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FREE
THEMED
ARTICLES

Editorial, vol. 36(1)

Dear readers,

The volume 36 number 1 of Contracampo - Brazilian Journal of Communication inaugurates two important changes concerning scientific dissemination: 1) the publication of articles in both Portuguese and English and 2) the implementation of the Ahead of Print publication dynamics. The first change is a process of internationalisation of the journal, expanding the dialogue with researchers from other countries, while the second aims to provide more agility and speed in the dissemination of knowledge.

The articles gathered in this volume, written by researchers from various institutions across the country, bring together subjects, issues, theoretical frameworks and various analyses, making it an edition of open themes. However, three of the studies that are part of this number converge upon discussions involving television, albeit from separate standpoints.

The article entitled 'Nature, landscape and representation in the pictures of Claudia Jaguaribe', by Fernando Gonçalves (UERJ), presents an analysis of five studies of the series 'When I saw', and discusses the idea of the photograph as a testimonial representation of the real, proposing that it can be understood as a construction of imagery, mediator and modulator of perceptions.

In 'Times and places of radio Rebelde Zapatista: The ritualities of social uses' Ismar Costa Filho (UFC) presents research conducted from analysis of ritualities (as proposed by Martín-Barbero) of radio shows, as well as interviews with their listeners.

The author points out that the radio breaks with an 'industrial' temporality, reinforcing the defence of autonomy and self-management, not solely through its content as its own form of temporal organization, attached to the listener's experiences and of the Zapatista movement.

Moving on to a discussion about the use of the category of 'social class' in studies of reception in Brazil, Rafael Grohmann (FIAM-FAAM and USP) conducts a survey of 16 theses and dissertations between 2010 and 2014, defended in Graduate Programmes in Communications around the country and concludes, among other things, that the dimension of class warfare has been undervalued in such research and that it should be thought as a "mobile" concept, that is part of communication processes and relationships.

On a different subject, João Ladeira (Unisinos) discusses the dissemination of television content from devices developed by Google and Apple. The author argues that the flow of transmission of content from these devices involves a triad of objects -- smart TVs, tablets or smartphones and content applications -- which gain relevance because of their interconnection, generating a television format that operates with different modes of logic.

In turn, Yvana Fachine (UFPB) discusses the concept of Social TV, arguing that the term has been used inaccurately to refer to the act of commenting on social network websites about television programmes. The author argues that the term must be used to refer to a specific type of conversation, that is connected and mediated by digital technologies and made possible by the very companies' strategies.

In 'The best diet is a living hell: internet users and TV spectators share accounts of humiliation, suffering and overcoming toward the accomplishment of weight loss and self-esteem', Tania Silva (Fiocruz) and Kátia Lerner (Fiocruz) focus on the relationship between 'body, visibility and processes of subjectivation" from narratives of spectators of the TV show Bem Estar (Well Being) on

the website G1. The authors show how the reports seem to carry out the function of developing an idea of self-esteem for those who accomplish weight loss, but also reaffirm negative ideas about fat and obesity, taken as vexatious.

Finally, Leonardo De Marchi (UERJ/ USP) makes relevant considerations from a case study about the contemporary Brazilian phonographic market mediated by digital culture. The author emphasizes, among other things, the importance of rethinking distribution of revenue that comes from e-commerce and the obsolescence of the Brazilian law of copyright in a scenario of musical content on platforms such as YouTube, raising questions about possible state intervention to regulate this market.

We hope you have a fruitful reading and we also would like to inform you that the next edition, vol. 36(2), will consist of free themed articles.

Sincerely,

Beatriz Polivanov e Thaiane Oliveira.

Editors-in-chief of Contracampo journal

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Nature, Landscape and Representation in the Photography of Claudia Jaguaribe

FERNANDO NASCIMENTO GONÇALVES

PhD in Communication from ECO-UFRJ (2003), with a Postdoctoral degree in Sociology from Paris Descartes University, Sorbonne (2008). He is currently a professor at the School of Social Communication at the Rio de Janeiro State University in the subject of Public Relations. He works in the areas of communication, art, photography, technology, sociability, and subjective production. Brazil

fng@uerj.br

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Abstract

This article aims to discuss the construction of images in Claudia Jaguaribe's photographs of nature and landscape in the series "Quando eu vi." The text seeks to demonstrate how the photographs in Jaguaribe's work simultaneously constitute expressive materials and a reflection on the systems of logic that organize our way of perceiving and of presenting the world. Therefore, the text will examine five pieces from the abovementioned series and review the procedures performed by the artist for a critical discussion of the notions of "nature" and "landscape" in photography. The questions raised by the artist are part of the discussion on the archive in contemporary art, in which photography is considered as a device that allows a discussion of systems and codes of representation, and the landscape is seen as a device that modulates our perceptions and relations with natural and constructed spaces.

Keywords

Photography; Landscape; Art; Document; Representation.

Introduction

This article discusses the processes of construction of the image and the notion of natural landscape in the pieces that make up the photographic series *Quando eu vi* ("When I Saw") (2007), by the artist Claudia Jaguaribe, from Rio de Janeiro. The text argues that, in her oeuvre, the photographic image is simultaneously the expressive material and a reflection on the systems of logic that organize our ways of perceiving and representing the world.

The discussion proposed by the text is inherent in the reflections on the role that contemporary photography¹ appears to have today in redefining parameters of apprehension and mediation of social experience through the image. For a number of authors in the field of Philosophy, Art History and Photography, images in the field of art constitute a non-negligible phenomenon for discussing the issue of representation and the regimes of enunciation of the visible in photography.

When discussing and making an inventory of our systems of representation, many works of photography in contemporary art appeared to propose, in fact, a critical and conceptual re-reading of our ways of perceiving, living in society and of relating to history (Fried, 2012). With that, although not exclusively, photography in art becomes a relevant issue for the theories of photography, as it shifts the question of the meaning of the image from pure fruition to a field of tension established by the relations between those who produce it, what the image shows, and those who view it.

Based on the examination of these issues, the text proposes to analyze five of the twelve works that compose the series *Quando eu vi: Bibliotecas* ("Libraries"), *A Mata* ("The Forest"), the series *Branca III* ("White III"), *Igarapé*, and *Neblina* ("Mist"). The analysis will focus on the construction of the visuality that characterizes these works by identifying and delineating the operations that make them possible: mirroring, fragmentation, and the introduction of the human figure to the natural landscape.

The text seeks to show how the procedures applied by the artist allow the image to performatize problems that they themselves enunciate, producing effects that are necessary to discuss image and landscape as technical, historical and cultural constructions. Finally, through these actions, the artist highlights the image as a problem of representation, in the sense of questioning the modes of ordering perception and meaning, as Rancière (2009) understands.

¹ Although the term "contemporary photography" encompasses the experience of photography in diverse fields (not solely in art) it will be used here specifically to refer to photography in the context of contemporary art.

Photography in art as a matter of communication

Despite being considered – at least since Benjamin, Barthes, Flusser and Sontag – as a technical, theoretical and political object, it was only in the 1970s that photography became legitimized as an “artistic object” (Rouillé, 2009). More than a matter of art, however, this status appears to point to a deeper change in how photographic images are considered. They cease to be seen merely as narratives and faithful representations of the world and become legitimized as artifacts – objects that are simultaneously real and fictional. It is not by chance that the most important theorizations on photography emerge during this same period, when photography in art begins to be considered as an expressive element and a piece of work, with the condition that it is no longer considered merely as a mirror and a mimetic narrative of the real.

Although the area of Communication has historically dealt with the study of photography, particularly from the standpoints of its significance, its social role and the construction of memory, it is currently from the field of art history that the main contributions have arisen for a renewed understanding of the photographic image as a social, cultural and historical practice. Deepening open perspectives by Warburg, Benjamin and Flusser and their insights of the image as an aesthetic experience capable of modulating our perception of the world, thinkers such as Rancière, Didi-Huberman, and Michel Poivert have discussed modes of production, circulation, and appreciation of images and the values and functions assigned to the documentary image in different contexts.

In the field of Art History, for example, Didi-Huberman has been renewing interest in image through his visual archeology, from both art and history, showing the importance of not exhausting research on image as visual content or not being concerned solely with its meaning as a representation, but as a matter of enunciation and ordering of the visible, i.e., as an assembly operation that produces knowledge from playing with reality (Didi-Huberman, 2006).

For photographic historians such as Michel Poivert, today’s experience of photography, within and outside of art, indicates the gradual emergence of a new relative sensitivity, for example, to the treatment of themes (war, pain, poverty) in photojournalism, through a look that is built and implemented not infrequently from the visual codes of art history², as well as the emergence of the photographer as “author” of images and editor of realities through documentary records. This is when “information” photography is also conceived, starting especially in the 1980s,

² Poivert refers to the Madonnas and Pietàs who populated wartime photo reports in the 1990s, such as George Mérellion’s celebrated “Pietà” of Kosovo (1990) and Hocine’s Algerian Madonna, of 1997 (Poivert, 2010, p. 77).

as a "cultural" fact (Poivert, 2010). That is not to say that the image has lost its informative character, but it is understood that image does not show a fact in itself. Instead, it constructs it through a codified, legitimized narrative that tends to make us look at the image as visual content, rather than as a sociotechnical artefact.

By investigating so-called contemporary photography, Poivert asserts that one of its characteristics is to no longer propose a revelation of the world, but rather "the evidence of the artificial character of its construction" (Poivert, 2010, p. 225). Despite being an art and photography historian, Poivert considers only the field of art when making this claim. What interests him is addressing the contemporary condition of photography in art and photojournalism in an attempt to understand what this condition tells us about changes in modes of vision and attention in our societies, as pointed out by Jonathan Crary (2013). By discussing photography mainly from an artistic perspective, Poivert considers that, for nearly three decades, photography has been laying the foundations of its relevance by relating to contemporaneity with art itself. That is to say, photography would have a privileged, albeit not exclusive, place in the problematics of art to rethink its status, its roles and its recognition in fields such as photojournalism.

Poivert's perspective is in line that of image philosopher Pat-Rick Maynard (1997), who states that looking at an image makes it possible not only to look at its indicial and representational aspect, but also to the way in which "Image presents its motif and how this motif was used to make the image" (Maynard, 1997, p. 289). This game would consist of what I consider to be the communicative aspect of photographic discursiveness, as the observation of the arrangements made in the image, along with the image itself, makes it possible to perceive the logic of enunciation which is inherent in the image, and the set of relations that makes it recognizable to some degree in a given context by someone. Therefore, looking at the features of an image's workmanship would make it possible to understand the ways of perceiving and demonstrating that mobilize them and the ways in which the image modulates our attention and perception.

Certainly, to say that the image produces effects on our perception is not something new. Nevertheless, the proposition made by photographic images in art consists of considering this experience of affectation from an intentional game with the narrative forms and codes of representation. With such games, such as those performed by Jaguaribe, the outlook on people, places and things is problematized in very particular ways of recording their presence and traces in the world. These experimentations with photography seem close to what Flusser (2008) and Sepper (2013) conceived as "imagination," i.e., processes of image production that reconfigure the view of experience from a re-elaboration of representations. This is

the operation that many of the images produced in art (though not just them) seem to perform.

What images such as the ones in the series *Quando eu vi* allow us to observe and discuss are precisely some of the changes that have been taking place in photography, particularly in the field of art, as pointed out by Poivert. In this context, the documentary record is the starting point for the construction of the image, rather than its end. That is what gives them the status of what Didi-Huberman referred to as a “symptom” – that which “suspends the normal course of representation” in the image (Didi-Huberman, 2011, p. 64). Photography in art, as a form-thought, plays an allegorical role that organizes different cultural and historical elements in order to prepare complex and nearly always symbolic narratives, although often anchored in the documentary record (Poivert, 2010).

In this sense, we are interested in highlighting in this text the aspects of construction of the natural landscapes “imagined” by Cláudia Jaguaribe. It is important to say, however, that her interest in the theme of the landscape is recurrent among several artists working with photography, from Alice Miceli, Pedro David and Rodrigo Braga to Thomas Struth, Andreas Gursky, Candida Hoffer, and Sophie Ristelhueber. To them, urban and natural spaces, architecture and interiors are more than simple places – they are relational spaces, where one can observe our forms of practicing and building the historical and social significance of natural and constructed spaces, and how these practices organize our modes of life in society.

Natural landscapes, constructed landscapes

In the studies in the area of Communication, the relationship between photography and art, particularly painting (from where photography has inherited some of its problematics), is discussed very little, as Flores (2012) and Galassi (1981) have pointed out. Studies in Art History have, above all, allowed us to notice a connection (not exclusive) between photography and the history of painting (Galassi, 1981), and between landscape photography and the history of landscape in painting (Cauquelin, 2009).

Above all, from the standpoint of a certain regime of enunciation, i.e., the forms of logic that create conditions that show sensitivity and our modes of apprehending it, have allowed painting and photography to approach one another. When supported by mimesis and when verisimilitude becomes a rule and, at the same time, a condition for the enunciation of the visible (Ranciere, 2009), painting

and photography play the same role of letting the world and narrative supposedly coincide in the two-dimensional image.

This becomes clear regarding the landscape. According to Anne Cauquelin (2009), the term "landscape" designates a construction to which we attribute meaning. The landscape is considered by the author as a kind of frame that fits our ways of perceiving. While this frame works as a metaphor for verisimilitude, it also serves to modulate our idealized understanding and representation of nature, which, dichotomically and by opposition, rival the artificiality of human action. It is curious, however, that in even implying artificiality and intentionality, at the historical level, the mechanisms and operations for modulation of vision and perception have nearly always been considered objective and neutral, as mere questions of technique, whereas "subjective" actions have usually been disqualified or relegated to the background as fiction³.

From this point of view, as a construct, the landscape, whether in painting or in photography, poses important questions for the studies of Communication and Image: How to apprehend a photograph whose interest does not coincide with what is shown? What are we capable of recognizing in a photograph, and why? What do we finally see when we look at images? Some of these questions are put forward by artists and discussed through their works. Claudia Jaguaribe is one of these artists.

With a background in Art History, Plastic Arts and Photography, the carioca artist based in São Paulo has been conducting research on the nature of the image since 1998, whether through portraiture, landscape, video, or photography. In 2010, she received the Marc Ferrez Award from Funarte and currently collaborates with national newspapers and magazines. In 2014, she joined "*The World Atlas of Street Photography*," alongside Wim Wenders, Thomas Ruff, Joel Meyerowitz, Phillip-Lorca Di Corcia, Jeff Wall, Alex Webb and Cassio Vasconcelos.

Some of her best-known recent works were on urban landscapes (*Entre Morros*, 2010 and *Sobre São Paulo*, 2011), in which she makes a critique of perspective as a classical technique of representation of space and the use of digital collage to create landscapes that are impossible, despite appearing to be real. This game between real and fictional, which alludes to reality and surpasses it, is part of her interest in photography as a practice that helps her consider ways of reflecting on mutations in the landscape and devising the latter as "a reinvention of nature." At the same time, her research on landscape is also a reflection on photography itself and its visual codes of representation.

³ As we will see, this is precisely the kind of problematization performed by Jaguaribe in *Quando eu vi*.

Nevertheless, these ways of using the mental image to invent and build an inventory of landscapes came much earlier, in works on portraiture, urban daily life, and natural landscapes as cultural experiences, the latter being particularly a space of tension between man and the so-called natural environment. One of her most important work in this sense, albeit less well-known, is *Quando eu vi*, from 2007, hence why it was chosen to be analyzed in this text.

Just as in his urban landscapes, Jaguaribe discusses a dual question in *Quando eu vi*: the idea of nature and landscape (and the problem of tension between the natural and the constructed as a political and cultural matter) and photography as a practice that produces visual documents that attest to something real at the same time as it constructs it (Rouillé, 2009), rather than something that is simply an element of truth or a repository of memory.

What concerns us here, however, is less the analysis of images as an element of this discussion and more the procedures of its construction as a strategy that highlights the ways in which the artist enables the image to produce such discussions, i.e., how it allows the image to enunciate reality in a different way, simultaneously problematizing the landscape its representation in the photograph.

Quando eu vi

Quando eu vi is a series composed of twelve photographic images and one video, produced from records of Brazilian forests in the regions of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Minas Gerais, the Amazon, and the Pantanal. It is also the name of an exhibition held in 2007, in Brasília, curated by Marco Delogu. In the exhibition's text, the curator states that Brazil can be considered as one of the last countries where it is possible to verify "places of untouchable nature at the threshold of its transformation" (Delogu, 2008). Nevertheless, it is this concept of "untouched" nature – opposed to the one constructed and that would corroborate an idyllic ideal of the real and beautiful, which is present in academic painting⁴ and documentary photography – that is problematized in these works.

The artist uses photomontage and digital manipulation to produce visual effects in images in order to provide symbolic evidence of this aspect of the invention of nature in the landscape and the image itself as an artifice. When referring to this series in 2010 in an interview for *Isto É* magazine, Jaguaribe stated that her work crosses the "border between the documentary, the symbolic and

⁴ Academic or academicist painting appeared in the 17th century and fell into crisis in the late 19th century. It was characterized by an attempt to maintain rigor regarding technical, aesthetic and formal rules taught in the art academies, where it emerged and legitimized itself as "fine arts." In "Distribution of the Sensible" (2009), Rancière relates this way of creating an image to what he refers to as a poetic or representative regime of the arts, a set of rules and expressive forms supported by mimesis.

perhaps the fantastic. They are documentary photographs treated in a way that appears to be a vision of something almost impossible" (in Alzugaray, 2010). The very name "*Quando eu vi*" already implies the particular condition that governs the construction of these images. By recording supposedly untouched nature, by interfering with the image and showing it in a particular way, the artist demonstrates the interest not in documenting the landscape to represent it as a reality or a truth, but in discussing the very idea of what is natural and questioning the visual codes of its representation.

As already mentioned, *Quando eu vi* contains twelve series of images, but we will be focusing on five of them here: *Bibliotecas*, *A Mata*, *Branca III* series, *Igarapé* and *Neblina*, as they are the most emblematic of the uses of the use of image as a meta-discursive strategy to address the natural landscape and its representation as a matter in photography.

Inspired by the iconological method of Warburg⁵ (2015), which seeks not the significance of figures but the relations they maintain between them, I sought to analyze the images not from the categories of anachronism, interval and survival of the visual and cultural forms (*Pathosformel*), but rather to extract elements from them that allow us to see how Jaguaribe's images point to, and, simultaneously, conduct a dialogue with the history of art and photography through the procedures used by the artist to construct and display them.

