IN THE TIME OF ZOIO: Media matrices, temporalities and YouTube

ELTON ANTUNES

Professor in the Graduate Program in Communication at the Federal University of Minas Gerais. Doctorate in Communication and Culture from the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA).
Email: eltunes@uol.com.br
ORCID: 0000-0002-5265-6584

JULIANA FREIRE GUTMANN

Professor in the Graduate Program in Contemporary Communication and Culture at UFBA. Doctorate in Communication and Culture from UFBA.
Email: jugutmann@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0002-4760-670X

JUSSARA PEIXOTO MAIA

Professor in the Graduate Program in Communication at the Federal University of Recôncavo da Bahia (UFRB) Doctorate in Communication and Culture from UFBA.
Email: jussaramaia1@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0003-3996-6673

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Abstract

Brazilian YouTuber Everson Zoio's channel is used as an analytical entry point into this study about temporalities, flows and media matrices in this audiovisual form whose main material dimension is a body that offers self-flagellation for consumption. This body's performance is composed of varied images of time and activates media matrices and their transformations. Mediations and cultural mutations, terms from Jesus Martín-Barbero, are taken as analytical dimensions. The objective is to invest in a communicational and historicized approach to YouTube's characteristic textualities, in this case demonstrating that each temporal action Zoio engenders is tension/friction from other temporalities, as well as a condition for the functioning of the mediatic instance.

Keywords

Introduction

Having a slingshot shot into his face; setting off a firework in the house; blending Coca-Cola with charcoal and drinking it; soaking himself in alcohol and setting fire to his own body, then jumping in a river; these are the four scenes that make up the 14 minutes and 13 seconds of #desafio53, one episode from the "Desafio" series on Everson Zoio's YouTube channel. Zoio is the most famous member of the so-called *galera dos desafios* (Silva, 2017) ("challenge crew"), YouTubers who compete for views by exposing their bodies to danger, to the bizarre and embarrassing. Created in 2009 by the actor and DJ Everson Henrique de Oliveira, a native of Extrema, Minas Gerais, Zoio is now among the 100 most viewed influencers in the world. His channel points to the importance of investigating the articulated dimensions of the subject and body, the technical and audiovisual, and media and sociocultural contexts in their varied temporalities.

Zoio highlights the complex fabric of historical relations involving transformations of times and spaces, through communicative mediations of culture (Martín-Barbero, 2008). In the wake of productions that reestablish the force of oral culture using the world's largest video platform, the channel uses appeals to humor as a strategy to attract coveted views. The millions of likes operate as a form of recognition and act as testament to the portion of the audience drawn in by the intense speech act performed with the entire body.

The purpose of this article is, first, to present a proposal for a historicized communicational approach to Everson Zoio's channel, from the perspective of this particular struggle for views and visibilities that does not originate on the Internet, but is amplified there. No longer a mere video sharing site, we recognize YouTube as a place of transit and multiplication of bodies that share themselves through repetitive and ordinary operations. Next, the analytical study presented here identifies various temporalities, flows and media matrices of this audiovisual form that articulates qualities of "amateur videos," serial narratives, reality shows and reality competition shows, and that has a body as its main material dimension and the dimension of its struggle for visibility. In Zoio's case, it is a body in eminence of "deformation" and "disfigurement."

The body offers self-flagellation (a type of inducement to "consensual" bullying) for consumption, and its performance is composed of various figures of time: the like button and reaction/response time; monitoring and measuring time in everyday life; the position of celebrity by way of ranking time; the time of action and assembly; seriality; periodicity, etc. In this way, the study aims to uncover how some of these times interweave towards change, making the notion of "in transit" a way of constituting and updating identities, in relation to contemporary technicalities. These temporalities also illuminate the place of the media matrices that constitute audiovisualities recognized on YouTube, and their transformations.

Temporalities, matrices and flows

The analytical approach to the times that coexist in Zoio originates from the recognition of YouTube's power in our contemporary social experiences and the rejection of what we consider an instrumentalist conception of the phenomenon. Thinking of YouTube in the sense of technicality, in Martín-Barbero's terms (2004; 2008; 2009), shifts the gaze both from a sense of technology as a mere technological artifact and from a utopian concept that legislates on the innovative and revolutionary character of the technique based in the logic of novelty.

