with political society and with production, with parties and politics – as a human aggregation and space for class struggles – and ceases to be dominant. The uncivil society is the result of the emptying of parliamentary representation.

From a legal point of view, the mechanisms are formally in operation: elections take place, governments are elected, and the celebration of the

spectacle of democracy continues, but the link between politics and civil society is weakened (SODRÉ, 2021a). From the perspective of communication and its processes, Sodré and Paiva specify the uncivil society as:

> The human order globally governed by communication technologies, solidary to the transformation in the mode of capital accumulation, to the destabilization of the classic forms of representation of the world, but also ambiguously permeated by the generalized incitement to institutional reinvention. (SODRÉ; PAIVA, 2002, p. 4)

This relationship includes the imposition of the perverse recipe of neoliberalism, which, far from noticing the deviations of liberalism, induces its radicalization towards a model that rejects the social welfare policy and opens space for *"the violence of competitive capitalism supported by the free market."* (SODRÉ, 2021b, s/p).

Specifically in Brazil, this economic model gained strength with the arrival of Paulo Guedes in the Ministry of Economy and the view of the Bolsonaro government that financial aid destined for the population in need serves "the poor who do not like to work." (SAKAMOTO, 2021).

As predicted by Sodré (2021a, p. 266), the new economic and political formatting of agendas set by neoliberalism added to the digitization of the economy, the reduction in formal employment, and the uberization of work increase the perspective, for the immediate present and the coming decades, of the replacement of human labor by robots, and affect the perception of historical classes.

This process not only challenges the classic image of the productivist and accumulating bourgeois (SODRÉ, 2021a) but strikes especially sectors in the lower strata of the social pyramid, no longer regarded as the working class or even as labor reserve but as a social problem, an obstacle to development, and individuals whose only value lies in their possibility of voting. The contradiction between capital and work is secondary in the dispute for capital (increasingly inaccessible) or even in the struggle for historical survival, giving way to the struggle for immediate individual survival.

The pyramid of media citizenship thought by Cirino and Tuzzo (2016, p. 60) is an invitation to reflect on the construction of citizenship, the existence of various types of citizenship, and the non-right to citizenship itself. It is a view on how journalistic vehicles, the mainstream media, and digital social media contribute to presenting disparate scenarios and sustaining the current model of unequal relations.

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