For that reason, when observing the series, my intention was to perceive the traces of their workmanship and forms of exposure. With that, I came to the identification of three genres of operations or interventions within the images that allow us to understand the ways in which the artist discusses the idea of the natural landscape as a construction, which I referred to as fragmentation, mirroring and contrast. The analysis of these images in relation to those of other works, such as *Entre Morros* and *Sobre São Paulo*, enabled an observation that these operations are recurrent and can be considered as constitutive elements of the visual language of their photography.

In the first and second pieces, which have installation art features, we will limit ourselves to the operation of fragmentation, which refers to constructed landscapes that can only be seen in their totality by joining fragmented parts. In

⁵ For the analysis of the pieces, we have adopted procedures that sought not to privilege the interpretation of images, but the formal and material aspects of their visual discursivity, which would allow us to link them both to certain logics of enunciation and to the problems of representation and the history of art and photography. The analysis of images thus implies the combination of these procedures, inspired theoretically and methodologically by the iconology of Warburg and the notion of "knowledge by assembly" in Benjamin (2011), as systematized by Didi-Huberman (2011).

the third and fourth pieces, photographic images exposed in *tableau*⁶ format, we will observe the mirroring operation, which refers to landscapes that are reflected in the surface of the water. The third and last operation appears in *Nebolina*, which represents the introduction of the human figure in the landscape, with which the artist produces a contrast and inserts the question of the relationship between man and nature.

The in-depth description of the pieces and their workmanship will not aim to emphasize their technical or formal aspects or to perform a hermeneutical analysis of the images, but rather to show how their materiality informs us about the decisions and expressive effects necessary for the fulfillment of their questions and reflections.

Bibliotecas and A Mata: unification by the fragment

In an installation format, "*Bibliotecas*" displays images printed on acrylic plates, simulating books on four shelves. The work consists of four sets of images (50 cm x 30 cm each) that result from the application of the prints on the plates and their subsequent lining up. Duly matched and aligned, each set of image books (plates with applied images) forms a single image, suggested visually by the contiguous arrangement of the plates lined up on the shelves.



Bibliotecas, 2007-2008
Source: <http://www.claudiajaguaribe.com.br>

⁶ The *tableau* format is the common exhibition format for photography in galleries and museums, in large or medium dimensions and framed for marketing reasons. This format is closely related to painting formats and has been a standard for photography in art, although several artists also work with projection, digital screens or installations as a way to evade this pattern. These observations have been made based on the fieldwork for the survey on contemporary photography, held since 2011 in exhibitions, as well as my own contribution as a photographer in the field of art.

Despite the gestures produced by the artist as indicative of digital treatment, as is the case with the saturation of the green tones of the tree leaves, these interventions do not draw attention to the work. When discussing the question of verisimilitude and the visual codes that allow the recognition of a motif and its meaning in an image, in *"Bibliotecas,"* the fragmentation and photographic montage game allows the construction of a landscape of verisimilitude, while showing how this verisimilitude becomes effective only by this same artificial montage operation. That is to say, the artist recreates the landscape as a symbolic gesture of considering the landscape as a representation.

Another gesture that can be observed in the work is the rupture of continuity given by the deliberate gaps left between some books, notably in the second ensemble, from top to bottom, to the left. Interestingly, the work shows that perceiving and demonstrating are interdependent mechanisms and require modes of recognition of the image. By looking at the image in the set where the largest gap between image books appears, for example, we see that, on the one hand, the gaps are clear in the visualization of the set, while on the other hand, they do not prevent the image from being built in the eye, as it results from a visual and mental recognition of conventions referring to the image of a "landscape." The intentional gesture of knowing that it is a landscape is given by the linear ordering of the books on the shelf and their visual contiguity, i.e., by a construction operation that, in a certain way, is naturalized by the recognition of the visual and cultural codes of the image.

Another piece that follows the reasoning of the operation of fragmentation and montage, but now aiming to confuse the viewer's gaze, is *"A Mata."* Measuring 200cm x 180cm, *"A Mata"* is a backlit box with 15 images separated by "grids" formed by the frames of each photo, which together, make up a large panel or a kind of mosaic, a multiple landscape merged on a large scale to favor the visualization of the visual games established between the parties.



A Mata, 2007-2008.

Source: <http://www.claudiajaguaribe.com.br>

Each fragment that forms the set consists of a different image that does not necessarily complete the one next to, above or below it, which also contributes to confusing our gaze. This fragmented set contains places where some images communicate linearly, forming, contiguously and by extension, a small "complete" landscape, as we see in the four images in the lower left corner. In others, this relationship of continuity resulting in verisimilitude is suspended. As is the case in "*Bibliotecas*," the landscape is sliced. Here, however, the operation that joins fragments creates "complete" landscapes only by parts rather than by the whole, i.e., they do not form a single landscape. "*A Mata*," as the final landscape, is the result of the partial articulation of fragments, sometimes visually "compatible" with each other, sometimes incompatible, if we seek a linear and verifiable coherence in the set. The constitution of the landscape, in this case, occurs through the relationship between the fragmented parts, not through total visual uniformity.

In "*A Mata*," dividing, distributing and grouping makes verisimilitude and recognition of the whole impossible. These procedures have the effect of losing the mimetic reference in the contemplation of this "discontinuous landscape," which results from the articulations between images. This game between fragmentation and completeness enables the artist to question us about the processes and codes that allow us to recognize and assign certain meanings to the images and that, at the same time, shows the conceptual character of each landscape. With these procedures, the artist reveals the properly communicative aspects of the discursiveness of her images and the games she plays with the signs and visual

narrative forms, with which she dismantles the idea of purity and immutability of the natural landscape⁷ and its classical representation in painting and photography.

Branca and *Igarapé*: mirroring, mimesis and verisimilitude

In addition to the strategy of fragmentation, *Quando eu vi* shows works whose characteristic is mirroring – another element related to the mimetic representation in the image. That is the case of the images that make up the “*Branca*” and “*Igarapé*” series. In “*Branca III*,” measuring 110 cm x 73 cm, we see an image “cut in half” by a stretch of the forest, dividing the sky and river and becoming almost interchangeable.

The piece is the product of the artist’s decision to duplicate and mirror the sky and river, making both layers symmetrical, which allows a precise discussion of the production of an “objective” reality through the image. Nevertheless, the procedure here is used to shuffle the immediate perception of what is “real” and what is mirroring.

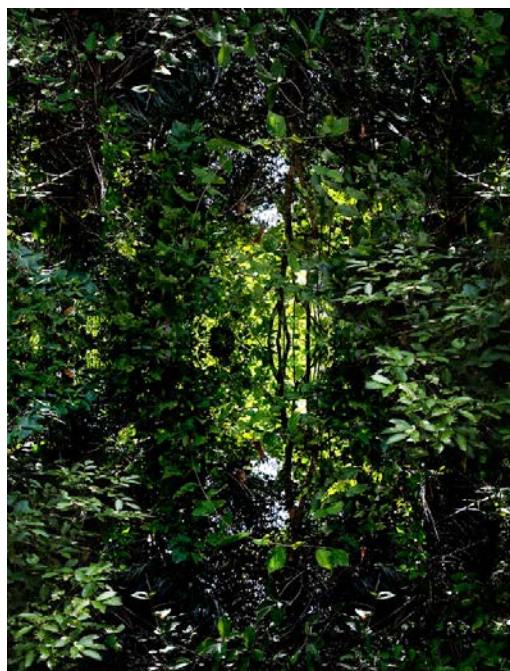


Branca III series, 2007-2008
Source: <http://www.claudiajaguaribe.com.br>

⁷ In the studies of economic and political geography, classic authors such as Richard Hartshorne (1958) have stated that the purity attributed to natural environments would be a belief cultivated by modern Western man, who views it as static and unchanging. According to Hartshorne, there is no evidence that nature, as we know it today, is precisely as it was hundreds or thousands of years ago. Based on that, we could say that what we refer to as nature is a reality narrated from a particular outlook that has historically signified it as such, based devices of representation such as painting and photography.

What results from this operation is a constructed image that uses concrete elements (forest, sky and water) to create another reality for image, which contains the tension between reality and its representation. The image that results from this game with mirroring – by the form of registration and digital manipulation that treats the shadows, contrasts and shades of white and gray in the image – symbolically reiterates the problem of mimesis and representation as a double of the reality inscribed in what Rancière (2009) referred to as the poetic or representative enunciation regime.

The same mirroring procedure is performed in *"Igarapé"* (110 cm x 78 cm), but this operation will have the effect of shuffling the perception of what is reflection and what is reflected, as the artist uses digital manipulation and photomontage to cover areas of the forest reflected in the water with other portions of the forest that are contiguous to him but that, in turn, are not reflected, creating a landscape that is only possible in the final image itself. It is as though, in this piece, the artist used the same tool as the one from *"A Mata,"* when she created a "mosaic" of images with fragments that, despite being together, do not form a single image, but rather a discontinued visual set. The difference is that, in *"Igarapé,"* the visual collage occurs without the borders of the frames of the images of *"A Mata,"* giving the false impression of being a unique image that results from mimetic documentary record. The piece also differs from the series *"Branca III"*, in which the reflected portion of the sky is symmetrical in relation to the portion of the river that reflects the sky.



Igarapé, 2007-2008
Source: <http://www.claudiajaguaribe.com.br>

In "*Igarapé*," the difficulty in specifying the boundary between the portion of the forest and its mirroring in water occurs precisely because the mirroring does not occur symmetrically or uniformly across the image. It contains portions that are perfectly reflected alongside others that are not reflected. One might even ask if some portions of the image could not have been added by montage, as in "*Entre Morros*" and "*Sobre São Paulo*," from 2010 and 2011, respectively. As in these more recent works, which cloud the reference between what is real and what is fiction through the action of photomontage, the artist emphasizes the nature of the construction of the image and reiterates the imagination of the natural environment as something untouched, but via digital intervention.

In light of these pieces, one notices how the image no longer follows the logic of mimetic representation, but rather a gesture that turns these elements into resources to produce a meta-discursive representation that does not imitate reality, but constructs it as a narrative, either from our concept of nature or from our belief in the truth of images.

Neblina and the man-nature contrast

Finally, "*Neblina*" shows for the first and only time the human figure in *Quando eu vi*. The work is a diptych, formed by two photographs printed on metallic paper. The first one measures 40cm x 214cm and the second, 40cm x 60cm.

The ensemble appears to constitute a kind of Benjaminian⁸ allegory of the classic relationship between man and nature in the context of the stories of landscape painting and photography. The image on the left shows the forest, while the one on the right, which is contiguous but discontinuous, shows a person who does not appear to have any relation with the previous image, except for a small portion of forest on the right side of the image and for the equal hue of the sky, in the background.

⁸ The allegory as a figure of speech used by Benjamin (2011) implies another form of relation between the images when we wish to refer to something. It produces not a single sense, but many, none of which are literal, so as not to allow us to fix or determine any *a priori* meaning for these images (and the objects being referred to) and for the very relation between them. Unlike the metaphor illustrated by analogy, the allegory used by Benjamin makes us think based on the relations between the images that it pairs, without establishing a unique meaning for such relations.



Neblina, 2007-2008

Source: <http://www.claudiajaguaribe.com.br>

Both share, however, a slightly sepia tone of gray, wherein the dark figures of the forest and the human being are in major chiaroscuro contrast with the illuminated background. In the work, the integration between both parts occurs, again, not by a visual uniformity, but by the articulation of a discontinuity and a fragmentation. In this case, articulating the forest on one side and the human on the other, makes us see them separate in terms of the images but, paradoxically, integrated in the same view through the shape of a diptych, which implies a gesture that links and relates images that, apparently, have no connection to each other. What is communicated here is, in the context of the history of painting and landscape photography, some of the questions raised by the genre: man's intervention in nature and nature's invention as a space apart from the "world," from the experience of the human and the *socius*.

In assembling the diptych, Jaguaribe creates a way of representing an entire set of relationships involving nature and the human in Art History and in the West, given by the junction of the forest fragment with the human fragment, which, once together, have the effect of producing a visual "discontinuity" in the image, despite creating a symbolic continuity through this discontinuity. A close look allows us to note that, although the first two-thirds of the forest image looks like a verisimilar representation, the third portion does not have continuity with the previous portion and appears to have been digitally added where precisely there appears to be a log that makes a longitudinal section across the image.

In this dynamic within each image which forms the piece, and between each of them in the final image (the "*Neblina*" diptych), each image appears to have been designed to give meaning to the other. This dynamic allows the piece not only to be an image for contemplation, but also a thought-form that enables a visual translation of the artist's questions: the construction of the notion of "landscape" and "nature" in photography through poetic uses of the documentary image.

As part of the reflections in the field of contemporary photography on the nature of the image and the archive, Jaguaribe's natural landscapes exhibit the traces of her workmanship, materially and symbolically reconstituting the systems that modulate our ways of seeing through the very mediation that makes up the image. In *Quando eu vi*, the document does not fully renounce its aspect of

registration, and the image of nature does not fail to refer to real places recognized as "nature." Nevertheless, in the logic of non-mimetic enunciation in which they are inscribed, the visual document is considered from the standpoint of what Didi-Huberman (2012) referred to as the "lacunar aspect" of the image, i.e., something necessarily concrete, but partial and incomplete. In this perspective, which corresponds to what Rancière (2010) referred to as the "new statute of the figure," wherein there is neither refusal nor full or immediate adhesion to the index or document in the image, but a figuration of the event, approximations with reality revealing moments of "truth" and "imagination" as a constitution of the experience of the image.

This appears to be crucial for the study of photography in Communication, as it allows us to shift the analysis of the image as a visual message to that of processes that construct its senses and to discuss photographic practice as an aesthetic experience. This displacement matters precisely because it necessarily links photography to the act that produces it and to the ecology of the image.

In *Quando eu vi*, the resources of digital manipulation and photomontage are used, paradoxically, to produce images that look real and play with the verisimilitude in photography. The interventions in the image, however, matter less than another more potent type of intervention: that of the conceptual and poetic gesture with which Jaguaribe visually and historically discusses the landscape and the image in art and photography.

Final remarks

In *Quando eu vi*, new landscapes arise from a creative piece from documentary records, without them fully losing their ability to refer to a "reality." This gesture is recurrent in contemporary photography and points to what Michel Poivert (2010) referred to as the "aesthetic potential" of the document, i.e., the document's ability to affect our perception of reality without reducing it merely to a discourse or a representation of reality, without giving up its function of organizing the visible.

Jaguaribe's works imply, as we have seen, different operations that reiterate this ability to affect the documentary image, at the levels of registration, production and exhibition. The investment in medium and large formats, the expository form of the *tableaux*, the games with the fragment and the montage referring to the editing actions – cutting, inclusion and exclusion – are ways to enhance the gesture of discussing the image through the image itself.

The result of these operations are images in which the landscape is not presented as a pristine or “pure reality”, but rather as a construction that provides a picturesque, idealized, almost fantastic aspect. Initially, the images appear to approach a naturalistic figuration and these landscapes can be seen as testimony of a place existing in the world. As we observe them, however, we become aware that the artist creates a “nature” that is real and, at the same time, invented.

It is not by chance that, in *“Branca III”* and *“Igarapé,”* the forest, the sky or the reflection in the water mix in an amalgamated way, making it difficult to recognize an intervention, which is, in fact, a strategy of problematization of the idea of representation. In these cases, it is only through small clues that the artist decides to leave in the image, as traces of her action which we notice that what we see is the result of an intervention and an intention, although it is scarcely possible to distinguish the boundary between what is “true” and what is constructed. In other images, such as those in *“Bibliotecas”* and *“A Mata,”* fragments are clearly assumed as fragments, reiterating the notion of photographic framing and cutting.

The results of gestures are images that do not function as a testimony of “what there is to see,” but of what is possible to see and think about what is seen. The document here is, once again, a possible and visible result of a process of ordering perception and a sensitive thought about reality, also being the landscape itself, whether in painting or photography.

This is how Jaguaribe’s “natural landscapes” interact with the history of landscape photography inscribed in the documentary tradition and the figurative mimetic representation, as we see from the views of Marc Ferrez, Militão de Azevedo and Malta. Simultaneously, they show that the actions of choosing, editing, cropping, assembling, and assigning meaning to images to construct landscapes has always been commonplace, even within the classic traditions of landscape photography. As we know, the gesture of constructing landscapes has never been separate from the technical conditions of their production or their social functions, nor is it a privilege of contemporary photography (Gonçalves, 2014). What artists such as Claudia Jaguaribe demonstrate is that the interest of photography in art is to make evident the marks of a construction where, apparently, transparency and objectivity were thought to matter, this issue being quite relevant, for example, to photojournalism, particularly regarding the conditions of production of the discursiveness of photography in this context (Picado, 2014).

When interacting with the history of art and photography, Jaguaribe critically re-reads the mimetic representation of the natural landscape but preserves its picturesque nature as a remnant of this model for a better problematization

thereof. Her oeuvre thus rebuilds the history of the natural landscape, introducing new elements for a possible re-reading in the present day. In these pieces, as in others among her works, despite the use of digital photomontage, a strong aspect of verisimilitude is kept by a game of indiscernibility between "reality" and "fiction" is produced. With that, it is possible to reread and subvert models of representation that seek to "narrate reality" in the mimetic tradition of landscape photography, wherein the landscape is often conceived as something ready and waiting to be recorded.

Finally, as I have sought to demonstrate, it is by means of a gesture that returns to photograph its opacity that the artist seeks to highlight the constructive nature of the image, problematizing it and inscribing it in discussions on the nature of the image and our systems of representation in photography.

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Times and places of Radio Rebelde Zapatista: The Ritualities of Social Uses

ISMAR CAPISTRANO COSTA FILHO

Doctor in Communication Studies at the Graduate Programme in Communication Studies of the Minas Gerais Federal University (UFMG). Assistant professor at the Undergraduate course in Communications at the Federal University of Ceará (UFC). Brazil.

ismarcapistranofilho@gmail.com

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Abstract

This article analyzes the ritualities of Radio Rebelde in the autonomous communities of the Mexican Zapatista insurgent movement, located in Oventic, in the State of Chiapas. To do that, the times and spaces of the station's formats and listeners are investigated, realizing the relationship proposed by Jesús Martín-Barbero. It is possible to notice a rupture between temporal organization and commercial radio, since the station does not have defined programs, operating in the fractured hours between 5 am and 9 am and between 5 pm and 8 pm, following the Zapatista time zone of the Southeastern Combat Front. These characteristics point to the autonomy of the format. Some of the listeners interviewed, mainly from autonomous rural communities, appropriate this temporality in the various listening spaces. Other listeners have difficulty adapting to the station's rhythm.