In positing the importance of the figures of temporalities for an understanding of the communicative phenomena, one cannot ignore the diversity of theoretical horizons it is possible to call upon. Such reflections range from highly speculative ways of understanding temporalities/times to those that posit them as clear features of an empirical reality. Comprehensive paradigms such as the narratological, mediological-technical, sociopolitical and sociocognitive (Jaëcklé, 2001), with various

analytical inputs (Domenget, 2003), alternate and combine in the production of analytical matrices that articulate communication and time. There is no doubt, however, about the centrality of the category of time for understanding contemporary processes of mediatization (Couldry; Hepp, 2017) and cultural mediation (Martín-Barbero, 2008). Even when the space of tension that senses of mediatization and mediation occupy in communication studies is recognized, the dimension of temporality is a common concern.

In this sense, in order to constitute a place of analysis of the figures of temporalities invoked in the framework of Zoio's videos, we propose to emphasize the way Martín-Barbero approaches the topic to view transformations in culture and communication. The sense of temporality is already configured as a dimension constituting the notion of mediation from its initial formulation still tied to the analysis of television (Martín-Barbero, 2008). The author understands televised mediations as sites "from which come the constructions that delimit and shape the social materiality and cultural expressiveness of television" (2008, p. 292). Social temporality, one of the mediating authorities proposed alongside everyday life and cultural competence, refers to the temporal organization that forges everyday time marked by the idea of repetition, a time that begins, ends and begins again, as well as the time of ordinary life. For the author, the cyclical and fragmented temporal investment of television simulates the language of the productive system, popular constitutions, narrative, song and orality itself (Martín-Barbero, 2008, p. 298). In Zoio, as we will see in the following section, matricial temporalities act powerfully, connected to this everyday time, which is cyclical, repetitive, segmenting and serial.

When he formulates the Map of Mediations (Martín-Barbero, 2008; 2004) to analyze the complexities of the constituent relationships among communication, culture and politics, the author proposes an additional four mediations (sociality, institutionality, rituality and technicality) that function, cohesively, as sites of interpretation of communicative and cultural processes. The sense of social temporality spans sociality, which responds with collective uses of communication and its historical times, relating audience expectations to cultural matrices; as well as institutionality, which relates matrices to logics of production and informs us of the modes of regulations of the media and institutions and the times of capital. For example, to analyze Zoio's channel and its various invocations of temporal relations implies considering collective modes of life, habits, tastes and affects shared by the community of followers. It also involves the implications of YouTube's monetization time, as its capital is based on the number of followers, shares, likes, etc. It is the time that transports us from one link to another under the logic of television, now reconstituted by sequences brokered by the logic of algorithms.

Temporalities are also seen in the framework of the mediation of technicality, through which we analyze expressive forms and social perceptions of technologies, or devices through which we can empirically view transformations of materialities and sensitivities. Technicality is the mediation positioned on the map between industrial formats and logics of production, reverberating in the instance of consumption, in the mediation of rituality, which refers to the trajectories of readings, tastes, affects, possessions and knowledge of the subject that constitute the production of meanings. As such, thinking of new sensibilities related to YouTube's brand of audiovisual consumption presupposes an understanding of the grammar and expressive forms that constitute subjectivities. The body, gestures, links, modes of recording, scenes and types of editing are dimensions of technicalities.

We have here synchronic temporal relations between production logics and audience expectations, intersected by mediations. Technicalities, ritualities, institutionalities and socialities are sites for the analysis of communicative processes. For Martín-Barbero, these processes are cultural and political.

At the same time, diachronic, or action that is historical and over a long duration, is emphasized on the map, which indicates a concern with the relationships between cultural and historical matrices and industrial formats, already taken up on Communication, Culture and Hegemony, now conceived of within the Map of Mediations on a specific central axis. This axis takes the form of a dimension of analysis of

media productions and associations, cultural constructs in transit that evoke different temporalities.

The relations between cultural matrices and formats refer to transformations in the links between the social and public discourses, and to the modes of production that enable collective forms of communication (Martín-Barbero, 2008, p. 18). It is the action of the gaze in the web of discourses, grammars, narrative knowledge, habits and techniques. Of relevance is the permanent movement of intertextuality and intermedialities that propels genres, formats and media, and that makes visible waste, dominances and new and emerging elements, to use terms from Raymond Williams (1979). In this sense we emphasize the operation of matrices for the analysis of the constitutive forms of Zoio's channel. The diachronic axis leads us, in the analysis, to observe how Zoio invokes various matricial temporalities simultaneously.