Keywords

Radio; Zapatistas; Ritualities.

Introduction

The Radio Rebelde is a radio station operated by the autonomous Zapatista communities¹ of the “Caracol” Resistance and Rebellion for Humanity ² located in Oventic, about 50 km from San Cristóbal de Las Casas, a city with over 200,000 inhabitants, located in the region of Los Altos de Chiapas, considered the state’s cultural capital (Piug, 2006). The station emerged in 2006 with the consolidation of the transfer of the administration of the Rebel Zapatista Autonomous Municipalities (Marez) to civilian rule. Before the station, which transmits at 101.9 MHz frequency, belonged to the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) and, alongside two other stations located in the Tzeltal Forest and the Border Forest, it was called *Radio Insurgente* and aimed to show “the advances Of the process of autonomy in Zapatista zones and to promote the diffusion of the word and the music of the indigenous communities.”³ The aim is for each autonomous municipality to have a broadcasting station, to cover more people where the signal does not reach.

The Zapatista cause is founded mainly on the struggle for autonomy, being understood as self-definition, self-government, “self-limitation” and “self-regulation” (Barcenas, 2011). The first characteristic is the possibility of determining by themselves the persons who constitute them. The second is construction of its own management. The third characteristic is the definition, by themselves, of the limits of their territory. The last is the promotion of social organization in the way that suits them best, by designing their own development. The Zapatista territories are inhabited by other families that do not belong to the movement and have systems for education, healthcare, safety, justice, government, transportation, economy and communication, independent from the

¹ Zapatismo is a movement that was, according to Tamara Villarreal Ford and Geneve Gil (Downing, 2001), known internationally for having inaugurated Internet activism. On January 1, 1994, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation, formed by natives of Mayan descent from the Tzotzil, Tzeltal, Tojolabal, Zoque and Cholo ethnic groups, occupied public buildings in six municipalities in the state of Chiapas, in southwest Mexico, and declared war on Federal Army, claiming, in the First Declaration of the Lacandon Forest, land, labor, education, healthcare, housing, food, freedom, independence, democracy, justice, and peace. In defense of these demands, and to avoid amplifying the armed conflict, activists from various groups created a global chain through the then-incipient Internet, not only mobilizing public figures from various countries (such as writer Eduardo Galeano and filmmaker Oliver Stone) and entities (such as the United Nations and the Vatican), but also breaking the news boycott on the subject of Mexican television stations. The messages of support to the movement transmitted in emails, chats and websites, contributed to taking another 150,000 people to the streets of Mexico City, demanding the end of the conflict, leading the Mexican Government to declare the unilateral cease-fire and commence the San Andrés Peace Dialogues. Even though they failed to get the agreement they wished, the Zapatista communities now enjoy political autonomy and have, in addition to their own government and self-defense, healthcare, a legal system, schools, and media. Despite being autonomous, the Zapatistas are not separatists, defending the construction of a socially just and politically plural Mexico.

² Caracol is an administrative division of the Zapatista territory. It is formed by the set of Rebel Zapatista Autonomous Municipalities (Marez), which, in turn, are formed by the Zapatista communities. The headquarters of the Caracol is home to the Good Government Junta, which is responsible for the administration of this territory, featuring representatives of the MAREZ.

³ Available at <<http://www.radioinsurgente.org>>. Retrieved: June 15, 2010. Translation by the author.

Mexican government. Even so, the Zapatistas are not separatists. The movement advocates a radical transformation of the Mexican State, aiming to include the diversity and plurality of the original peoples with their own political and social identities and organizations.

In my doctoral research, I investigated, between 2012 and 2015, the relationship between the struggle for autonomy and the Zapatista stations *Radio Rebelde* and *Frecuencia Libre*, based on the theoretical and methodological proposal of Jesús Martín-Barbero (1998). According to the Spanish-Colombian philosopher, the reflection on communicational phenomena requires two displacements. The first, represented by the metaphor of losing the object to find the way, means to understand the process of communication through mediations, i.e., the transit of significances and meanings in the different groups, institutions, territories and times in which it circulates. The second is the return to the media, reflecting the centrality that they gain in contemporary societies by conditioning agencies, flows, and rhythms. The methodology for the study of social uses is based on four conceptual operators: cultural matrices, production logics, industrial formats and receptive competences that are related to the institutionalities (matrices and logics), technicities (logics and formats), ritualities (formats and competences), and socialities (competencies and matrices). In this article, I outline the study of the ritualities of Radio Rebelde. I thus seek to answer how autonomy is reflected in the organization of the programming of the station and in the listening patterns of the listeners.

To do that, I will initially define the methodological axis of ritualities. I will then review the organization of the station's programming. Finally, I will review the listening practices of listeners based on the times and places. For this research, I employed the analysis of the station's programming addresses (Hartley, 2000), which consisted of recording Radio Rebelde's broadcasts in July 2014 and listening carefully to them while making notes in the field journal and transcribing the excerpts deemed most relevant to the research. The priority in this type of analysis is to acknowledge the public's questions and the expectations of the audience that the station seeks to meet. To learn about the recipients, I sought an exploration inspired by ethnographies, so that, based on the recognition of alterities, I could describe the observations, conversations, contacts, experiences and interviews with the listeners, which were presented more fully in my doctoral thesis, while this article only used some essential elements.

Although I was not able to get permission from the Oventic "Caracol" Good Government Junta (JBG) to visit the surveyed station to interview the producers, I was able to meet the listeners based on pre-exploratory questionnaires applied to

mailing lists of political and cultural activists in the region. From this initial contact, I interviewed 18 recipients. Of these, 11 listen to or have listened to Radio Rebelde. The others listen only to *Frecuencia Libre*, being thus excluded from this article. Five of the listeners surveyed live or commute constantly around San Cristóbal de las Casas. The other six recipients live in the autonomous rural community of San Isidro de La Libertad, with roughly 60 families, in the municipality of Zinacantán, located 15 km from San Cristóbal de Las Casas, where I conducted field research with the permission of the local authorities. To protect the anonymity of the interviewed listeners, I use fictitious names.

Radio Rebelde breaks with temporality and social rhythms prevalent in industrialized urban societies. In order to understand the relationship between this station and time, I use the analysis of ritualities, proposed in the 'nighttime map' of the social uses by Martín-Barbero (1998), such as the articulation between industrial formats and reception abilities. The organization of time is crucial for the achievement of autonomy, as it allows the control of the calendar and agendas that mark social relations, as will be discussed later. The media, radio in particular, play a preponderant role in helping to create the rhythms of everyday life and construct meanings about the present, the past, and the future.

According to Jacks (2008, p. 37), rituality, configured within the scope of action of receptors, is constituted by memory, its rhythms, forms, and scenarios of interaction and repetition that build the grammars of action in relationships established with industrial formats. As for the media, it:

implies an ability to place rules in the games between signification and situation, with the warning, however, the meaning of the message is one thing and the sense it acquires when the receiver appropriates it is another one (Jacks, 2008, 37)

Orozco (1996) explains that ritualities are not only actions taken in daily life, but also those that recur frequently, such as festivities, holidays, and vacations. Ronsini (2012, p.92) lists the following possibilities for research based on this concept: the different paths of reception, the way of seeing, hearing and/or reading texts in relation to everyday life, the modes of symbolization of the place, rhythms of daily life, the relative power of the media, customs, class identities, media devices and media as protagonists in the rationalization, naturalization and banalization of ideologies. It sums it up as the "political action of the media (...) appropriated by the recipients to justify it, counter it or negotiate with it."

Radio Rebelde Formats

In order to analyze Radio Rebelde⁴ as a free medium, I displace the concept of industrial formats, which compose rituals in the perspective of Martín-Barbero (1998) for media formats, with the aim of contemplating the appropriation of radio by the producers of this station, excluded from the market regime and from the commercial standards of production and programming. Thus, it is possible to notice the aesthetics and formats of Radio Rebelde, produced outside the industrial and commercial standard. The station, unlike the predominant format in commercial radio, has no programs. Its programming includes the following content: stories, poetry, revolutionary songs, announcements and messages, as defined by its announcers. I was not able to notice a frequency or fixed time for the placement of these predominant pieces of content, which appeared to be executed randomly. The radio also does not feature alternation of intervals and blocks. The content is often broadcast, followed by one to three songs. The absence of vignettes⁵ is another characteristic observed during the research. There is only one vignette, usually played at hour changes or at the beginning of programming, with different versions, each with musical tracks and background music of a different musical style (cumbia, rap, romantic, rock, etc.). They feature the same text: "This is Radio Rebelde, voice of mother earth, broadcasting from an unknown location of the Zapatista peoples in the Insurgent in Rebellion and Resistance for Humanity Insurgent Caracol, Altos de Chiapas. Modulated Frequency 107.1 in your radio."

Another peculiarity of the station is the bilingual broadcast, in Spanish, followed by the translation in Tzotzil, the language of the native peoples of this ethnic group, descendants of the Mayas of the Los Altos region. In this language, speakers are much more secure in their speech, as opposed to the broadcast in Spanish, which presents clear articulation difficulties, with unexpected interruptions and stuttering, especially on the part of women. This situation reflects the data presented by anthropologist Fábregas Ping (2006) – 52.8% of these people are monolingual, speaking only Tzotzil.

The stories analyzed in the research clearly address the audience for the strengthening of the identity and memory of the original peoples, not only through language, but because it is a historically present form in these popular cultures, while relating them to the critical, autonomous and rebellious spirit of Zapatism. The poems, frequently presented in the morning on Radio Rebelde, consist of recordings that interweave the narrations and songs. They are not interpreted by the announcers of any of the recorded programmes and appear to be interpreted by

⁴ Free media is media without prior authorization from the granting authority, without economic motives, managed collectively, and with a counter-hegemonic operation. They usually operated based on voluntary work and have a program engaged in a political project of social transformation.

⁵ Sound signals that divide the contents of radio programming.

the authors themselves, given the fluidity of their performances. As is the case with most of the stories, these poems present social criticism as its main element, based on the morality of good versus evil, feeding the imagination of an enemy to be defeated: capitalism. Along with these lessons, there is an aesthetic in the verses, rhymes, and orality. The presentation by non-speakers, but probably by the authors themselves, is a way to demonstrate a popular authenticity of productions, with the social role aiming at not only affecting feelings, but also reinforcing the radical imagination that will be addressed based on the original identity of the community and of Zapatism.

Music is another predominant form of content on Radio Rebelde, which, according to Amarnd Balsebre (1994, p.89), makes it possible to “evoke images that are dormant within us,” composing the Zapatista imaginary. The first hour of the afternoon program of the station is dedicated to marimba tunes, which comprise instrumental compositions generally in the style of Mexican cumbia⁶, played with the instrument of the same name. The intention of the songs is clearly to entertain, as the narration highlights. This part of the program demonstrates that Radio Rebelde also has a playful approach to addressing that, in addition to entertaining, can create bonds of belonging, including with non-Zapatista communities. In this case, the aesthetics of music predominates over the semantic message, because “the aesthetic information of music constitutes a very significant universe” (Balsebre, 1994, p.92). The symbolic and dramatic matrix of the marimba produces proximity between multiple identities.

I also recorded traditional songs from the indigenous communities of Los Altos, interpreted in the native languages and featuring a long introductory piece of prose that presents the locality and culminates in the closure, reaffirming their local identities. In addition to the communities’ songs, instrumental dance songs are featured, serving for shows of typical groups at local festivals. In addition to the traditional songs, I noted another self-definition of a musical style, the revolutionary songs classified by the announcers as belonging to three types and broadcast in different one-hour sequences:

- National revolutionary songs: they are composed of songs by Mexican groups from outside Chiapas with three different themes. The first brings together historical issues that reconstruct past periods of the various

⁶ Cumbia is a dance and rhythm originated in Colombia, during a long period of mixture between African (sensuality, musical instruments), Native American (musical instruments) and Spanish (singing, poetics and clothing) elements, which became popular in Latin America during the 1940s. Mexican cumbia merges elements of the Cuban montuno genre, the mambo and local rhythms in the Colombian style (such as norteño and huapango music). It is a strong cultural component of the media and in dances, now known as cumbia sonidera.

revolutions of Mexican history, always in the perspective of the natives, peasants, and farmers and their martyrs. The second theme of these songs concerns other Mexican revolutionary movements. The third addresses social criticism or songs that support Zapatism among Mexicans. These songs point to the rapprochement of the Zapatistas with other national movements, groups and collectives, as well as the history of Mexican struggles and revolutions, reinforcing the sense of belonging to the Mexican nation, as clearly defended by the EZLN, which is not identified as a separatist movement, but as a constructor of a new, plural, multicultural, and just Mexico.

- Chiapas revolutionary songs: they portray the Zapatista struggle and ideals in the autonomous communities and in the EZLN. These songs are produced locally, mainly in the Rebel Zapatista Autonomous Municipalities (Marez). Several of them were broadcast on the album *"El fuego y la palabra,"* a set of four albums released in March 2009. The approaches of these songs call for an approximation with the local reality, strengthening the bonds of belonging with communities. Second, they constitute narratives that make a historical record and perform a kind of social catharsis that promote a collective outburst against the injustices experienced by the local communities. These songs thus call for the construction of identities of Zapatista resistance and struggles, present in the bonds of belonging among members of the groups, in the historical role of the uprising and in the sharing of pain, suffering, conquest, and utopias. Furthermore, they call for collective mobilization in favor of the emancipatory struggle.
- International revolutionary songs: they include songs critical of capitalism or in support of the Zapatista movement, non-Mexican artists such as those from Spain, Chile, Cuba, Argentina, etc.

Other identified content includes the program announcements and messages that are, in turn, informative in nature. The former consist of announcements from the Good Government Juntas (JBG) or the Insurgent Revolutionary Command Council (CCRI) of the Zapatista Army, also published on the Enlace Zapatista website⁷. The messages are short, lasting from 15 to 45 seconds and appear to consist of recorded testimonies from ordinary people, edited with musical backgrounds. Again, the use of the presentation by people who are not broadcasters demonstrates an interpellation of the approach and participation in

⁷ Available at <<http://www.enlacezapatista.org>>. Retrieved: February 10, 2014. Translation by the author.

the station. The themes address women's health, collective work, and dignity. In addition to a historical contextualization, the messages question social injustices.

Territorialities and Temporalities

In addition to the social critiques, these pieces of content have, according to Pross (1989), the role of interpreting the calendar, a Greek term that designates the "book of accounts" and social commitments. The organization of time represents a social control of everyday activities and public life. "Who controls the calendar indirectly controls work, free time and, parties" (Le Goff, 1992, p.494). Even though it is sometimes close to the nature of ordination, such as light and dark (day and night), climate exchange (summer vacation) and seasonal changes (spring, autumn, winter, and summer), time is oriented symbolically from the socio-political order. In the Middle Ages, ecclesiastical power predominated in the calendar. In contemporary times, the rhythm of industrial production overlaps with the organization of official time. There are, however, different temporalities experienced as they relate to the various social meanings that circulate in territories, hegemonic relations, and counter-hegemonies.

According to Rogério Haesbaert (2007), the territory consists of a combination of functional and symbolic dimensions. The first represents the exploitation of natural resources for the satisfaction of needs or the accumulation of wealth. The symbolic dimension, on the other hand, establishes links between places and persons who take ownership of meanings such as mutual recognition, belonging, and shelter. The identity process configured on territories, defined as territoriality, serves as a strategy for creating and maintaining control over part of a surface, connections, the disciplining of spaces, and the organization of time. While territoriality predominantly involves symbolic aspects, and may even exist without a territory (such as the promised land of the Jews), the territory exists only in the material and symbolic dimensions, and thus cannot exist without physical space and without territoriality.

Feelings about such territories, built in certain cultural universes, bring with them meanings and ways of organizing themselves in time and in the rites and rhythms of daily life. Temporalities are inevitably located in territorialities, as time is experienced in a certain place, albeit imaginary. In the field of research, I was able to notice differences between the time and territory of academia, marked with a certain rigor; the rarely punctual time of the intellectuals and interviewed communicators; and the slow time of the indigenous peoples organized in different zones. In the Rebel Zapatista Autonomous Municipalities, the communities follow

the time zone of the Southeastern Combat Front, two hours behind official Mexican time and three hours behind the daylight saving time of the country. The latter, for example, is not followed by any indigenous community where I was, as they claim to remain in the "time of God." In addition to the differentiated time zones, varying social rhythms are present. In San Cristóbal de las Casas, a city where indigenous and mestizos are found, but following the industrial calendar – despite not having an industrial park or large companies – I was hardly able to find punctuality anywhere, including in commerce and tourism.

In San Isidro de La Libertad, in addition to having low punctuality, the year is divided differently compared to the Mexican urban areas, marked mainly by the New Year, Epiphany, Holy Week, summer vacations, and Christmas. The community divides its annual cycle around the Feast of the Holy Cross (May 5), the only day on which alcoholic beverages can be consumed in the Autonomous Center, summer plantations (July), cleaning the land (September), Harvest (November), and the Christmas festivities (December). In these times, people not only perform different activities in the territories where they circulate, but they also change their slow relationship with time for a more pronounced pace. As is the case in San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Sundays are different from the rest of the week in San Isidro de La Libertad, not only because many people do not work, but because they celebrate the gospel in the Chapel. Nevertheless, unlike the city, marked mainly by leisure and rest, in the autonomous community it is the day when people gather in the assembly to discuss the local, and sometimes national, context, and make political decisions, followed by a collective meal.

Temporalities of Radio Rebelde

As it is inevitable to participate in these times and territories, the media fulfills, according to Pross (1989), the role of communicating these rhythms, creating different senses and climates for mornings, nights, weeks, weekends, and festivities. The Brazilian researcher Mônica Nunes (1993, p.33) clarifies that

the requirement to communicate and participate produces (...) a psychophysical need, translated into ignorance (...). Information is sought for the purposes of filling the deficit generated by the lack of knowledge.

Radio journalism defines current affairs as the news of the present. The instantaneous aspect of the broadcasts, which often occur live, anchors reception to the current time. In news broadcasts, the news of the latest moment, the latest programme or the last week (in the case of weekly programs) predominate,

sometimes following the recommendation of a verbal language in the present time, including past events (Ortriwano, 1985). The present seems eternal in this type of program, even with the inevitable fugacity of the medium. As is the case with sound, what is transmitted on the radio is dispersed the moment it is received, and there is no way to go back unless the programming is recorded, an unlikely situation in radio. "Sound exists only when it abandons existence. It is not simply perishing but rather evanescent in essence, being perceived in this way" (Ong, 1993, p.33). Radio broadcasting in Hertz waves therefore exists only in the present.

This relationship with the present time can be seen in Radio Rebelde, in the announcements of the EZLN and the Good Government Juntas, particularly on the actions of the Mexican Government and the paramilitary groups against Zapatista communities or their members. These texts are written and published on the official website of the Enlace Zapatista movement, which are read on the radio's programming at any time. Updating time is another way of anchoring radio programming in the present, turning the broadcast medium into an invisible clock that helps many listeners to locate themselves temporarily. On the Oventic Caracol station, announcers continually tell not only the time of the Southeastern Combat Front, but also the weather: "Good morning to those who are going to work now!" and "May you be well this evening!" There is, in these greetings, a close relationship between time and the peasant routine accompanied by the station.

In addition to marking the present time, working as a kind of invisible clock, the radio also makes it possible to rescue the past. The role of reminiscence of the medium is possible, mainly, by the transmission of songs and old stories. Nunes (1993, p.39) explains this ritual function of the medium as

the eternal return to the principle of things seeks, above all, to settle the duration of profane time (...) and to secure the very regeneration of time in mythical time. To regenerate time is to renew oneself, and to cross the edges of human finitude.

To listen to a song or an account of the past is not an act of remembering, but a way to create security in the present, as, just as the previous challenges have been overcome or sublimated, the present ones can be too. Thus, the radio seeks, according to Pross (1989), to suppress the emotional psychophysical need generated by the calendar.

The stories of Radio Rebelde serve to present stories of a time immemorial, which provide emotional security on how to act in the face of inevitable unpredictability. The "King of Evil" brings explanations of who allegedly has created and still creates the breakdowns of community life and family – the capitalist system. "How the Groom Flirts with the Bride" rescues successful courtships for

love affairs. Revolutionary songs, such as the episode "October 7" – relating to the death of a Zapatista community authority – revisit not only the memory of the murder but also the character's deeds.

Radio Rebelde also plays the role of signifying the future by creating the radical imagery of autonomy. "Ritualization promises the certainty that the universe remains as it is. The world to come is being built and will not be different from the present" (Nunes, 1993, p.35). This relationship with the future is continually announced in the revolutionary songs, the poetry and the announcements that bring the message of victory of the oppressed, as well as the Popular Unity Hymn: "We shall win! We shall win! / A thousand chains shall be broken / We shall win!"

In addition to strengthening the radical imagery, the investigated broadcaster allows a relationship with time that can contribute to the experience of autonomy. As the control of time represents a social power, breaking with the official time also means denying state power, reinforcing the sense of self-determination of the autonomous communities. Radio Rebelde, in this sense of self-disposition, still has its own rhythm of broadcasting, different from commercial broadcasters. The breaks and silences after a song or a recording, known in the commercial technical standard as failures, referred to as holes in the radio jargon," are constantly observed on the station and are treated naturally by the presenters, lasting up to 15 seconds, as observed on July 24, 2013. Unlike what happens when there is a technical defect, the broadcast does not apologize for the "holes." The 5 to 15 seconds of silence do not appear to mean an error on this station, because the program does not seek the frenetic pace of commercial radio stations that transmit uninterruptedly one sound after another.

The fractured broadcast schedule, on air from 5 am to 9 am and from 5 pm to 8 pm in the time zone of the Southeastern Combat Front, is another characteristic of Radio Rebelde's autonomy of temporality. The station not only differs from the commercial standard, which broadcasts 24 hours a day or, at least, from 6 am to midnight daily, but also dedicates its programming to the schedules of the peasant routine, at dawn (when one wakes up and prepares for work) and at the end of the day (when returning from work and resting), reinforced by the interpellations of the announcers, who explicitly refer to the beginning of daily activities in the morning and the return from work in the field in the afternoon. This organization disregards the idea of simultaneity at work, and consists of listening to the radio while doing another work-related activity. In addition to the fact that the producers are possibly involved in other engagements when there is no broadcast, listeners who are working from 9 am to 5 pm are presumed to be unable to listen to the station.

Times and Places of the Listeners

Some interviewed listeners naturally welcome this fractured schedule. Mr. Josiano and teacher José, both from the community of San Isidro de La Libertad, say they only listen to the radio before going to work and upon arriving home. Although the former has a portable radio, he only listens to it when he “has time,” i.e., when he is not working in agriculture or performing other work-related activities. On the other hand, listener John, who lives in the city of San Cristóbal de Las Casas, was unaware of the fractured schedule of Radio Rebelde. He thought that, when he turned on the radio of his car and did not manage to tune in the radio, it was because the station was defective or out of reach. “Since I was not able to tune in, I thought the station had changed frequency or had gone off air.”⁸

Listening times are also related to the territorialities of the audience, which involve, in radio technology, in addition to the senses, the reception devices used. Until the 1950s, according to Ferraretto (1998), radio was usually “watched” in the family, occupying the living space and gathering several people. With the advent of television, which, with its popularization, took the place of radio in households, the medium reinvented itself, mainly with its miniaturization and portability, made possible by the invention of the transistor. The predominant social space of radio became no longer aimed at collective listening, but rather at each individual who carried a portable receiver, establishing an intimate and personal relationship with them. Programming is affected by this change and, instead of the spectacles (soap opera, entertainment programs, and comedy), broadcasters began developing content that focuses more on being the rhythm and a background for the listener’s daily life, with the predominance of music and quick news.

Among the eleven listeners of Radio Rebelde interviewed, I found three who listened to the station collectively. Collective listening was observed at the home of teacher José, the student Maria, and Diego, in the community of San Isidro de La Libertad. The former lives with his wife and two young children (under the age of five), along with his father, mother, and two other brothers. The house has four rooms, one for him and his family, one for his parents, one for his brothers, and a small store where his wife works. In the living room, his father, one of the founding authorities of the community, has a radio with loudspeakers, which he uses mainly to listen to Radio Rebelde. “When he turns on the radio, we always listen to the station even if we do not want to.”⁹ José’s listening is involuntary. The station, however, becomes the background and rhythm not only for his daily life, but also

⁸ Interview with John, conducted on January 13, 2014, in San Cristóbal de Las Casas. Translation by the author.

⁹ Interview with José on July 10, 2014, in Zinacantán. Translation by the author.

for the store, as well as being a diacritical signal, i.e., a signal different from the political position of his family, adherent to Zapatismo. Maria lives with her parents and two sisters. She listens to several radio stations, including Radio Rebelde, in the background while cooking or caring for her sisters. The radio in her home is always on, whether because of her, her mother, or her father. Diego was another interviewee who listens to it on the radio at home upon returning from work. He performs, unlike most of the community, sporadic jobs in construction. The station helps him to relax after the workday. I was able to note that Radio Rebelde's collective listening, in addition to serving as a background, serves, in these cases, for the political identification and inclusion of listeners, allowing them to broaden the radio station's broadcasting role.

Individual listening in this community is performed by Mr. Juan and Mr. Josiano. The former is a former community authority. He has no stereo at home, having the radio on his mobile phone as the only way to listen to Radio Rebelde. Usually, Juan listens to it when going to work. Like Diego, he does not work in agriculture, but in sporadic jobs, mainly in construction. He complains about the difficulty of tuning in to the station, because his listening experience takes place in different places, many of which have a weak capture signal. He says, however, that listening to the station in his daily life brings motivation for the struggle. For the same reason, Mr. Josiano listens to on his cell phone. Although his house has a stereo with a radio, he prefers to listen to it on his mobile phone so as not to disturb others and to be able to listen as he commutes through the community.

Among the listeners of San Cristóbal de Las Casas, I did not report any collective listening. Even different media (car, mobile phone, stereo with speakers, portable device, and computer), they always listen individually. Listener John, as already mentioned, listens to the station while in traffic through the car speakers. Because the time he travels in the car and the Radio Rebelde broadcast do not always match, he regrets that he is able to listen to the station very little. There is a clear discrepancy between the temporality of the radio and his own.

The rituals of Zapatista radio listeners in the various territories also reveal uses of different supports. In San Isidro de La Libertad, receivers usually use only one device, usually a stereo with the loudspeakers. In San Cristóbal de Las Casas, in turn, listeners listen on multiple platforms. Among the listeners in the city, five usually listen to it from a single device and, of these, three use mobile technologies that allow them to listen in different places. The others use different devices. This nomadic audience does not mean the devaluation of the place, but the multi-territoriality, in which listening can gain different meanings. Listening to the station at work or while in traffic means to interviewees a background for conducting their

core activities, which often leads to inattentive listening. On the other hand, at home, even while performing other activities, the radio listening experience may be more attentive to the action of the moment.

In the autonomous rural territory, listening is linked to the seasonal cycles of the day. Listeners do not identify the programs, especially given that Radio Rebelde does not have them, but only recognize times when listening to the radio, during the free time before and after the working day.

Final Remarks

Radio Rebelde's temporalities indicate ruptures with industrial time. The time of fractured transmission, the absence of programs and the constant breaks in the broadcasting point to that. This format strengthens the self-determination of the radio station, which does not submit to the technical standards prevailing in commercial radio stations, reinforcing the autonomic performance of Zapatista experiences. Thus, the station disseminates self-determination not only in the broadcast content, but also in the organization of its programming.

Listeners also adjust their listening time to their daily lives and places, either by listening in the kitchen (as a backdrop to housework), in the living room (at the end of the working day), in the car or on their mobile phones (while commuting or working). Each territory articulated with the motivation creates not only a proper pace of listening, but also a role for the broadcaster: company, leisure, information, or restoration.

The relationship with the past, present and future, presented on Radio Rebelde, creates, respectively, the memory of social struggles, the updating of information and mobilizations, and the radical imagery of social transformations. For that purpose, there is a connection between the radio and the life and experiences of the listeners.

Appropriated by listeners, the station shifts the meanings of Zapatista autonomy to various senses of listening. Thus, autonomy can represent the ancestors' imagined past, the freedom to dance and sing, or the struggles for social justice of the insurgent movements of the entire world.

The analysis of ritualities points out that, in addition to the different times and places of production and reception, there is a plurality of meanings and senses involved in the same process of communication, demonstrating the various transits of communicative mediations.

Even in a singular situation where the media is inserted into a context that differs from the one prevailing in industrialized societies, with different times and

rhythms, the radio remains as an invisible clock that adapts to the calendar, while reinforcing and creating rhythms in daily life and rituals.

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Does Social Class Still Matter For Reception? An Analysis of PHD and Master Thesis (2010-2014)

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RAFAEL GROHMANN

PhD in Communication of the University of São Paulo, Brazil. Professor of Master in Journalism at FIAM-FAAM University/ Laureate International Universities and Lecturer of the School of Communication and Arts of the University of São Paulo, Brazil.

rafael-ng@uol.com.br

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Abstract

This paper analyses a selection of 16 dissertations and theses from communication programs in Brazil focusing on social class in a study of reception between 2010 and 2014. Bibliometric and qualitative analyses of the selected papers were performed in order to understand the concepts of 'reception' and 'class' as used in the papers, reflecting on the theory and methodology which impact studies of reception and, in general, communication studies.

Keywords

Reception; Social Class; Epistemology; Communication.

Introduction

The issue of class in communication studies is not a new one. One of the arguments against it is that it is too 'sociological' and does not address 'specific' communication. Yet, isn't communication a human activity realized by social subjects (Wolton, 2010)? A communication theory which does not take society into account is a sterile science according to Wolton (2010).

We think of communication and reception studies as 'place of conflict' (Fígaro; Grohmann, 2015) which therefore makes it important to have a critical perspective of social classes in studies in reception and communication theory. As Sodr  (2012) claims, the reputation of communication studies comes from its social and political value, especially regarding the 'financialization of communication'.

But what have studies of reception meant to social classes? Are they still a category for analysis? Grohmann and Fígaro (2014) show how the concept of class has been presented in Brazilian publications of studies on reception between 1970 and 2000, the most recent ones coming from Andrade (2003), Junqueira (2010) and Ronsini (2012). Only two works from Comp s Meetings between 1992 and 2009 were found to contain the keyword 'class': Andrade (2004) and Ronsini (2007), the latter being the only one of the two to have been presented in the GT Media and Reception. The GT Reception: processes of interpretation, use and consumption in the media presented three works between 2010 and 2015: Fígaro and Grohmann (2013; 2014) and Sifuentes (2015).

And what about post-graduation programs? What are the studies that have worked on social classes in reception over the last few years? This paper is intended to produce more questions than answers, in other words, it evaluates and arranges theses and dissertations in communication that address social class in studies of reception between 2010 and 2014. This paper considers reception as a *locus* for analyzing the theory, epistemology and methodology of communication studies.

Methodology

This paper is part of a broader study on the concept of social class in communication studies. The *corpus* of the article was put together by researching digital libraries¹ from every post-graduation program in communication² in Brazil in order to locate works which were defended between 2010 and 2014, and contained the term 'class' (or 'classes') either in the title, as a keyword or in the abstract. 42

¹ The CAPES database, at the time, was not updated.

² By the end of 2014, the area had 46 programs.

studies were found. We read the abstracts from those studies, looking for ones that dealt with reception on some level. 16 works were found, a representative number of 38% of the studies in communication involving class taken from theses and dissertations which had been defended during the same time period. Note: there are 16 works but only 15 authors as the *corpus* includes both a Master's thesis and a PhD dissertation from Sifuentes (2010, 2014).

Why was the period between 2010 and 2014 chosen? Jacks, Menezes and Piedras (2008) had already researched the theses and dissertations on reception from the 1990s, and Jacks (2014) had done the same between 2000 and 2009. Therefore, this most recent time period was chosen to represent material produced within the first half of the current decade. The empirical objects of study were the theses and dissertations we considered to be the main 'products' coming out of post-graduation programs (including their focus areas, research topics, research projects and mentors) capable of showing how research is being conducted in Brazil.

The category of class was chosen in order to see how it is discussed or viewed (or even not viewed) within communication. To paraphrase Murdock (2009): communicational life is put together by paving stones, not just the beach. 'It is the refusal to acknowledge that class remains a fundamental structuring principle of every aspect of life in late capitalism, including communications, that blocks a comprehensive view of contemporary conditions' (MURDOCK, 2009, p. 32).

The research done for this paper is a 'metaresearch'; a mapping out of the achievements and continuances within the field and looking at 'the problems experienced and the knowledge obtained during researching, and from that point forward, working towards shedding light on new dimensions of communication phenomena' (BONIN, 2008, p. 123).

In order to do this, the analysis was divided into two steps: the first one used bibliometrics (Spinak, 1998; Araújo, 2006; Romancini, 2006) to find out who the most quoted authors were and what their theories implied. To a certain extent, quoting authors reveals what their place is and how they are viewed within a given scientific field (Bourdieu, 1983). An author was quoted only once; self-quotations were excluded. Afterwards, the abstracts, introductions and excerpts from authors' works on 'reception' and 'social class' were read for qualitative analysis.

Overview

The *corpus* is made up of 16 works; 12 Master's thesis and 4 doctoral dissertations. 12 came from universities in Rio Grande do Sul, two from São Paulo

and two from Minas Gerais. This shows that studies on reception are, to a certain extent, coming out of the southern region of the country which makes us ask the question: how do we get research on reception to be conducted throughout the country (remembering that our *corpus* deals only with studies on the concept of class)? Six of the 16 total works represented in this paper were mentored by Professor Veneza Mayora Ronsini from the Federal University of Santa Maria (UFSM), which shows her importance to the concept of class in the field of communication, especially in studies of reception. As for the universities, even though we do not have all the data from all the studies on reception carried out between 2010 and 2014, we did find that the University of São Paulo (USP) had not produced any works on reception and class, which is odd considering that the university had the highest number of studies on reception between 2000 and 2009, according to Jacks (2014).

Previous works from Jacks, Menezes and Piedras (2008) and Jacks (2014) have already showed that television was the medium which was studied the most, present in 11 theses or dissertations. Eight of these focused on television fiction and two on TV journalism. At least five from this group focused directly on youths³ and four on gender involving women. As for studies on reception involving youths between 2000 and 2009, Schmitz (2014) had already pointed out that the concept of social class had been addressed in at least half of the works, especially on youths from lower classes.

As for the approaches used in studies of reception proposed by Jacks (2014) - in particular, sociocultural, socio-discursive and behavioural ones - there were 14 that were sociocultural and two that were socio-discursive⁴. The lack of studies on behaviour may be explained by an epistemological incompatibility with studies on social class in reception due to their more individual nature.

Ethnography was the most common technique applied in the studies, especially for participant observation and interviews which were present in 12 of the 16 works. In some cases, apart from the actual analysis of 'reception' there is an examination of media representation (or media discourse) and how the studied groups (particularly the issue of class) are represented. We found this perspective in seven works, one of which using a socio-discursive approach.

There are 59 authors cited in at least four works. 29 of these authors are Brazilian (49.1%) and 30 are from other countries (50.9%). These figures are similar to what Romancini (2006) found in dissertations and theses from post-graduation courses in communication in 2004; 48% from Brazil and 52% from

³ Adding these works to the ones on children gives us seven studies.

⁴ However, we agree with Jacks (2014, p. 14) that: 'classifying is always problematic'.

other countries (Romancini, 2006, p. 239). Yet only 4 of the 12 most cited authors were Brazilian; one of these 4 being a joint study from Jacks and Escosteguy (2006), recorded as one 'author', meaning only three of the authors represented were actually from Brazil: Nilda Jacks, Ana Carolina Escosteguy and Maria Immacolata Vassallo de Lopes.