In a more recent formulation, entitled the Map of Mutations (Martín-Barbero, 2009), temporality appears in an equally complex conception. Within the argument that we operate in a technocommunicative environment (Martín-Barbero, 2009), in which ideas of industrial formats and media are losing strength, once media forms (now known as "mixed forms") extrapolate products and vehicles, the author proposes a new way to understand movements of transformations in culture and communication. This environment links flows of images, temporalities and information, population movements, times and spaces. Mediations shall be understood as transformations of times and spaces analyzed by two central movements: population movements and flows of images. As Gomes et al. (2017) show us, these migrations are understood as displacements that also come into contact with the internet, social media and avatars, and are connected with virtual flows (of images, information and identities).

Mediations of technicality and rituality remain. They constitute spaces of analysis to capture times and spaces in the framework no more than the author considers industrial formats, but which he calls flows, precisely for the sense of mobility, transition, joining together of forms of expression, language and matrices, that can be materialized in what we term here "YouTube" or a "channel." Technicalities are between times and flows and are connected to spaces by ritualities. Everson Zoio's channel can be thought of as a space of analysis of flows across multiple spaces and times. Images, likes, bodies, sounds, views, links, comments, shares, tabs and windows act as constitutive perceptual operators (technicalities) constituted by expectations of use and followers' trajectories of reading (ritualities). Spaces—geographic and symbolic—are forged in these modes of collective organization among virtual communities (in profiles, feeds, channels, etc.).

The field of struggle for visibilities and subjectivities, where Everson Zoio acts, justifies the introduction of mediations of identity and cognitivity into the new Map. By "connecting" technicality to that which is moving towards identity, Martín-Barbero (2009) cites the large number of teenagers who invent a character for themselves and place themselves in the world as avatars. And if identities link times and migrations, cognitivity is the mutation that, connecting migrations and spaces, emphasizes the site of the production of meanings as hypertextual relationships and of shifts in knowledge.

Matricial temporalities in Zoio

The reflection around media matrices that connect via YouTube generally seems strongly rooted in the analysis of modifications to the temporality of the social experience in the contemporary media context, as well as supported in research about the different representations of time in production and reception. In this case, an attempt is made to indicate the form of typically mediatic temporalities, particularly in the development of so-called (micro)celebrity culture (Jerslev, 2016). In this case, temporal modes would be affirmed that are marked by the availability of constant updates, immediacy and instantaneity, responded to by the community of followers with views, likes, comments and messages proposing new challenges.

Periodicity becomes one of the key traits of Everson Zoio's channel: "New videos every week,"

he announces on multiple platforms. In "Desafio do Zoio" ("Zoio's Challenge"), a follower sends him a challenge, which is read (the message appears on the screen) and fulfilled. The YouTuber has broken a tooth with a pair of pliers, branded his arm with a hot knife, stuck his hand in an anthill and set fire to his body. These videos are created as serial episodes, numbered sequentially (Challenge 1, 2, 3 and so on). Zoio uses elements of repetition in his situations, settings and even characters. The narrative structure is the same in all videos: at home, he reads the challenge that has been sent; announces what he will do; performs the action, highlighting moments of tension; and finally, the outcome. The action is shown chronologically. This is a typical serial structure in an "episodic" form. At the same time, Zoio articulates a background narrative that preserves the continuity between stories (or chapters). He frequently refers to previous challenges.

The video "Levando cachorro na pastelaria" ("Taking a dog to the pastry shop")[1] begins with Zoio in the foreground, with Hard, a mutt, in the background. He captured the dog in a previous episode, when a follower challenged him to "take a stray dog to a pet shop." Hard becomes an interlocutor for Zoio in several subsequent episodes. Similarly, the institutionalization of the "*poetics of amateur record*" (Gutmann, 2014) becomes indicial. This media form has been popularized with security cameras and portable camcorders (mainly smartphones). For example, on television, it appears as a mark of authentication of an event in television journalism, used to "bring the event into the present time." On YouTube, it operates as a grammar. There is an interesting movement of image flow here, which transcends television (where the amateur recording form still appears with "distinct framing") and constitutes a mark of recognition for audiovisual material on YouTube.

On Everson Zoio's channel, the "amateur form" is recognizable by the poor quality of the recording, the emphasis on home recording devices, jolting camera movements and long takes (without cuts). It also includes aspects of editing: sudden cuts are characteristic of a style of editing that reinforces a homemade, amateur quality and crudeness as a mark of this narrative form. The tempo is slow, it drags on, as if reproducing the "real" time of everyday conversation. It is common to see graphic marks from the camera, with the timestamp on the side or the REC icon visible, which reinforces the plasticity of the amateur form as an authentic audiovisual form.

This sense of "crudeness" is reinforced by the ambiance: the "official" setting of the program is a home, which appears to be the YouTuber's. The "studio" is his room, a messy environment with road signs on the wall, where he, always in the foreground, presents his challenge of the day. The YouTuber also records in other rooms of the house: the living room, the garage, in a "small shop that seems to work in the house." His mother, brother and friends appear in scenes and interact with him. He is generally in the foreground, looking at the camera, in a body that fills the frame. He gestures, moves and talks quickly. Even in outdoor scenes, there are few open shots; the framing is almost always on the body of the performer, in a sort of permanent selfie. In our view, however, beyond these most evident temporal markers, these processes are created around denser and thicker figures. Seriality, an amateur quality and the atmosphere of closeness and domesticity that mark the channel's production are initially in a degree of cooperation that enhances certain sensory effects around this communicative practice towards the recognition of certain matricial temporalities.

The display of everyday time—by action combined with Zoio's home life; through editing that emphasizes the continuous time of the action, with few cuts, emphasizing the simulation of the experience—is the structure of the game. It is framed as a challenge, with rules and pre-established spatiotemporal confines that lead us to recognize reality TV as an important television matrix on Everson Zoio's channel. The channel combines a set of formats already present in the history of television and in other media, such as radio, and partially draws on references to reality television, exposing the

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[1] Available at https://youtu.be/9TC3Je37zf8. Accessed February 27, 2018.

banalities of everyday life (Machado & Velez, 2009). A channel like Zoio's is not exactly a way to observe another person's everyday life, but rather a way that the public's daily lives are also structured. There is a temporality that connects uses and preferences in interactions with the channel. If not a matter of urgent or extraordinary, attention-getting "content," as in historically broadcast-centric media models, it is a question of structuring the practices whose rhythm is determined by the flows and modulations of the everyday. Thus, the temporality is not based in exceptionality, but rather in the personalized banality of the flow of each person's everyday life.

This temporal nature of the everyday helps to project the force of the "authentic." Discourses that aim to certify the authenticity of the YouTuber's action in his brushes with danger are authenticated by the intensive use of soundtracks (tense music is a trademark feature), the use of slow motion and graphic interventions that reinforce the playfulness of the videos. At the same time, Zoio's staging invokes elements of authentication of the real: his house, the real anonymous characters—his friends, mother and brother—, street scenes and pranks at the supermarket or the bakery around the corner. His younger brother Kaíque acts as the main supporting character. Even when he doesn't appear explicitly in the video, Zoio addresses him ("Get out of there, Kaíque;" "That's not for you...," "Turn off that speaker..."). Kaíque plays the role of a witness, legitimizes the veracity of the actions, at the same time that he is present, in a frailer body, to strengthen his brother's position.

This everyday time of simultaneous and repetitive action amplifies the degree of intimacy and closeness that the performer creates with his interlocutors. It also acts as an important matrix to think about seriality, the form in which this relationship with time is constituted narratively. This refers not only to the interval between episodes, but rather to a management of attention that takes place in the constitutive and eminent connectivity that sustains the channel. Moving across multiple platforms and media services, Zoio configures interactive processes that need to account temporarily for uses that are strongly personalized and in permanent (dis)connection. On the one hand, the videos posted last for a long time, being accessed continuously over a long period of time, while the context creates new invocations—a user discovers Zoio and then shares his video in their circles, for example. In this sense, the video not only gains a longer duration through users, but also exists to the extent that its time is propagated. Audiences are created through viral processes of contamination and recommendation. The YouTuber speaks for an audience (the camera) and is one with the camera, an audience materialized as witnesses to the action in the present tense. At the same time, he speaks to a future audience that will be there not only in the present time, but in an action that must occur for the channel to continue: "What's up, everyone? Like the video..." "Comment on Facebook, send me some challenges..." In a certain way, Zoio is "live" in the future.

On the other hand, Zoio keeps people's attention poised in a way that is more visceral and relay-like. Access to the channel functions like an alarm clock or an alert. "There is new content," the platform signals. For actions that are diverse and dispersed in time, this readiness appears as the most appropriate position present in the repertoire of conditions of those who interact with the channel. In this sense, we can think of the management of particular forms of attention, that trigger specific conditions and are permanently in play, articulating cultural/media matrices such as that of journalistic ads. We take up attention here considering Crary's (2013) formulation. Concerned with this historicity of social forms of perception, sensory experience (seeing, hearing, touching, etc.), he characterizes attention is a central factor and a specifically modern mode of looking, a condition marked by observation and expectation—"waiting for something to happen." When we "see/hear/get excited" with Zoio, we are in some sense within a scheme of attention, in which distraction and focus present themselves not as subjective states in opposition, but rather as a relational game "in which the two ceaselessly flow into one another, as part of a social field in which the same imperatives and forces incite one and the other" (Crary, 2013).