The author cited the most was Jesús Martín-Barbero, appearing in all 16 works. Just behind him was Néstor García Canclini, cited in 15 works. Stuart Hall and Pierre Bourdieu both had 14 citations. In fifth with 12 citations were Guillermo Orozco Gómez and Nilda Jacks. Ana Carolina Escosteguy had 11 citations. Finally, rounding out the list with 9 citations each were Roger Silverstone, David Morley, Ana Carolina Escosteguy and Nilda Jacks and Manuel Castells (see FIGURE 01 below):

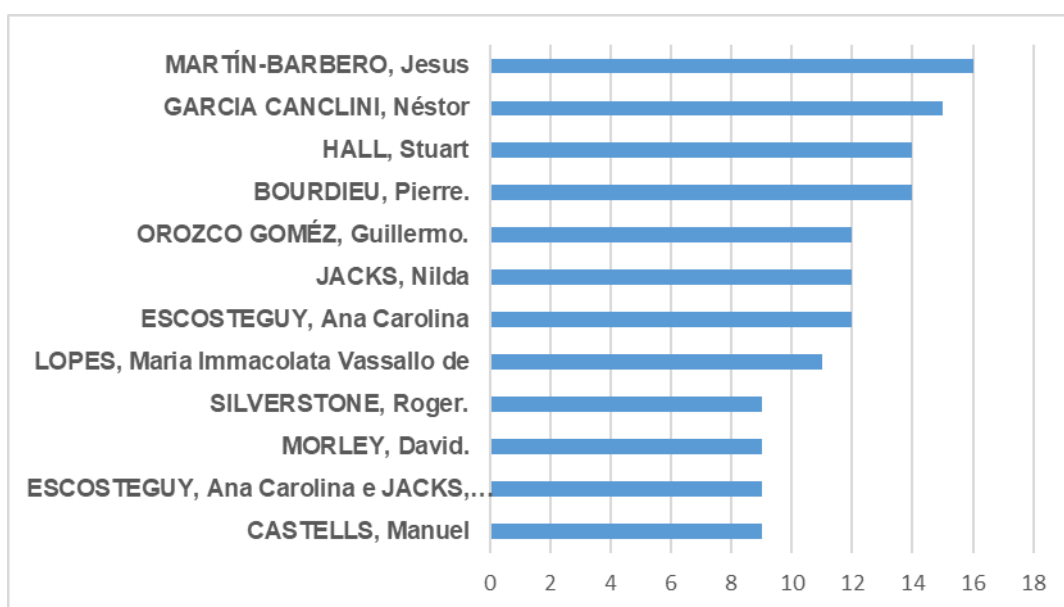


Figure 01: authors with the most citations in theses and dissertations

Source: Author

What do these authors have to say about studies on reception? Firstly, there is a predominance of authors associated with Cultural Studies such as Stuart Hall, David Morley and Roger Silverstone from Britain, and Martín-Barbero, García Canclini and Orozco Gómez from Latin America. Included in this list are Brazilian authors Nilda Jacks, Ana Carolina Escosteguy and Maria Immacolata Vassallo de Lopes. On one hand, this shows a consolidation of authors in the field of reception in Brazil, something that Jacks, Menezes and Piedras (2008) have already attested to, specifically in the trio of Martín-Barbero, García Canclini and Orozco Gómez who, to a certain degree, have become synonymous with studies on reception in Brazil. On the other hand, without overlooking the importance of these authors, this

information brings us to the question: how can more researchers be included in this list over the next few years? This is not about 'adding authors to the list just because'; it's about a scientific field which has advanced with both new empirical findings and conceptual discussions. For example, most of the authors make use of the concept of a nocturnal map for mediations, as proposed by Martín-Barbero (2009) in the 1980s. The concept of mediation has its importance, revisited recently (Lopes, 2014) in debates on media, but the rhetorical question here is of a different nature: which concepts will be on the debate agenda for Brazilian researchers from this field over the next ten years?

The other authors cited in the graph are Pierre Bourdieu and Manuel Castells. The latter is associated more with technological devices and the Internet (Ampuja, 2015). Pierre Bourdieu is the only author referenced who works with the concept of social class. Our intention is not to discuss how the author views the concept. We are drawing attention to the fact that studies on reception, specifically cultural studies, appear to be well-represented among the most cited authors, but the same cannot be said for social class (at least among these most cited authors) as Pierre Bourdieu is the only author from these most cited who addresses this concept. Does the concept of class need more discussion in studies of reception?

Five of the most cited authors in our study also appear on the list of the most cited authors for post-graduation communication programs in Brazil in 2004, according to Romancini (2006, p. 245). They are Pierre Bourdieu, Jesús Martín-Barbero, Néstor García Canclini, Stuart Hall and Manuel Castells.

Seven other authors not included in the list in Figure 01 were cited in eight works. Veneza Ronsini is the only one from the field of communication in Brazil. Jessé Souza is the Brazilian author most associated with the theme of social class, strongly influenced by Pierre Bourdieu (Souza, 2009). Rounding out Brazilian authors, we have cultural researcher Renato Ortiz who has participated on an international level with anthropologist Clifford Geertz, sociologists Anthony Giddens and Zygmunt Bauman, as well as philosopher Douglas Kellner.

Overall, the cited authors give us a profile of the *corpus*, marked by influences from authors from Rio Grande do Sul.

Notes and Thoughts on the *Corpus*

One of the main theoretical-methodological problems already addressed by Lopes (2005) and which appear in studies from Jacks, Menezes and Piedras (2008) and Jacks (2014) is the separation between categories discussed in theory and empirical studies on the object. Schmitz (2014) attests that the concept of class in

studies of reception involving youths between the years of 2000 and 2009 'regularly appears in theoretic discussions or on an empirical level yet the subjects are selected according to their social class' (Schmitz, 2014, p. 205). So, how do the studied works deal with the concepts of 'class' and 'reception'?

We start by addressing the works mentored by Veneza Ronsini from the Federal University of Santa Maria (UFSM) – Sifuentes (2010), Prediger (2011), Wottrich (2011), Renata Córdova da Silva (2011), Júlia Schnorr (2013) and Flora Dutra (2014). In general, these studies focus on a concept of reception which merges the so-called 'critical ethnography of reception' (where subjects are observed and interviewed) with media representations of class and inequality in an attempt to understand the role of class mediation in this process. Stuart Hall's and Martín-Barbero's theories of reception are used the most; the *encoding-decoding* model of Hall (2003) mixed with the mediations proposed by Martín-Barbero (2009) with rituality, technicality, institutions and socialization being the concepts that the texts mainly deal with. An idea of circulation is being drawn up here even though the authors do not really talk about or address this concept in the field of communication. There is a sense of collective research being done in most of these works which strengthens the studies on reception and in communication.

As a general rule, Pierre Bourdieu and Jessé Souza are the authors whose theories are referenced most in the works (Lopes, 2005). However, the authors most referenced for the use of the concept in empirical research are Quadros and Antunes (2001). It is important to apply this concept to Brazilian reality and to a theoretical basis to support the choice of the subjects selected for interviewing. However, what we noticed was that there are no thoughts offered on the theoretical and epistemological consequences of 'using' these authors and how their concepts relate to those of Bourdieu (2007) and Souza (2009). Do they communicate with each other? Are there conceptual differences? For example, Quadros and Antunes (2001) speak more on 'socio-occupational classes' than on 'social classes'. What are the results of these choices in terms of how the research is carried out?

A positive point is the dialogue between the authors' works, something which has been quite rare in studies on reception in Brazil, as pointed out in works from Jacks (2014). A bibliometric analysis showed that studies from Renata Córdova da Silva and Laura Hastenpflug Wottrich were cited in other works (three used da Silva and two used Wottrich). This total excludes self-citations. Aside from these two authors, Lourdes Pereira Silva from the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) was cited three times.

In addition, we would like to make a few comments on works from the group mentored by Veneza Ronsini. We draw attention to the objects studied by Schnorr

(2013): the rural youths involved in social movements. This introduces communication to the politics of daily life. Even though this work does not develop a concept on this, it does offer an empirical view of the class struggles involved in communication processes. Also, it does not really discuss the concept of work, but it does try to relate the relationship between the life experience and work of the subjects. One of the author's findings is that 'having proximity with social movements does not in itself guarantee its involvement in politics' (Schnorr, 2013, p. 2).

We would also like to make reference to a study by Prediger (2011) in which she analyzes representation and reception among youths for the television series *Malhação*. The discourse of the characters in the episodes under analysis did not contain the term 'class' when referring to their relations; instead, any inequalities in their relationships were summarized as being mere differences (García Canclini, 2005).

Dutra's thesis (2014) may separate itself from other works from this group due to the actual object of study: cellular phones. 'Use and ownership' are two words used in the title of her article. In her abstract she uses the phrases 'transmedia reception' and 'cellular phone consumption' even when referring to mediations of rituality, socialization and technicality (Martín-Barbero, 2009) in empirical research. The theoretical-conceptual approach does not offer any justification for the different terminologies used nor does it make a clear definition of the relationship (which appears distinctive in the reading) between reception and consumption, as observed in the excerpt below:

authors often opt to combine the meanings of consumption and reception, but that is not the case here. Consumption is often understood as merging with reception. From materiality to the drama of life experienced by youths of society's lower class, the capability of reception and its corresponding media texts directed at helping readers understand consumption and its 'social uses' on cellular phones is neglected. This study uses the map of mediation for interpretative purposes (DUTRA, 2014, p. 38).

The text from Toaldo and Jacks (2013) could be a conceptual inspiration here, from the dimensions of 'cultural consumption', 'media consumption' and 'reception', making the concepts and their theoretical-methodological results clear. Of note is the work of Dutra (2014) in which the concept of reception disappears throughout the text, viewing consumption as communicative and distinctive, especially in the works of authors such as Néstor García Canclini, Thorstein Veblen and Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood. Along the same lines, the concept of class appears to be more related to consumption: 'consumers from all social classes tend

to seek out what is new, what is different' (DUTRA, 2014, p. 65). Authors with works on classes and differing theoretical perspectives such as Antonio Sérgio Guimarães, Jessé Souza and Cinthya Sarti are used in the discussion without appropriate theoretical-epistemological reflections.

Lirian Sifuentes' Master's Thesis (Sifuentes, 2010) and doctoral dissertation (Sifuentes, 2014) are included in the *corpus*. Both of her papers express similar concerns with an 'ethnographic criticism of reception' (Ronsini, 2003) as interrelations between social class and gender are discussed only once. Sifuentes (2014) also criticizes the marketing bias of the concept of class. From a communication viewpoint, she analyzes representations of class in a television series called 'Caminho das Índias' (Pathway to India) and reception in society and rituality (involving ways of reading and viewing). Sifuentes (2014) talks of 'television series consumption' as forms of perceiving media and forms of perceiving and living the television series. She goes on to discuss the differences and nuances between analysis of reception, media consumption, social uses and studies on identity (Sifuentes, 2014, p. 101-102), preferring to classify her study as 'media consumption'. As far as how the concept of class works, Sifuentes (2014) provides a coherent theory that offers adaptations of Jessé Souza's discussion (2010) and applies them to the empirical analysis, categorizing the classes into fighters, hard workers and the middle class.

Rosa's works (2014) deal with television's participation in small businesses in Pelotas/RS and how classes are mixed. Her concept is based on 'sociability', 'social class' and 'mediations'. The main concept is not reception, but sociability. In other words, communication occurs from human interaction. However, there is no deeper understanding of the interrelations between reception, sociability and the concept of communication itself, appealing to authors such as Georg Simmel when defining the concept of sociability.

Silva (2013) tries to show how 'members of the middle class' see everything they want to see on the 'Noon Newshour' on RBS TV in Rio Grande do Sul, mainly from mediations of institutions, rituality and technicality. If the concept of reception is built on that of Martín-Barbero (2009), then the idea of class is not seen as social and communicational subjects but as a *target* in which 'it is possible to state that the content produced [...] has not yet been able to conquer and adjust to the economic stratum – the middle class – that is its audience' (Silva, 2013, p. 6). The term 'economic stratum' (the author sometimes replacing it with 'economic class') originates from what is known as the 'class alphabet', an expression representing the socio-economic levels of A, B, C, D and E. There is a certain generalization that comes with the term 'middle class' (or 'class C'); for example, 'the current social

pyramid in Brazil is diamond-shaped, the greater majority used to be classes D and E but now it is class C' (Silva, 2013, p. 38). From a theoretical point of view, there are authors like Neri (2010) and Giddens (1975) who relate class with income and present a Neo-Weberian class (Crompton, 2008) linked to income, stratification and life opportunities. However, there is no epistemological reflection on the part of the author that connects the theory to empirical research questions.

There are two works from the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS): Grijó (2014) and Silva (2012). Both of them do not focus on the concept of class. They focus on the reception of television series in the Quilombola Communities and how family identities are formed by melodramas like soap operas and the folk theatrical tradition in Brazil called 'bumba-meu-boi' (or, *hit my bull*).

Grijó (2014) discusses mediations from Quilombola Communities on the reception of television series considering ethnicity and race. He looked at nine categories: Quilombo history, violence, prejudice, citizenship, black history, human relations, class relations, gender relations and ethnic relations. These themes are used to understand class as coming from the mediation of sociality. The author conceives the concept of class from the questions of power; this is demonstrated by the use of the term 'subaltern group' as a synonym for class and by his reflections on communication in hegemony, trying to dialogue with 'academic works on production, transmission and reception (in other words, the entire communicative process) stemming from hegemonic relations in society' (Grijó, 2014, p. 93). The author then goes on to analyze one family's appropriation of narratives contained in a variety of programs mentioned by the family when being interviewed (from 'Ninho da Serpente' broadcast on Band in 1982 to 'Sangue Bom' broadcast on Rede Globo in 2013). Nonetheless, despite Grijó (2014) having a chapter called 'media consumption', there is no discussion on studies of reception.

Silva (2012) speaks about 'uses' and 'consumption' and 'reception'. However, there is no clear organization of these concepts and no mention of the dimensions and scopes of either one. An example of when the 'uses' do not fall within the author's objectives can be seen in Silva (2012, p. 101): 'from the perspective of reception and cultural consumption, our option is in [...]' (Silva, 2012, p. 101). A debate on these ideas would help us to refine the concept, theory and the epistemology of studies on reception. The author does, however, present an important discussion on the concept of communication in the beginning of her paper: in a broad sense it belongs to, but is not restricted to, the 'media', capable of producing feelings with a priority for analyzing the 'complexity of daily family life' (Silva, 2012, p. 22). As in Grijó (2014), the concept of class is not the main issue here as the study objects are melodramas and the bumba-meu-boi. However, the

author does say that 'throwing aside any analysis of class when discussing these identities in such unequal societies as those in Brazil shows a lack of perspective' (Silva, 2012, p. 41). The concept of class should therefore be understood 'not as an all-encompassing economic organization but as a determiner for all other social relations as proposed by Laclau' (Silva, 2012, p. 31). However, Laclau does not further any discussions on the concept nor does he develop the main argument. He goes on to discuss household income *per capita* without linking it to any theory. The empirical part of the study looks at class in the workplace, describing interviews with subjects: it places status and reputation as indicators of class, but there is no theoretical or conceptual discussion offered on it.

The study from Márcia Bernardes (2012), from University of Vale do Rio dos Sinos (Unisinos), deals with social uses of the internet and sociability among female youths in a foster home and how these 'sociabilities' are marked by issues of gender and class. The title alludes to the concept of 'uses', and the author refers to Certeau (1994) for discussion, but the main concept of reception is the same as mediation (Martín-Barbero, 2009). In this sense, sociality and interaction are ideas that lend support to communication's place in the study: the 'communication interactions'. The bibliography mainly used for discussing class stems from current social interactionism (for example, Georg Simmel, Georg Herbert Mead, Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann), which is epistemologically in line with the issue of 'communication interactions', but makes us ask the question: does this view of communication allow us to link these interactions to the class struggles on a macro level or to the circulation of class struggles (Dyer-Witheford, 2015) in communication processes?

Works of Paula (2013) and Sobral (2014) come from São Paulo and the Higher School of Marketing and Advertising (ESPM). Paula (2013) places the idea of reception in Cultural Studies but it is consumption which is the protagonist:

Cultural Studies, when working with reception, tend to move away from criticisms of consumerism in order to allow for an anthropological analysis of attributing symbolic value to material objects, which is one of the first forms people use to build their relationships and their social identities (PAULA, 2013, p. 37).

What we see here is that Anthropology of Consumption plays a central role in her research, borrowing from authors such as Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood (2009). One question is: to what extent does Anthropology of Consumption use the concept of class in reception studies and in communication studies itself? As far as reception, mediations from family and school make up part of the empirical research but the study does not offer any developed theory. In her final

considerations, Paula (2013) also states that the references from the children in the study 'are not limited to media reception' (Paula, 2013, p. 121), stating that social and cultural relations occur before any relation to consumption, brand or media. The term class appears regularly in the study, but there is no consistent definition or discussion of the concept, it appears as a natural by-product of socio-economic levels, labelling the children as 'class C' (cf: Paula, 2013, p. 14) or 'low income class' (cf: Paula, 2013, p. 69). There is also no attempt at explaining what she means by 'importance of the low income class' – as shown in the following excerpt:

Low income classes are important to the country's economic and social landscape, as important as children are to the world of marketing, which takes advantage of the power it has to influence consumer choice and in the home (PAULA, 2013, p. 121).

The only moment that a similar discussion takes place is with the concept of poverty (anthropologically biased), which is explored more than the actual issue of social class. The idea that reducing poverty will lead to less inequality⁵ is not necessarily true.

The dissertation from Sobral (2014) is also a study on children from low income classes, but these children are taught by a non-governmental organization in São Paulo to understand representations of love, eroticism and sex as displayed in the media. There are four main theoretical concepts: active reception, family mediation, peer culture and interpretive representation, and four analytical concepts: love, friendship, romance, and sex/eroticism. The question of class is approached by borrowing from authors with backgrounds in child research, such as David Buckingham and Annete Laureau, but there is no discussion on how class relates to communication and does not even appear as mediation in the empirical research. The theory mainly references Martín-Barbero.

Lastly, we have two works, defended at the Pontifical Catholic University of Minas Gerais (PUC-MG), which are different from the others as they have more of a focus on media and not mediations. Sena (2011) analyzes the media of religion by looking at Father Fábio de Melo and his fans/followers from a 'low income community class' located just outside the city of Contagem, in the state of Minas Gerais. As far as social class, the term does not carry much weight in the paper's theoretical-methodological structure, it appears as something natural, synonymous with the socio-economic level ('classes A and B', for example). Reception is not raised in the theoretical part of the paper, preferring the concepts of 'media' and 'celebrity'⁶ instead. However, the empirical part of the study immediately discusses

⁵ Cf: Singer, 2012.

⁶ Another point to be highlighted is that there is no problematization of one of the current strands of reception studies: fan studies (cf, for example, Lopes, 2015)

the issue of reception in Cultural Studies as well as socio-discursive issues (Jacks, 2014). The relations and limitations are not clear between the more sociocultural approach and the socio-discursive one which ends up not articulating the different methodologies in the study (Lopes, 2005).

Drumond (2014) has a consistent methodological structure for tackling circulation and social interaction in the context of the television series 'Avenida Brasil', broadcast on Rede Globo in 2012. In it he looks at narratives and circulation on *Twitter* (referred to as an 'interactive device'). Mikhail Bakhtin and Jesús Martín-Barbero are the main authors used for reflections on Drumond's concept of 'Teletopia' (2014), mainly through questioning genres of discourse and television. The concept of media is also used, mainly borrowed from José Luiz Braga (2006) and 'the media of a new middle class'. There is no discussion on class in its original sense, but there is a debate around the concept of a 'new middle class' through recent socio-economic factors in Brazil, always making reference to television series. The author also analyzes how the television series are represented through symbolism and story-telling and how this representation reflects on the image of the country. Drumond (2014) concludes that the discourse in 'Avenida Brasil' is an elitist look at common life, a kind of false classicism. What is of interest to the author is this connectivity through television series, the 'specialization of subjects and society within the same teletopia' (DRUMOND, 2014, p. 175).