In this sense, the processes of exhibition—the continuous exhibition of embarrassing actions and

situations in the everyday life of a subject who is challenged by the audience—and of flow—circulation and the intermittent presentation of this everyday life—are inscribed in the relationships that involve the channel in what some call mass scopophilia and voyeurism, in which "being seen and being watched, as well as seeing and watching, are progressively incorporated into the perceptive, affective, attentional and social repertoire and are associated with processes of pleasure, diversion and sociability" (Bruno, 2013, p. 47). He gains prominence, then, in a framework defined by the format of pranks and multiple hidden cameras, the "aesthetics of *flagrante*" (Bruno, 2013) in which he monitors himself not principally to watch, but rather to provoke "a libido of the instant whose attention falls on the unexpected and the uncommon in the very flow of regular, ordinary and common life" (Bruno, 2013, p. 107).

Thus, a world of banal objects in the universe of food, situations and objects of all kinds emerges as the strength of Zoio's channel: the teenager who burps loudly in public places; zany and unusual situations (such as offering a resume in a drug house), real or imagined, but above all, told in a conversation between friends, like the "panic" of imagining oneself being "buried alive."

It points to a practical denaturalization of uniform time, now conforming to the ordinary rhythm of each person connected—joined—and their uses of media. It is not only a public time and not only intimate time, but rather a common "domesticated" time that is shared and emotionally modulated. The fun Zoio brings accelerates an eventual stasis of everyday life. It offers users—and those who follow him—the time of distraction (Highmore, 2001), of life that is busy without anything special occurring. It reaffirms an atmosphere of closeness with the everyday: the "neighborhood madman," "memories from adolescence," "having nothing to do," memories from "accomplishments." There is an adherence to the flow of life, with its pranks, jokes, etc. The spaces are the most "recognizable" of everyday life: the plaza, the pharmacy, the street, the supermarket, "a day in the life," as the Beatles song says.

Observing a channel like Zoio's from the perspective not only of a variety of temporal markers, but also markers placed in permanent processes of reaccommodation/transmutation, reinforces the idea that technicalities constitute sensitivities. In this case, we refer to the increase in sensitivity of reflection on the very process of communication. It is a process that rearranges the experience of the senses and reestablishes the problem of systems of perception and observer status within the framework of social life. In this sense, uncovering media matrices in this phenomenon can help in seeing ruptures and continuities. YouTube would not present itself as a direct "evolution," a mere continuity from other technologies and mechanisms, but rather as an agent in structuring specific, and perhaps innovative, systems of spectation.

Inspired by Martín-Barbero's (2009) map, the emphasis on mutations for the analysis of temporal movements in Zoio's channel also requires an understanding of the transformations of the ways a politics is constituted that spans the everyday nature of these videos. The author highlights the shift in time in the techno-communicative environment, emphasizing in this changing condition the close relationship between transformations of the conception of time, growing increasingly smaller and more compressed, and financial capitalism as a structuring reference for social time. By relating the creation of economic power or money to economic power or money itself, it destroys the sense of production, transforming the conception of time and work time. "Globalization comes to turn culture into a strategic space for the compression of tensions that break and recompose the common site of convergence for all political, economic, religious, ethnic, aesthetic and sexual crises" (Martín-Barbero, 2014, p. 23-24).

The sense of convergence of the techno-communicative environment is formed in integration with intense intercultural exchanges, particularly notable in the present time. As part of globalization, they forge a time in which cultures themselves are organized into networks, relating material and symbolic migratory movements to communicative circulation in the flows that exist across the internet. This movement is organized with the strength of interwoven identities to a multiplicity of technicalities, giving rise to other ways of feeling and giving meaning to the social experience in a world experienced in a techno-communicational manner. In this way, stories that spread throughout networks are, in an

interwoven way, reconfiguring identities and constituting new technicalities that operate with more fluid ritualities and intercultural cognitivities, in movements and political performances between times and spaces that complement and collide with one another.