The last two works have shown us that the studies in the *corpus* are what most mobilize the concept of media. However, as in the case of Drumond (2014), this does not mean a distancing, it means a dialogue with authors who focus more on Cultural Studies. The studies from Rio Grande do Sul appear to be more anchored in reception in Brazilian research while the two studies from the Higher School of Marketing and Advertising (ESPM) in São Paulo try to articulate the issue of reception, straying from the issue of mediations and consumption.

A Few Questions

This survey of theses and dissertations on reception and classes between 2010 and 2014 maps out the theoretical and conceptual terrain of studies on reception over the last few years in post-graduation programs, including the issue of social class, which allows us to think of the field on a broader scope.

This will then allow us to infer problems affecting studies on reception, such as: how much have the theory, methodology and epistemology of studies on reception advanced over the last few years and how does this affect the way we think about the field of communication? How will the *corpus* in this paper help us to

reflect on changes and continuities in the frameworks of thought on reception? What are the theoretical and methodological challenges of 'reception and classes' from here on?

Some general results are: a) the continual presence of television as an object of studies on reception; b) the importance of Pierre Bourdieu and Jesús Martín-Barbero for studies which articulate reception and social classes; and c) a focus on 'mediations', even though the term 'media' appears in some studies.

Theoretical and methodological problems often arise from a lack of discussion on the concept of social class and a lack of articulating the concept epistemologically to the study. Furthermore, the authors analyzed in this paper, with a few exceptions, do not generally cite other recent Brazilian studies on similar objects, something that impedes the development of knowledge.

The 'struggles' and 'conflicts' among classes are also underutilized in these studies. Thinking of classes as a stratum or *target* leads to developments in theory, methodology and epistemology for studies on reception and communication in general. We believe it is important to not envision social class as a stagnant concept, but rather one that is mobile, both in social contradictions and processes of communication. Therefore, placing class in studies of reception is not a 'social thing', even though it does originate from sociology. It deals with including class in the circulation of communication, just as some of the works in the *corpus* seek to do. This also means that class can be considered as more than a mediation, it can be inserted into communication itself: the social classes inside communication relations and communication processes.

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The Image in Motion: Apple, Google and Contemporary Television

JOÃO MARTINS LADEIRA

PhD in Sociology from IUPERJ. He is currently a professor at the Post Graduate Program of Communication at Unisinos. Brazil.

jdladeira@unisinos.br

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Abstract

In order to understand the traits of the contemporary reorganization of television, this article focuses on one aspect of the preparation of diffusion systems, oriented towards the association between smart TVs, smartphones/tablets, and apps. It draws attention to events in which information technologies become central to audiovisual aspects. It observes the opportunity to access content not through segmented cable-satellite channels, but rather by diverse producers, bypassing conventional stations to diffuse material via apps. The article focuses on the companies Apple and Google, interpreting their involvement as evidence of the transition to the logic of control and modulation. It analyzes the introduction of the format by Apple, through the iPod/iPhone and iTunes. The article also focuses on the expansion of this logic, paying attention to Google and the creation of software for operation in multiple devices.

Keywords

Television studies; Media archaeology; Information and communication technologies; Control.

1. Introduction

The scene consists of a young man watching a TV series produced by the channel HBO TV on a Sony smart TV. The images arrive at his home not via the channel, but via the HBO Go app. The service relies on high-speed Internet connection, provided by Verizon. The young man operates the material – he picks a title, selects episodes, and looks for similar productions – not with a remote control but with a Samsung tablet. The Android operating system, which allows the application to operate, was provided by Google. Yesterday, the young man had seen part of the same content on his iPhone and, due to the software features involved, his TV set, telephone and tablet are fully synchronized. These mechanisms know exactly the point at which he had stopped, just as they know the last scene he watched the moment he switched off the TV set. With some modifications, this scene could be possible in Brazil. Perhaps Netflix was the streaming service used, with Internet connection provided by Telefónica. The content may perhaps be transferred via Globoplay. Variations do not change the theme at hand.

Broadcast and segmented television have been rendered obsolete, although they have not ceased to exist. Open networks and cable/satellite channels are still around and should remain so for the coming years.

While it is still part of everyday life, linear flow is impossible to assert itself as the only option for audiovisual content. Alongside it, a number of alternatives arise. In the very near future, varied streaming services are noted (Netflix, Net Now, Hulu, Vivo Play, HBO Go, and others), which are more effectively diffused thanks to broadband connections with greater traffic capacity. The best example includes fiber optics, which is capable of delivering high-speed Internet connection and, subsequently, ultra-high-definition (4K) content. This content relies on software and is far from the reality of conventional television,. The adoption of this software, which may be considered a minor detail of this technique, facilitates, however, systematic transformations on different levels.

Cable and satellite television depended on operators whose origins recaptured the cultural industry, as it was known in the past. They were well-established players in information or entertainment activities in search of diversification, such as Globo and Abril in Brazil, and News and Time Warner in the U.S. In our country, they gradually lost ground to telecommunications operators, in particular Telmex and Telefónica. Suddenly, a significant fraction of the cultural industry became the property of those who had thus far no relation to the cultural industry itself. From then on, content would be obtained through negotiations with

producers, some of them part of giant well-known enterprises – such as Sony, NBC Universal, and Disney – or more particular operations such as Televisa, Antena 3, and others (Holt, 2011; Lotz, 2007; Parsons, 2008) as well as other methods. The example of Netflix is certainly affirmed as the best-known case.

Unlike conventional broadcasting, cable-satellite operations used software without the radical implications related to streaming. The triad of smart TVs, smartphones/tablets and apps introduces complexities with the potential to transform the preceding paradigm. The transmission of content from information technologies approximates the audiovisual content from the logic that guides other contemporary activities: control and modulation (Deleuze, 1990). Television based on Information Technology involves the association of very diverse resources: connected TVs; applications for streaming services or virtual content stores; mobile computing; wireless networks such as 3G/4G or Wi-Fi; fiber optics or hybrid fiber-coaxial (HFC) infrastructures, among others. When circulating through these devices, the content depends on the flexibility that seeks to prevent its retention at any point, and the transparency to ensure the illusion of the absence of barriers. Its implications are perceived only when considering the material dimension of information technologies.

Among those involved, two companies affirm their contemporary importance: Google and Apple. Until 2001, they lacked contact with the cultural industry. Today, their space in it is essential. Learning about the dependence on programming and the relevance of software requires attention to the debate on the concept of protocol (Galloway, 2004). Media archaeology (Huhtamo; Parikka, 2011; Parikka, 2012) identified protocol as a set of characteristics that are in line with the definition of contemporary logic for power. Organized not by discipline, but by control (Deleuze, 1986; Foucault, 1975), the possibilities contained in this power structure involve management through flexibility. As opposed to the rigidity of broadcasting (with specific modes of diffusion, undifferentiated audiovisual content, and rigid routines imposed on viewers), the circumstances from which softwares introduced by Google and Apple operate are based on the multiple possibilities for the diffusion of content, segmentation of the material, and flexibility of consumer practices.

Understanding this scenario involves observing features identified as Android TV and Google TV, produced by Google, as well as specific devices such as Chromecast. Similarly, it implies the relationship they maintain with iPods, iPhones and iPads, introduced by Apple, defining a trajectory for the distribution of content in connection with certain online services. Based on the techniques presented by Google and Apple (among other lesser developments), it becomes feasible to

operate both streaming distribution services and connected TVs. The connection between smartphones/tablets content broadcast applications and smart TVs indicates a flexible relationship with audiovisual content, distinct from that observed in conventional or segmented television.

The discussion here is not about content. In the discussion relating to content, works such as those by Lopes and Gómez (2015) studied fiction in a geographic space composed of 12 Ibero-American countries. They addressed the nature of the genres, processes of reception, and organization of communication policies among others. In contrast to this diversity of subjects, this article draws attention to a particular problem. The article focuses on the material aspect of the objects from which contemporary possibilities for the apprehension of audiovisual formats are constituted. It concentrates on the mechanisms from which the diffusion of content becomes possible, and the expectation of apprehending traits that tend to become essential for the ongoing reorganization of television. As the main focus of the analysis, it approaches the techniques aimed at providing the software infrastructure that is crucial to the scenario as a whole.

In order to do this, the text is divided as follows. The first section will discuss the characteristics of software, and the expectation of relating them to audiovisual formats. It pays particular attention to the idea of power, with an emphasis on the discussion of control and modulation. This empirical discussion seeks to understand the terms in which certain fundamental mechanisms are established to allow this transparent and continuous flow of audiovisual content. This debate, conducted in the second and third sections, will discuss events in which Google and Apple get involved. In a description aimed at apprehending its historical dimension, we expect to understand how iPod, iTunes, iPhone, Google TV, Chromecast and Android TV take part in this process. The conclusion advances the debate in terms of the future implications for audiovisual formats, with the view of indicating the place of the software in the television to come

2. POWER: PROTOCOL, TRANSPARENCY, CONTROL, MODULATION

It is difficult to imagine the association between audiovisual formats and information technology without taking into account the space occupied by software in relation to television. The experiences of seeing and hearing, dissociated from the supports offered by cinema and conventional television (specific techniques to which they were linked during the 20th century) are forced to deal with the fundamental characteristics of software. Active for decades within the devices that

have been associated with information and communication technologies, these features have implications for the audiovisual content. Programming-based technologies entail two important ideas: free flow logic and institutionalization of transparency, marks defined as the traits of the protocol (Galloway, 2004).

In the original sense, relevant only to communication engineers, protocol is defined as the specifications for regulating data transmission. As a theoretical concept, protocol is present in telecommunications activities and computing mechanisms. In a broad sense, the Internet operates from many different devices: at one end, gigantic computers; at the other end, small-scale domestic machines (Norberg; O'Neill, 1996). Its connection depends on common references adopted by all, allowing their interrelation. Without the adoption of joint operating rules, it would be impossible to achieve a satisfactory result.

To achieve the expected results, interoperability between miscellaneous mechanisms becomes impossible without standardization. The definition of standards requires attention to governance and control. For information technologies, this administration is done from the protocol and the interoperational standards it presents. These specifications – as a jurisprudence, not as a law – allow, through the adhesion of different stakeholders, the possibility of joint action by governance, rather than by centralized government. The protocol takes part in the contemporary forms for the exercise of power in a reality that relies on ITCs. Understanding these relations implies remarking an observation from Foucault (1975, 1976): it is not a matter of understanding power in terms of limits to what one would otherwise be free to perform. Such technologies do not conceal another dimension that can be realised if such instruments did not exist.

Exceeding this particular format to modernity, the contemporary dimension of power is defined by the concept of control (Deleuze, 1990). In contrast to discipline, control is understood as management without confinement, eliminating it and organizing an uninterrupted flow that dispenses with closed institutions. For discipline, it is important to close a given system; for control, its opening becomes relevant. Confinement was defined as a mold, an analog dimension producing a given result. Control refers to modulation, creating variability from a format adjustable to its own modifications. The mold was associated with the duality between individualization and massification. Modulation produces control from collective assemblages, which are based on computational machines operating from the administration provided by protocols.

We describe the order of power in terms of the constituted set of relationships, taking into account their formal characteristics, consisting of the connection between isolated points arranged according to a diagram. In the

association between these points, one obtains a regularity, such as connections that establish rules. The transition from sovereignty to discipline, for example, is proceeded by the organization of a certain set of connections, resulting in a particular diagram, distinct from the previous format. A new combination is then prepared, with different possibilities for ordering power (Deleuze, 1986; Foucault, 1975).

The analysis of television and the cultural industry implies perceiving combinations, observing the formation of diverse diagrams. The review of the broadcast logic implied re-configuring previous possibilities, reconstituted by the expansion of cable services; production of original content by broadcasters, decoupled from conventional broadcast networks, and, most importantly, negotiation of this content on a variety of platforms. For broadcast, the diagram consisted of coordinating the audience through defined schedules, management of advertising, generality and indifferentiation of content. The appropriation, by television, of the format of the networks, in sets of broadcasters transmitting the same material, was an important step. A logic introduced by the radio following the establishment of NBC in 1926 allowed it to exceed technical limits for the diffusion of electromagnetic waves.

The adopted financing was derived from a specific type of advertising. After eliminating the intervention of advertising agencies and exclusive sponsors with specific programs, the networks were allowed to concentrate its production and finance by selling space not to one but to several advertisers. By the construction of the mass, it became possible to manage a resource of great importance: the public. The relationship with content was consolidated after a period of experimentation, involving actions in which CBS will prove essential. Unlike the later format, the 1950s was characterized by live audiovisual content produced in the New York City region, with networks engaging in distribution tasks. From the 1960s onwards, in light of the attention of the networks given to production, conducted with studios located in the Los Angeles area, recorded material was then developed, which was made available for marketing on several occasions. Redistribution was allowed to local or foreign broadcasters, giving relevance to syndication. The search for hits and the management of talent created a catalog (whose lapidary productions become shows such as *I Love Lucy*, *The Beverly Hillbillies*, and *The Andy Griffith Show*) that could be resold on a variety of occasions.

This combination of the practices involved and the established norms delimited a form ruled by inflexibility. As a result, the broadcast produced operations in which regularity prevailed. The survival of the model was guaranteed by closure to interventions of all kinds, in which the audience was exposed to

similar content flows at specific times, produced according to a single funding pattern. The reorganization of audiovisual content will depend on the emergence of new services, affirming its importance through the production of unpublished material. From the 1970s onwards, other broadcasters – whose paradigmatic format can be affirmed by TNT, CNN, MTV, The Movie Channel, and Nickelodeon – were created, diversifying mainstream television. The expansion of services removes the closure provided by the previous broadcast networks. Since then, several solutions have been required in the coordination of the new channels, seeking their negotiation for new entrants: distribution systems by cable and, later, satellite (Curtin; Shattuc, 2009; Gomery, 2008; Holt, 2011; Lotz, 2007; Williams, 1974).

Unlike the previous one, this diagram values the proliferation of distribution services, diversification of the content produced. and the systematic need to institute various forms of material negotiation. These services are defined as segmented channels, with material distinct from the previous generality. While cable and satellite operations consist of the first activity capable of reordering the broadcast, displacing the previous paradigm, the software-related audiovisual content, radicalizing this trajectory from modulation, control and protocol logic, comprises an experience that differs from both conventional and segmented television. As examples of molds, typical technologies of the 20th century depended on unity: a spectacle of a given duration in a dark room; a window for sequential broadcasting in the homes. Eliminating the centrality of cinema and television produces an intense diversity of mechanisms and techniques. The techniques of the 21st century value diversity, which could ultimately result even in the chaotic proliferation of incompatible devices.

It is possible to avoid this incompatibility by ensuring connected operation of various instruments. If modulation refers to the possibility of passing between different dimensions, the obtained result implies the guarantee of non-problematic circulation. For the audiovisual content, the continuous flow in free spaces of confinement should occur in a transparent way. For content that travels from information technologies, even the simplest operation implies coordinating very different resources. It involves the expectation of associating devices such as connected TVs, tablets and smartphones, synchronizing access to content in varied circumstances. It is a possibility guaranteed by adequate software resources, capable of transposing the audiovisual content without ruptures, from one base to another (Chiddix et al., 2000; Learn, 1988; McAdams, 2000; Wilson, 2008).

In the association between hardware and software, with different sizes, relevance and functions, programming codes should necessarily hide their traces,

not making them ever apparent; links should never lead to dead ends, dead pages or error messages; and servers should not be out of order or unable to secure access. For this experience it is important to guarantee that points of connection are always invisible between decoupled mechanisms. The proliferation of distinct media comes accompanied by the work of erasing their presence, allowing the belief in the automated passage between various registers. Since the first discussions on the network, much attention has been paid to the links and the connection provided by them (Johnson, 2001). In addition to the possibility of navigation, the links – as far as the concept of a protocol is concerned – operate as an instrument to ensure continuity. From the passage between distinct points, they constitute a spectacle that never stops, in an important move to ensure protection from any interruption. The protocol values its transparency.

In summary, this protocol enforces compatibility, as it involves the need for a free flow for the circulation of various resources. It involves building chains of objects operating relative to one another. This compatibility involves the definition of standards, guaranteeing the autonomy of traffic and circulation. The flow operates in terms of a particular type of modulation. It consists of the expectation of ensuring the systematic passage through registers, moving in these connected structures. The compatibility between hardware and software techniques has been present at several different moments in the history of computing. Its association is inscribed among the fundamental characteristics of ICTs, expanding to the various activities to which they refer. Understanding the logic of the development of contemporary audiovisual activities implies the thematization of software.

3. DEVICES, STORES, FLOW: APPLE, IPHONE, IPOD

If, in fact, software-driven contemporary audiovisual content radicalizes the renovation initiated with the dissolution of conventional television, nothing could simply happen without the distribution of content through a synchronized and transparent flow between the broadcasting services and the instruments for their access. For that reason, the iPhone is essential. This smartphone relates directly to the iPod and the synchronization previously built with the iTunes Store. These instruments are capable of defining a format for the negotiation of content through the Internet, distinguishing themselves from audiovisual objects (DVDs, Blu-Ray discs) or being distributed by stations. As a device that refers not only to telecommunications, but also to the media, the iPhone emerges as a layer between the various archaeological dimensions that define the protocol logic. Others involved in the activity, e.g. Google, will appropriate what Apple has introduced,

giving it a particular direction. These future developments are understood only by the attention to their constitution.

The iPhone is important for its ability to associate three skills, creating an object presenting capabilities that were previously non-existent. It concatenates scattered points, producing, as a result, an item that can work with each of them in an integrated way. It allowed access to 3G networks at the time of its introduction, when they were still in development, institutionalized the use of a particular type of software experience, guided by apps, which are similar but at the same time different from the way in which programs were used, and more importantly, it gives rise to ways for the diffusion of content through options that differ from those used by the cultural industry, initially in relation to music and later to audiovisual content.