There is simultaneous collision and sharing of various of temporalities in a video Zoio recorded in December 2017, which drew nearly 7.5 million views[2], 1 million likes and 10,000 dislikes. It was entitled "Um recado pra essa racista," ("A message for that racist"), outside the thematic of challenges and within the historic and cultural past/present of prejudice and racism in Brazil and worldwide. Zoio performs with great tension in his body, nearly breaking into violence in his reaction to the people who took to actor Bruno Gagliasso's Instagram to support the Canada-based blogger and socialite Day McCarthy, who said of the actor's 4-year-old daughter: "ficam lá elogiando aquela macaca. A menina é preta, tem o cabelo horrível de pico de palha e tem o nariz de preto horrível e o povo fala que a menina é linda[3]" [People keep praising that monkey. She's black, she has horrible kinky hair and has a horrible black nose and people say she's a pretty girl."] In just over nine minutes, the YouTuber talks as if he were venting to a friend with unrestrained anger, but it's also a performance characteristic of police news programs. Zoio puts his face into the camera, moves erratically with a sledgehammer in his hands, threatening to find the socialite in Canada and telling her, "You deserve to die," with a warning to "watch out." Conflictingly, the rationale for the explosive reaction is a subjective narrative in support of another person, an other who is black and a friend, hiding his own mixed-race identity from the story. The interweaving of diverse temporalities, values, meanings and cultural practices are in tension in the video, in which the YouTuber admits his failure with the complete absence of another form of existence in a world of conflict because "não consigo nem falar" "[I can't even talk"]. In response to a present time in which racism is a crime punishable by varied penalties, Zoio repeats and updates a past time when resolving conflicts was restricted to violence to the body, eliminating the possibility of building another time—the future.

YouTube, matrices and also subsidiaries

With almost nine million subscribers to his channel (8,921,021 as of March 04, 2018), YouTuber Everton Zoio operates with various temporalities in the constitution of his multiplatform communicability, offering up multiple possibilities of engagement and enjoyment. Fundamental to the neoliberal logic of the market, the reach of the audience shows the embedded relationship between the transnational industrial formats of powerful media organizations and the creative cultural productions in dialogue with cultural and media matrices in domestic social arrangements, forging other temporalities and spatialities in new communicational materialities.

The sharing of challenges in videos has flourished on YouTube, but has provoked little debate, in spite of related events that are worth noting for their high risk and sometimes tragic consequences. This was the case of 19-year-old Monalisa Perez, who was imprisoned after shooting and killing her 22-year-old boyfriend during a YouTube Live broadcast meant to show that the book placed against the boy's chest would protect his body from the bullet. The Minnesota residents, who began posting videos on their channel in May, considered their own condition as an adolescent couple and parents a challenge, and had their second child in September 2017[4]. More recently, in Brazil, the media reacted strongly to the death

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[2] As of March 05, 2018.

[3] Excerpt from Day McCarthy's words as recorded on social media and in journalistic coverage. Following the same cultural and political form of focusing perception of the event on violence, *O Globo* newspaper transformed the attack on Titi into the story's headline, while reference to a legal challenge was restricted to the quotation from Giovanna Ewbank, the child's mother, that circulated on Instagram. Available at: <https://oglobo.globo.com/rio/filha-de-giovanna-ewbank-bruno-gagliasso-vitima-de-racismo-22117146>. Accessed March 05, 2018.

[4] Information about the case available at: <https://g1.globo.com/mundo/noticia/americana-mata-namo-

of seven-year-old Adrielly Gonçalves, in São Bernardo do Campo, São Paulo. On February 3, 2018, she died after inhaling aerosol deodorant, following in the footsteps of another YouTuber. But the coverage was limited to discussing the risks of "imitation," relying on medical opinions about the effects of the hydrochloric acid in the product on the body[5]. Reports stayed far from the debate about political, economic, social and ethical aspects involved in the complexity of the relationships forged in the construction and changes in identities in this techno-communicative environment (Martín-Barbero, 2014). In Brazil, the success of Everson Zoio's channel is linked to a recurring theme: carrying out challenges that connect common people's routines in their daily lives to the possibility of ascension to the status of celebrity by overcoming various obstacles. The production and intense social reverberation of these practices on social media are tied to celebrity culture, constituted as the basis for the organization of recognition and belonging. In its public dimension, this culture is perceived as the result of three interwoven historical processes: the democratization of societies, the decline of organized religion and the commodification of the everyday (Rojek, 2008). "Politically and culturally, the ideology of the common man elevated the public sphere to the arena par excellence, in which dramatic personality or style obtained through effort conferred distinction and seized popular attention" (Rojek, 2008, p.16).

Although Zoio[6] stands out more for his connection with *Jackass*[7], a television series produced by MTV starting in 2000, his communicability is organized into an even older system of intertextualities, updated in new appropriations of what is understood as a challenge. The idea of convergence that exists in the context of technology is observed as part of the process of interculturality with intense cultural shifts that define the contemporary (Martín-Barbero, 2014). Also in operation are the meanings of questions of everyday life that link Zoio to highly specific social, cultural, economic, political and technological experiences.

In videos on the channel, there is a dialogue between the local and the global in which its identification as a humor vlog expresses a certain tension in regard to the seriousness of those aspects that guide the production of socially shared meanings around patented global formats that gave rise in several countries to versions of programs such as *Survivor* and *Big Brother*, in the late 1990s. They were pioneers in the production of reality shows in which voyeurism was the attractive factor, as well as audience participation in the monitoring of participants' actions in response to challenges and conditions of constraint imposed by the patent-holding networks. Created by Charles Parsons in the United Kingdom in 1992, *Survivor*'s first Swedish production and program was *Expedition Robinson* in 1997, but it found success with the launch of the American version on CBS in 2000.

Despite Organizações Globo's refusal to admit it, Survivor was the inspiration for the launch of the program *No Limite*, on Sunday nights, that same year. It was based on the adaptation by journalist Zeca Camargo, who was also the host, and director José Bonifácio de Oliveira, recorded in Barra de Sucatinga on the coast of Ceará[8]. Among the challenges to the teams vying for the award—initially 300,000 reais,

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rado-com-tiro-em-brincadeira-para-o-youtube-que-deu-errado.ghtml>. Accessed September 23, 2017.

[5] Brazil's major newspapers and magazines announced the death of the child with reports.

[6] In an interview with Danilo Gentili, on the program *The Noite* on November 11, 2016, the YouTuber spoke about his inspiration in the program, whose logo appears on his t-shirt. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dYY4_lJbVrc>. Accessed September 23, 2017.

[7] The series was produced from the success of the videos produced for *Big Brother Skateboard* magazine, featuring Johnny Knoxville, Dave England, Ryan Dunn, Jason Acuña, Chris Pontius and Bam Margera. Although MTV announced the end of the series, its success still led to the production of various films, including *Jackass – The movie* (2002), *Jackass Number Two* (2006) and *Jackass 3.5* (2011), as well as games in 2007. In 2011, the group disbanded with the death of one member, Ryan Dunn, in a car accident. Sequels were produced by the others, inspired by the challenges featured in the episodes. Information at <https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2016/04/25/cultura/1461598544_836358.html>. Accessed September 23, 2017.

[8] Considered a "voyeuristic gymkhana" by the *Folha de São Paulo*, the production is presented in the

then 500,000, then 1 million—was eating goat eyeballs, buffalo testicles, raw liver, chameleon eyes and beef brain, as well as physical and psychological resistance challenges. In addition to challenges related to physical exertion, many of the challenges involved overcoming the fear of physical contact with venomous animals such as snakes, spiders and scorpions, even though they were not life-threatening as they contained no more venom. A similar proposal was employed to produce *Hipertensão*, also presented in 2002 by Zeca Camargo and in 2010/2011, by Glenda Kozlowski, based on the model patented by the Dutch producer Endemol, reiterating criticism raised before about the conditions imposed on participants, as they were considered humiliating and inappropriate.

In a communicative context marked by interactivity and distinct from that in which media organizations had hidden the fact that they created the rules of the global model, on Everson Zoio's channel the authors of the bizarre, grotesque, dangerous proposals, and sometimes social and political critique, identify themselves on social media, particularly Facebook and Twitter. The audience also applauds the participants and elevates them to the condition of celebrity by asking them to send "greetings" to the participant. They also take the opportunity to take selfies during recordings, similar to the relationship between the audience and their idols on television programs.

There is, therefore, a ritual of socialities in which both sides, the challengers and the challenged, are positioned in the same cultural dimension in which one constitutes the other around a challenge related to historical conditions in the world experienced by both. This interactivity produces the displacement of the logic centered on the direct interests of big media organizations, even though these also operate through media culture, with industrial formats. Without the strength, structure and power of the big networks, the YouTuber constitutes his materialized identity or identification in the performance of his body as the organizing instance of the meanings it puts into relief.