The development of the iPhone affects the organization of both the cultural industry and the activities of mobile telephony. Understanding it in terms of the reorganization of audiovisual content implies observing an extensive process. Its beginning refers to the definition of the mobile connection; its expansion involves the production of telecommunications networks; and its extension occurs from the appropriation of cultural goods. Devices descending from the iPhone (iPads/tablets and, in a way, smart TVs) consist of instruments for systematic connection. They depend on the diffusion of wireless networks, a technique whose use expands from mobile connection mechanisms. They are associated, as an essential point of the built diagram, with broadcasting services that, in the midst of the expansion of P2P and torrents, adopt legally accepted procedures.

The iPhone is defined not only as a window for voice services, but also as an object in its own right, which would become a reality only after a massive amount of investment in various items. Agreements with telecommunication operations willing to join the project ensured Apple's control over its development, sales and advertising, allowing the creation not of a low-cost piece of equipment, but a significant product in itself. Its construction involves the introduction of new microprocessors and operating systems, as well as touchscreen displays. The creation of the iPhone happened through the association between Apple and Cingular (later acquired by AT&T), guaranteeing the use of the spectrum for the transmission of data, as well as the appropriation of 3G networks. The association occurs within the scope of the characteristic transformations within the sector of telecommunications in the USA, with consequences for diverse regions in the world.

The connection responsible for enabling content diffusion depends on a previous move: the aforementioned connection established between iPods and the iTunes Store. The organization of the iPod had taken part in Apple's expectation of

associating its different devices, building an integrated set of objects. This strategy was called the digital hub, using the iMac as the central infrastructure to interconnect devices with varied functionality, making this hub the mode of logic responsible for guiding its association with iPods and iTunes. Specific devices fulfill specific tasks, designed to value their association from the moment the sum of their features is considered.

The idea of a digital hub implies Apple's attempt to build tools that can relate to the media. Resuming a form of technology developed in the early 1990s, FireWire, which allowed the circulation of data on various devices, the connection with digital cameras was initially enabled, associating with them an editing tool, iMovie, launched in 1999. As a result, Apple introduced, in January 2001, its music management tool, iTunes. In connection, it presented its MP3 Player, the iPod, in October 2001, coordinating this set of items around the sound media. Access to content is ensured from the institutionalization of a digital store. Released in April 2003, the iTunes Store was based on the relationship with the major music companies: Sony, Universal, Warner, Bertelsmann, and EMI. The service, as it brought Apple closer to the cultural industry, delegated the opportunity to create and manage a virtually unknown sales service in the music industry to the enterprise, guaranteeing alternatives to the illegal dissemination of material.

From there, the direction repeated several times in the negotiation of content is defined from the logic of the protocol. At that time, the link between the iTunes Store, iPod and iMac provides access to immense catalogs; In the case of Apple, they became able to circulate as a priority in all of its devices. From this event, the interrelationship between several items was established, providing the experience of integrated, transparent operation between hardware and software, as a consequence of Apple's possibility of rapidly introducing connected and functional products that had been unknown until then.

Certainly, the logic followed by Google, and later endorsed by other manufacturers, values the diversity of enterprises, and, due to this variability, the guarantee of connection between various devices. The closed universe of objects projected by an enterprise gives way to an environment that adheres to modulation in a radical way. Nevertheless, despite being relativized by distinct but inter-associated manufacturers, Apple's trajectory is important because of the model in which it operates (Curwen; Whalley, 2009; Isaacson, 2011; Kenney; Pon, 2011; Marchi, 2011; Vogelstein, 2013).

The association between these information technology resources depends on the expansion in the creation of applications, as well as the possibility of their distribution. On the one hand, policies introduced by Apple are important in relation

to this software; on the other hand, the way in which app stores are organized is highlighted. The observation of conditions for ordering the possibility for large-scale creation of these applications and dissemination of this type of software allows us to understand a key element in the future development of the cultural industry. The decision to allow the creation of apps not only by the iPhone manufacturer, but also by other developers, becomes important, revisiting Apple's previous decision to restrict production, repeating the stance adopted decades ago in relation to personal computing.

Equally relevant is the obligation, according to interoperability standards, to allow the compatibility of resources. Ensuring the operation of the operating system produced by Apple with the applications to be created implies the publication of software development kits (SDKs, i.e., tools that allow other developers to create programs compatible with iPhones). It aims to achieve the typical transparency of the expansion of digital resources while ensuring, with respect to smartphones, the invisibility and transparency responsible for associating these technologies without failures ("Developers wary of Apple third-party talk," 2007; "iPhone to Support Third-Party Web 2.0 Applications").

In addition to producing another typical object of the mobile phone industry, Apple defines a logic that can be resumed under other circumstances. Besides the configuration of a particular object, the model developed by Apple allows the structuring of the logic from which it operates, with resources from the cultural industry – music and, more importantly, audiovisual content – according to procedures that differ from those instituted by broadcast media. The association between diverse devices, connected in a compatible way, associated through the typical sense of transparency to the demand for modulation, operates with a major impact.

Part of this transition involves Apple TV, an experience of the enterprise itself with audiovisual content. Released in March 2007, it combines a set-top box with TV sets, making it possible to market content via the iTunes Store, this time including audiovisual content, and serving as a broadcast channel for streaming services such as Netflix or YouTube (SEC, 2007). Interestingly, Apple TV proves less important than the characteristic format of the iPhone-iTunes Store. This activity merely repeated what had been instituted by smartphones, with less relevant consequences compared to other objects. In the case of audiovisual content, Apple repeated what it had previously produced. The actual consequences in terms of their unfolding depend on other characteristics, described in the next section.

4. SOFTWARE ONLY: GOOGLE AND ANDROID

Speculation about Google's audiovisual project began in March 2010. This initial venture, identified as Google TV, involves the association with Intel, Sony, and Logitech. It refers to an alliance between several enterprises, motivated by different interests. For Google, the focus is not on equipment, but on software. Announced in May 2010, it aimed to introduce Internet access to audiovisual devices. The aim was to expand the use of Android, already important for mobile phones. The connection to the network would depend on the adaptation of the operating system to TV sets and Blu-Ray disc players manufactured by Sony, as well as Logitech's set-top boxes, operating with Intel Atom microprocessors.

Google's participation in audiovisual formats implies an association with the largest possible number of manufacturers. Speculation between the announcement of the proposal and its actual release point to the interest of Samsung and LG, due to the previous association of both with Google in relation to smartphones. Adapted to Google TV, their devices, as with smartphones, would become compatible with apps running on Android. Software features were introduced in these devices, connecting them to the Internet, transforming them, and orienting them through the modulation that guides the protocols.

Other set-top boxes already in operation allowed a more restricted access compared to what was expected with Google TV. This connectivity was not defined: until then, it included limits whose overcoming is observed only from innovations such as those that this project intends to introduce. The expectation was to produce the same result obtained from the iPhone. Furthermore, this transformation replicated a process similar to the one which occurred decades ago with personal computers. The operating systems that ensure their operation allowed these machines to run very diverse apps following the adoption of the same resource.

The launch of Google TV took place in October 2010. The television networks ABC, CBS, Fox and NBC decided not to participate in the project, avoiding adapting their resources to the distribution of online content in this format. A cable or satellite service would only concern itself with material licensing for a specific technology; however, adherence to an Internet traffic service implies resorting not to practices such as syndication, but – as a trait of the protocol – to the imperative of connecting to the highest possible number of additional resources, such as streaming platforms or virtual stores for productions. On the one hand, the agreements made involved Netflix; on the other hand, they involved the association with Turner Broadcasting (granting access to TBS, TNT, CNN, Cartoon Network, and

Adult Swim) and HBO, both owned by Time Warner (BILTON, 2010; MILLER; STELTER, 2010; NUTTALL, 2010a, b).

An instrument following Google's involvement with audiovisual content was Chromecast, released in July 2013. Its significance lies not on its low value or its wide diffusion. It consists of the possibility of associating TV sets connected to tablets/smartphones, turning the use of such devices into an extension of these two instruments. Rather than providing a window for access to one or another content service, Chromecast expands features present in computing instruments. Through it, the tablet – an object introduced from the iPad and Apple's experiences, despite its dissemination by other manufacturers – becomes the instrument that allows the handling of apps executed on the TV sets. This is an alternative to set-top boxes – including Apple TV –, which were, until then, the only way to program a TV.

With the dissemination of smart TVs, the possibilities of devices such as Chromecast should evidently become obsolete in the near future. Nevertheless, in the gap between the massification of smart TVs, this low-cost device managed to turn TV sets into an extension of computing instruments. This use is guided by the logic of transparency and invisibility present in several associated technologies. In its own way, Chromecast connects the structure offered by the ITCs (tablets/smartphones) with content stream (virtual stores, streaming applications). It reaffirms the distribution of material without failures, passing through the various instruments available as if there were no barriers between them, in a transit without obstacles by disparate groups of techniques, providing the notion of absence of friction.

Following its launch, Google associated Chromecast with YouTube. Similarly, it connected it to Netflix, delivering benefits such as a three-month guarantee of free streaming access, in an investment paid for by Google itself. Any connection between platforms depends on alliances between different enterprises, which are not always possible. Chromecast's operations involve agreements with Apple's iTunes and Amazon Video. Hulu was only licensed in September 2013 and HBO Go in October 2013. In February 2014, the SDK of the device was released, allowing its expansion beyond the enterprises initially chosen (Baumgartner, 2013; "Chromecast adds HBO viewing," 2013; "Google Cast SDK finally launched," 2014; Miller, 2013; Spangler, 2013).

Google's third initiative is related to the launch of Android TV in June 2014, with the participation of manufacturers such as Sony, LG, Sharp, Asus, and Intel. The effort to ensure the association of these enterprises with the larger Google project, which goes beyond one item, as was the case with Chromecast, has been resumed. Android TV repeats the expectations of previous years regarding Google

TV. It continues the attempt to transpose the importance previously acquired by the operating system in smartphones to connected audiovisual devices. It distinguishes itself from Google TV by the absence of the association with the previously established structure of segmented television. The 2010 investment associated the Internet with traditional services of segmented audiovisual content. It allowed the use of browsers in TV sets at a time when apps for access to content were still little known.

Clinging to the legacy of cable and satellite television justified the participation, in Google TV, of an operator such as Dish Networks, willing to maintain its distribution services as they had been doing for 20 years, with the addition of Internet connection. With the expectation of moving away from traditional operators of segmented television, Android TV, however, focuses specifically on apps. Once established, this particular logic for access to audiovisual content in search of a model would allow the ignoring the previous structures of television, creating others. Applications accessed via online stores, operating on devices connected with transparent circulation of information, initiate a process that implies the possibility of image consumption that relies, in particular, on software.

In January 2015, Google announced its association with Sony, Sharp and Philips TP Vision for the use of Android in these manufacturers' devices. On the same occasion, other parties involved in the manufacture of TV sets pointed to the use of different technologies. Samsung is defined by its own operating system, Tizen, as a way to reduce dependence on Android, and LG stands out thanks to the software purchased from HP in 2013, WebOS. These are indications of the multiple possibilities available. The launch of devices connected to Android TV took place in April 2015, with the Sony line for TV sets with 4K definition and Internet connection, followed by Sharp in June 2015. Dissociating itself from the project, Panasonic, in May 2015, adopted the Firefox OS, an operating system developed by Mozilla. In terms of content, Android TV associations repeat previous connections with Chromecast: Netflix, YouTube, Hulu, Amazon Video, PBS KIDS, and HBO GO.

The announcement of Android TV takes place simultaneously with other projects for the expansion of the operating system in diverse devices, turning the presence in audiovisual instruments into part of a wider experience. These consist of household items, cars, and possible clothing accessories, allowing the presence of technology in very different places: Android Wear, operating on Samsung Gear Live and LG G watch; and Android Auto, for use in vehicles. The definition of technologies capable of operationalizing different instruments turns distinct objects into possible items coordinated through a single operating system. The expectation

placed on such watches, TV sets and telephones refers to instruments associated with the features offered by this software.

The possibility of having the same programming feature in these different instruments refers to the possible results obtained from the presence of compatible software in varied objects. A viable and functional resource operating on all these items makes the presence of other programming technologies in this network extremely difficult. The expansion of Internet protocols for audiovisual devices, among other objects, demands the creation of flexible standards, capable of operating on devices that are diverse, but guided by a single format (Baumgartner, 2014; Chen, 2014; Espelien, 2014).

Google's specificity lies in the way it focuses on software. The focus lies less on the production of devices, as in the case of Apple, and more on programming resources, despite their occasional appearance as attempts with little economic use. Google's attention to the dissemination of this resource, the expectation of allowing its presence in varied objects, and the interest in an ubiquity linked to its invisibility are issues that imply attention to modulation and, more importantly, to the typical flow regime of control. At various times, the inability to define a functionally integrated product suggests a certain difficulty and a certain limit to Google's initiatives. The opposite of an alleged failure is to pursue, in multiple attempts, opportunities for the insertion of this software.

5 CONCLUSION

From the association between iTunes and iPhone/iPod, Apple had defined the notion of flow: limited linkage, restricted to the resources of a single enterprise, is important due to delimiting a previously non-existent format in relation to the transposition of the cultural industry to the Internet. As an object, a concrete product, the iPhone presented the future direction for the associated operation of diverse items. These mechanisms are linked to connected TVs on the one hand, and mobile applications on the other. The connection between the three becomes essential in a format for audiovisual distribution differing from the previous paradigm, which was important for conventional television, based on the flow of programming offered by content broadcasters.

This logic introduced by Google and Apple takes part in a broader, developing parameter. It is not merely a case-by-case description of an idiosyncratic experience, but rather a format with the opportunity to remain in the future constitution of the audiovisual content. This paradigm relies on the integration of mechanisms that are distinct, but necessarily associated, and responsible for allowing the broadcasting of content. It depends on the software

and the possibility to ensure this transparent flow from information technologies. The resulting model operates from the triad consisting of smart TVs, tablets/smartphones and content applications. These items matter not in isolation, but only in their interconnection.

Each object matters in terms of the powers it can deal with. Smart TVs stand out as a device similar to TV sets as we know them, although they actually consist of hardware capable of programming. The smartphones or tablets are defined as mechanisms from which the computer instruments that televisions have become can be operated – a set whose meaning lies in the possibility, in spaces connected through wireless connections, to take advantage of the content apps and windows that offer access to audiovisual content. The apps themselves allow the choice of content from distribution strategies of the most diverse producers, making it a tool for these creators to disseminate material.

In this model, the operation of the format contained in this triad refers to the legacy introduced by resources presented by Apple and Google. In the format of the television to come, this logic is still undefined and identifies not only content producers or broadcast networks, but rather software enterprises creating information technologies, as they would in any activity for which programming has become important. As opposed to the past, they do not consist of instruments responsible for broadcasting electromagnetic waves from analogue tools. The software, and its introduction, establishes a format based on modulation and control, as well as transparent connections of associated items in flow.

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Social TV: A contribution towards defining the concept

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YVANA FECHINE

PhD in Communication and Semiotics from the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (PUC-SP). Assistant Professor at the Federal University of Pernambuco (Department of Social Communication, Graduate Program in Communication), researcher associated with the Center for Socio-demographic Research (CPS) and the Ibero-American Televised Fiction Observatory (OBITEL Brasil). Since 2006, she has been a participant in the Communication and Discourse research group (UFPE / PPGCOM). Brazil.

yvanafechine@uol.com.br

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Abstract

The term 'Social TV' has been used to describe a broad range of phenomena generally involving, commentary on televised content through online social networks. It is necessary, however, to characterize and better define this concept due to the different modes of articulation that exist between TV and the Internet and the different manifestations of participatory culture in the environment of convergence. This article proposes to discuss Social TV as an interactional practice founded on conversation via the Internet, and an act based on televised content, through interactive platforms/technologies linked to strategies of the television and/or software development industries, which are able to provide the experience of watching something together from a mode of presence generated by the sharing of these pieces of content at the same time.

Keywords

Social TV; Social networks; Interaction; Interactive technologies; Participatory culture; Presence.

Introduction: Articulation between Television and the Internet

One of television's most significant transformations in the context of media convergence and in the scenario of participatory culture¹ is its articulation with the Internet. Today, all the major television channels offer the possibility of watching the programs we have missed, making many productions available on the Internet, on proprietary or associated platforms, free of charge via paid services. The World Wide Web has become yet another way to send and receive televised content, but its impact on TV has not been limited to this (Miller, 2009). Today there is a wide range of spaces on the Internet that can be considered real extensions of the programs, in which producers both develop and release complementary or associated content to the programs shown on TV, as Internet users share and give feedback of their interpretations while sending and/or receiving comments on what they are watching through digital social networks (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.).

While television channels initially feared the competition from the Internet, they now strive to have their programs resonate on the Web, as they believe that social networks, unlike what they imagined, may increase their audience by engaging or attracting viewers. Social networks such as Facebook play a decisive role in this process, as they promote a kind of "word-of-mouth in the digital age" (Lacalle, 2010. p.91), which is able to influence television consumption more than traditional reviews. An increasingly common occurrence, for example, involves terms and/or hashtags² related to the content displayed during programs with mass appeal, such as sports games, reality shows or soap operas, which reach Twitter's Trending Topics section. Here, or in other social networks, these comments are made via both institutional/corporate and personal profiles, fostering a network³ conversation among spectators, or between them and the television channels. In order to describe these new practices, which are generally associated with the network conversation about television, the use of the idea of 'Social TV' has been loosely disseminated in the field of Communication studies. Therefore, the challenge that we face here is to characterize and delimit in a more precise way the

¹ Based on the postulations of Jenkins (2008), participatory culture has been defined as the scenario and the varied set of possibilities that are open to consumers to greater access, production and circulation of media contents, based on the digitization and convergence of media. Participatory culture defines, in this perspective, new practices for the use of associated media, in particular the sharing, publication, recommendation, message exchange, comments, remixing and reoperation of digital content (created and made available on digital media, particularly on the Internet). Cf. Fechine (2014) and Fechine et al. (2013).

² Hashtag: a word or phrase, preceded by the # symbol, used to identify and categorize content published on social networks.

³ Later, we will provide a better characterization of this type of conversation.

type of interactive practice that may be referred to as Social TV among the different modes of articulation between television and the Internet and the different manifestations of the participatory culture in the convergence environment. Our approach is guided by monitoring trends in international television production (Miller, 2009; Jost, 2011; Pereira, 2014), but is based, above all, on the observation of Brazilian television. In this scenario, which we treat as *interaction*, is related to both the way in which individuals build their relationships with others based on the mediation of new communication technologies, and their own behavior towards interactive platforms and tools.