While he does not refer to his physical condition, Everson Zoio has a tall, athletic and muscular body. There is a markedly Brazilian cultural construction around the body, particularly the male body, in which muscular strength suggests a sense of ability to overcome challenges. In his bodily performance, Zoio appeals to a type of ancestral cultural matrix, related to the social experience of the Olympic Games. In that context, strong but not overdeveloped muscles translate into masculine strength and superiority; in this way, Zoio reveals distant temporal linkages. This silhouette is perceived here as part of the narrative constructed by the YouTuber, but supported by a social and historical link[9]. We recognize the recurrence of the emphasis on the body in *No Limite* and *Hipertensão*, although participants were not strictly athletes, it was common to show men and women with athletic bodies. However, this quality marks a departure from *Jackass*, whose characters did not have muscular silhouettes, but rather had more unremarkable gestures and clothing. This stylistic element points to other cultural dimensions articulated in the configuration of references.

It is also different from the sophisticated and expensive components of some of the *Jackass* challenges, as in the episode in which they faced the air current created by a plane turbine[10]. Instead, Zoio uses low-cost objects and products. For example, in a video from December 2014[11] that has logged 15.4 million views, the YouTuber mentions his preference for buying cheap milk for the challenge of drinking milk blended with onion and garlic—in order to "avoid waste." It is worth noting that the object of greatest

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report with a criticism of Rede Globo's position, which denies the relationship with Endemol's format and the voyeurism-based production model. Available at <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/tvfolha/tv2307200011.htm>. Accessed on September 23, 2017.

[9] The subjective story that is configured and configures identities, inscribed in Zoio's body, is related to the implicit interpellation in social life, in its historicity and which organizes the terms of its formulation. "A autoridade narrativa do "eu" deve dar lugar à perspectiva e à temporalidade de um conjunto de normas que contesta a singularidade de minha história." (Butler, 2015, p. 52)

[10] Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ui3KoDIhnSA>. Accessed September 23, 2017.

[11] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=02iERDIDxQY&t=1s. Accessed September 23, 2017

value shown in the videos is an iPhone that Zoio uses to demonstrate a game application. The game is shown with an ad that, although it is a watermark, he does not have the option to skip.

So, in the same way that the YouTuber takes on the name Zoio—a term that could be considered bullying as it refers to someone with large eyes—on behalf of his large, bulging eyes, his audiovisual production explores the political, economic, social and technological potential of the cultural visibility of Brazilian everyday life, interwoven with cultural matrices from various times.

Final considerations

In this article, we aim to present a proposal for cultural analysis of the figures of time that traverse YouTube, with the Zoio phenomenon as analytical motivation. The empirical study was principally focused on the concepts of mediation and cultural mutation of Jesus Martín-Barbero, as well as the concept from Raymond Williams of the permanent movement of intertextualities and intermedialities that span products, channels, genres, formats, media, articulating dominant, residual, new and emerging elements and reconfiguring that which previously different communicational approaches rapidly appointed as a mean. In this way, the identification of figures of temporalities expressed on the channel leads us to see new forms, but also matrices of YouTube's audiovisual culture.

We found that operative were senses of seriality, periodicity and the everyday; the effect of simultaneity between acting time and editing time; brands of television culture; the concept of connectivity; the place of celebrity by ranking time; monitoring and monitoring time of the everyday; and like and share times. The analysis of Zoio's channel points to a temporality whose struggle for consumption no longer takes place by way of exceptionalism, but rather via the personalized banality of the ordinary rhythm of each connected individual. It is no longer a strictly public time, and not simply an intimate time, but rather a shared and domesticated time affectively modulated by the meaning of distraction and connection.

The study also points to the place of the practice of challenges and the celebrity of danger and their matricial dimensions. However, the difference is that there is a ritual of socialization in which challengers, the challenged and witnesses are placed into the same cultural dimension and temporal logic. As above, this movement is organized with the strength of identities joined to a multiplicity of technicalities, which constitute media, cultural and temporal flows, an assumption that reinforces the idea that technicalities constitute (and are modulated by) sensitivities.

The analysis of the phenomenon demonstrated to us that temporalities act as a strong dimension that configures mediations of sociality, institutionality, rituality and technicality proposed by Martín-Barbero. It leads us to think about each temporal relationship Zoio engenders as tension/friction of other temporalities, but also the conditions of operation of the media instance. Mixtures and connections are produced in the same way as each process of mediation blurs, combines and distinguishes itself from the others.

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