Social TV: From Interactive Technologies to International Practices⁴

The term 'Social TV' initially appeared in discussions and publications mainly in the field of technology in the early 2000s. In this field, Social TV initially designated a segment of research and development of applications for interactive digital TV (iTV). It soon acquired a broader technical signification, naming a variety of systems whose purpose is to provide people with remote sharing experiences for the pieces of content broadcast on television, regardless of whether or not they are incorporated into the TV set (Harboe et al., 2008; Harboe, 2009). These technologies include audio and video systems that have allowed viewers in distant places to interact with one another using various means of interpersonal communication (voice channels, chat, instant messaging, etc.) or even to participate in a joint TV session⁵. The term gained even more strength after becoming associated with the search for technological solutions to integrate digital social networks into television, i.e., the development of interactive applications⁶ that are capable of promoting the experience of watching television together even from different geographic locations.

As it disseminated into other areas, in particular in marketing, the term gained a broader meaning and became employed by authors such as Proulx and Shepatin (2012, p.13) to denote all forms of 'convergence between television and social media,' including both the behavior and forms of engagement of viewers on social networks and the development of applications for this purpose. This type of approach considers social networks such as Facebook or Twitter, on which there is

⁴ To advance in the conceptualization, this item recovers some ideas presented preliminarily in Fechine and Cavalcanti (2016). It also incorporates ideas that have emerged in discussions proposed by Fechine (2015a and b) and by Cavalcanti (2016).

⁵ Cf. Pablo; David; Konstantinos (2009).

⁶ Interactive application: a type of computer program, coupled with a graphic-visual interface, which performs tasks by means of a user action.

no segmentation of content, platforms developed specifically for fans of television, such as TvTag⁷, Beamy⁸ or applications developed and integrated directly into the TV set, such as AmigoTV⁹ and 2BeOn¹⁰ (Abreu et al., 2001). More often, however, the term 'Social TV' is used to describe the interaction between two or more viewers who simultaneously watch a program and make real-time comments on social networks about what they have just seen (cf. Cesar and Greetz, 2011; Ling and Rickli, 2012; Cruz, 2013; Silva and Médola, 2015). In this sense, Social TV is considered as any exchange involving televised content between two interactors, when mediated by interactive technologies that are available on computers or mobile devices, on platforms that allow relationships and content sharing. Those who follow Twitter or Facebook, for example, find that, every day, their millions of users spontaneously share and comment on their profiles about various types of televised content, giving rise to new comments about what they posted and promoting a type of conversation shaped by the interactional logic of social networks.

To consider that any interaction carried out under these conditions could be referred to as 'Social TV' is an excessive broadening of the description of the phenomenon, to the point where it makes no sense to propose a specific denomination. It would thus not be justified to treat it as an individual and particular concept within the participatory culture, as its description would be confused with general interactional practices that are inherent to that environment (message exchange, positioning oneself and making comments on the content). It is thus necessary to define more specifically the concept without, however neglecting, two axes from which the use of the expression has been popularized: 1) Social TV as designation of a set of interactive technologies that focus on social networks developed for television and/or in articulation with its programming (technology-oriented approach); 2) Social TV as any conversation through digital social networks on (or from) television content (communication-oriented approach).

To distinguish the configuration of Social TV from the countless interactional practices brought about by the convergence of media, a basic assumption is that this conversation cannot be *any* conversation. It consists of a certain type of *network conversation* – as such, supported by interactive technologies – triggered by *production strategies* of communication (content producers) or technology

⁷ TvTag (formerly GetGlue) is a Social TV application that offers information on the main television releases, series and movie news, and a space for fan connection.

⁸ Beamy is an application that allows communication among viewers of a given program, also serving as an informational channel.

⁹ An application that enables real-time communication, through video and audio, of a particular television program on broadcast TV.

¹⁰ A technology system that provides viewers with an online connection through the communication tools embedded in TV sets.

(application developers) companies, usually for commercial purposes and in articulation with television programming. These strategies generally seek to produce among viewers in different locations the effect of 'watching' television content remotely, based on the monitoring of certain programs and the exchange of messages in real time in a kind of "extended, virtual couch" which encourages its engagement with the content (Summa, 2011). To ensure involvement, the strategies also allow the exchange of messages with agents involved in the production of content (authors, transmedia producers, contracted or associated commentators, etc.). If we consider that the characterization of 'Social TV' depends necessarily on these conditions, its definition gains more specific contours, yet it demands a greater problematization of the types of strategy and conversation that configure the phenomenon. The continuous observation of the reconfigurations of television allows us to assume as a hypothesis that Social TV can be considered as one of the recurring manifestations of transmedia strategies in Brazilian television¹¹.

In these discussions, we consider *transmediation* as a production model of the television industry that is oriented by the distribution across different media and technology platforms of associated content, whose articulation depends on the viewer's participation. Viewers are responsible for searching for the connections and associations between complementary pieces of content and a reference (in the case of the TV, series, soap operas, reality shows, etc.), made available on a chosen medium in relation to which transmediation strategies are conceived. These can serve for propagation or expansion.¹² The latter consists of the "overflowing" or unfolding of the narrative universe based on the supply of elements that have, on the one hand, a playful function and, on the other hand, a narrative function. In more complex actions, transmedia complements correspond to auxiliary or secondary narrative programs, contributing, based on its articulation with the main narrative program (or the reference program), to the construction of *transmedia storytelling*, as described by Henry Jenkins (2003; 2008). Investment is made in the complementarity between narrative programs that are interdependent, but are endowed with meaning in themselves (webisodes, extra scenes, etc.) and are capable of proposing an in-depth approach based on this articulated distribution of content. When the expansions have a playful function, they stimulate viewers to confabulate, experience and enter a game of 'make believe' from their involvement

¹¹ This observation has been made since my participation, since 2011, in collective research projects carried out in the scope of the Ibero-American Observatory of Television Fiction (OBITEL), whose results can be verified, for example, in Fechine et al. (2013) and Fechine et al. (2015).

¹² A more in-depth presentation of these transmedia strategies can be found in Fechine et al. (2013).

with the plot and the characters, such as through games and plays (memes, humorous montages of scenes, etc.).

The transmedia strategy referred to as propagation, in turn, invests in the resonance and feedback on the content. One piece of content reflects or reverberates with the other, thus contributing towards maintaining the interest, involvement and creative intervention of media consumers in the proposed universe, scheduling it among other recipients or in other instances, and building communities of interest. This is often a strategy aimed at inserting a narrative universe into social networks on or off the Web, triggering consumers' taste for learning more about what they consume the media by sharing and for exchanging ideas about the content. A synergistic cycle is thus formed in which one piece of content draws attention to the other, triggering a production of sense that is essentially supported in this propagation by different means of a certain narrative universe. In propagation strategies, the stimulus to *network conversation* plays a key role and is often associated with configurations that we may refer to as 'Social TV'.

Understood as a form of computer-mediated communication that is dependent on interactivity¹³, network conversation is the exchange of messages on certain thematic topics, between subjects that are connected in interactive spaces, established by interactive digital platforms and technologies. Evidently, it should not be thought of as the dialogical exchange of speech that characterizes everyday conversation between two or more subjects.¹⁴ This network conversation is composed, according to Recuero (2014, p.217), of 'collective dialogues whose participants constitute individuals of an invisible audience, forged by connections and visibility in social networks.' It is therefore capable of involving many interactors and various interconnecting groups, being thus able to spread and amplify participation on digital social networks (Recuero, 2014, p.124-126), even when there is no symmetry of roles. Defined in these terms, network conversation can be thought of as a type of message exchange that involves a well-regulated practice of interaction, both by the preconditions given by the technological applications and platforms employed, and by the manipulative regime of a specific sender (broadcasters, software developers, etc.).¹⁵ It should not be confused,

¹³ Although it is the basis of the most diverse forms of *interaction* in digital and participatory culture, the term *interactivity* cannot be taken as synonymous with the practices to which it gives rise. The term here designates merely the form of updating contents in the digital media, necessarily based on an action of the recipients: clicking, replying, commenting, posting something, etc.

¹⁴ For a more in-depth discussion of the distinctions between networking and interpersonal conversation, check Recuero (2014).

¹⁵ The manipulation referred to herein designates one of the schemes described by Eric Landowski (2014) in an interactional model, proposed based on a socio-demographic approach. In this model, the regime of manipulation refers to all kinds of relationships based on persuasive procedures by means of which one subject (recipient) acts on the other (recipient), leading them to *wish* and/or *be compelled* to

therefore, with conversation in the strict sense, in which the various participants 'supposedly have the same right to choose the word and subject to be address, and to make decisions about their time' (Marcuschi, 2003, P.16).

Even in the event that it is not possible to address, in the case of Social TV, the dialogue that characterizes the *stricto sensu* conversational encounter, the use of the term *network conversation* allows us to specify a particular type of interaction among many others provided by interactive digital technologies and platforms. Therefore, adopting the same path as Recuero (2014), the term *conversation* will be used here to designate a particular modality of interlocution. As any interactive practice that involves the exchange of messages among participants, it also depends on the construction of an environment that is provided by some type of organization to enable interlocution. In the case of 'Social TV', the organization required for the conversation is already part of the production strategy itself, as can be seen, for example, in the creation of profiles of television channels on social networks, through which they propose themes and hashtags to users. In addition to the provision of the same space (social networks) and same thematic topic (e.g. indicated by a hashtag), a given temporality is necessary to configure the environment of interaction in which this network conversation can take place.

The construction of a temporality that gives rise to network conversation depends on the permanence of the information, which allows the recovery of what was said in previous interactions and the continuous participation of new people. As the messages and their sequences are recorded and can be seen later, individuals who access this environment can thus join or continue the conversation at different times (Recuero, 2014, 54, 114). Thus, the possibility of *synchronous* interaction is established, in which individuals are on the network and are using the tools at the same time, or *asynchronous*, when there is no temporal concomitance. If participation can take place simultaneously or otherwise, what ensures the establishment of the network conversation is precisely this permanence of the environment for interaction. That is to say, the persistence of tools ensure the extension of the time of the interaction and allow the conversation to continue existing even when there are offline participants (Recuero, 2014, 84).

The construction of a shared temporality is, however, a crucial aspect for the establishment of the 'watching with' effect that is being pointed out as a defining feature of 'Social TV'. For that reason, the network conversation established in Social TV should necessarily be synchronous. In order to produce the 'watching

do something. It requires, however, a "willing subject" that is capable of evaluating the values at stake, to which the manipulator calls for them to make their choices. The regime of manipulation is therefore based on the principle of intentionality in which the motivations and reasons of subjects are imposed in the process of interaction.

with' effect, participants in this conversation need to watch the content at the same time. Therefore, temporality should also be considered in relation to the concomitance or non-concomitance of this synchronous network conversation with the moment of broadcasting the television contents around which the interaction occurs. In the most successful experiences of 'Social TV', this shared temporality is built by the television flow¹⁶ established by the programming schedule, but can also be implemented by procedures that allow viewers to articulate themselves to watch something at the same time, such as check-in applications or others that allow viewers who are watching previously broadcast programs to invite others to watch them together at a certain time (Fechine, and Cavalcanti, 2016).

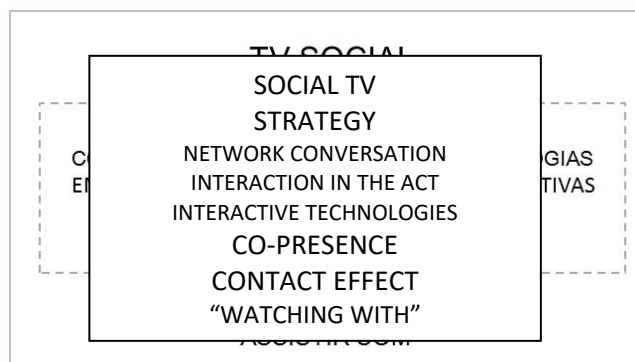
We can thus have Social TV strategies that are oriented by the temporality inherent in TV programming, or by a temporality resulting from the interaction provided by applications that are articulated with social networks (i.e., a common duration created by the applications themselves). When the strategy is based on television flow, the network conversation – synchronous, by definition – is still subject to two conditions: it may occur while the program is on air or it may occur before or after broadcast. In the first case, it is common, for example, for producers to propose different hashtags during the broadcast, in accordance with the progress of the narrative, intensifying the viewer's involvement both with what is broadcast and with others. When there is no concomitance between the moments of conversation and the TV broadcast, the interactional process should occur, in any case, in articulation with the duration of the programming, i.e., anticipating or reverberating what will be or what has been presented in the daily television schedule, as the possibility of immediately commenting on what is going to be watched or what has already been seen on television is a *sine qua non* condition for the configuration of the interactional process we refer to as 'Social TV'. In this case, the temporality characterizing Social TV is that which establishes the context and the interaction environment itself, being strategically thought of as part of the insertion of the program into the schedule and taking into account the daily duration of the programming itself, at the end of which the conditions that trigger the network conversation around its contents disappear. This is the case, for example, when a TV channel makes Social TV applications available one hour or a half-hour before or after a program is broadcast, encouraging the public to interact around conversational topics that it proposes in a temporality under its control, as it manages the resources that promote the network conversation.¹⁷

¹⁶ The term *flow* describes the way in which TV programs are offered as a sequence or a set of sequences organized in a schedule that is articulated with a daily temporality (WILLIAMS, 1975). It refers both to this mode of organization of sequences (instance of television production) and to the viewer's experience with TV (indistinct formats, overlapping of images and sounds).

¹⁷ For another approach to temporality in Social TV, see also Cavalcanti (2016).

As we characterize Social TV here, the meaning is therefore anchored in the construction of a *now* that corresponds to the duration of the network conversation around which the interactive practice takes place. It does not matter if this duration is articulated with the temporality of the programming or with another one forged by applications that aim precisely to institute an environment that is common to its users. In one condition or another, it is crucial that this type of interaction/participation be constructed *in the act*: in the immediacy of an act that promotes a mode of encounter that is subjected to the imperative of the *here* and *now* of enunciation.¹⁸ This type of encounter is associated with the establishment of a *place* of interaction that is built *in* and *by* the moment in which subjects establish contact through social networks. Thus, a mode of co-presence or a contact effect on which meaning Social TV is based – the sense of ‘being with’ or ‘watching with’ is manifested when subjects are willing to comment on the televised content being shared. These configurational conditions of ‘Social TV’ are summarized in Figure 01:

FIGURE 01 – Conditions configuring Social TV



To overcome a very restrictive understanding of Social TV (as a designation of only certain interactive television applications) or a much broader one (as a designation of any network conversation whose subject is television), it is necessary to consider all conditions discussed so far and, above all, to characterize the phenomenon as a mode of interaction predetermined by a production strategy. Based on the descriptive framework presented, we can finally define Social TV as a type of network conversation performed *in the act* regarding television content, carried out through interactive platforms (digital social networks) and technologies (applications) linked to strategies of the television and/or software development industries, and which is capable of providing the effect of watching something

¹⁸ *Enunciation* refers to the act of producing utterances through any of the semiotic systems (verbal, audiovisual, etc.). In this case, the statements to which we refer correspond to the contents produced through the interaction process (comments, miscellaneous posts, etc.).

remotely (contact effect), based on a mode of co-presence produced by the sharing of content in the same temporality established by the programming and/or by applications.

The strategic construction of this contact effect is a crucial element in the characterization of Social TV, which, as is the case with many other practices brought about by digital platforms, involves a complex regime of manipulative interaction supported by an appeal to participation. There are many types of challenges posed by Social TV for communication scholars. They range from the discussion of the consequences of this mode of production on the general and open business model of television broadcasting to its impacts on the forms of sociability built around TV. The path for a better understanding of all these implications requires the identification and analysis of the strategies that configure 'Social TV' in the different fields of television production (entertainment, journalism, advertising), as, given their specificities, each of them can give rise to different manifestations. In any of these fields, however, the observation and systematization of strategies requires a preliminary stage of delimitation of the phenomenon to be observed. At this stage, we aim to cooperate, proposing the problematization of the concept of Social TV.

Final Remark: Social TV as a Reinforcement for Programming Logic

As we have seen, Social TV stands out among the various interactional practices that characterize participatory culture by combining at least three factors in operation, to establish a presence effect: 1) it is a type of *network conversation*, in the terms herein described; 2) it involves *interactive digital platforms/technologies*; and 3) it is a type of *production strategy* that explores the articulation between TV and the Internet for marketing purposes. The latter is also one of the most important factors not only to circumscribe the phenomenon, but also to understand the most significant transformations of television, based on its digitization and convergence with other media. In view of the fact that the Internet, far from being a threat to television, has become one of its major allies, it seems relevant in future works to observe more closely, in light of the characterization herein proposed, the role of 'Social TV' as part of the transmedia actions/strategies

of television. In Brazilian television, this appears to be a clear trend in the actions of major broadcast TV channels, such as Rede Globo.¹⁹

The exploration of the experiences involving Social TV, particularly through the broadcast and generalist channels, ends up contributing to the reevaluation of a business model²⁰ and an organizational logic around which broadcast television consolidated itself as a sociocultural format: all watching the same thing, at the same time, and thus being part of an 'imagined community,' albeit in a latent or unconscious manner, which is dispersed and ephemeral (Buonanno, 2015, p.77). At a time when television is experiencing a crisis in its programming (Fechine, and Carlón, 2014), mainly due to the consumption of on-demand content, the integration of social networks into the experience of 'watching TV' contributes, according to Jost (2011, p.102), to the reconstruction of these 'imagined communities' to which television, during the golden era of broadcasting, 'had accustomed us and which were about to disappear.' From this perspective, the idea of 'Social TV' helps us now to describe another virtual modality of 'encounters,' interaction and sociability, which are still in tune with the flow-based programming schedule.

Another aspect to consider is that television programming is direct (live). As with many television formats, as well as their programming, they are made at the same time as they are broadcast. Social TV allows us, according to Summa (2011, p.29), to explore this process inherent in the medium, as it incorporates, as part of its own strategies, the most immediate feedback from viewers through social networks. The expectation to interfere in what is being broadcast through one's comments, or even the possibility that one's comments may gain visibility on the screen, often also becomes an added attraction for most connected viewers. Nothing, however, is more powerful in the experience of television than the pleasure of watching one's favorite programs while establishing some kind of exchange with family members, friends and acquaintances regarding them. The difference is that now, with Social TV, this 'conversation' is strategically amplified by television channels themselves with the use of social networks in the quest to engage more and more connected viewers in their programming schedules.

¹⁹ The observation of Globo's entertainment portal, Gshow, and its official Facebook profile clearly demonstrates that the appeal of Social TV has been increasingly frequent in the associated transmedia production, particularly its serial fiction and reality shows. Papers such as the ones by Cavalcanti (2016), Moreira (2015) and Sousa (2015) show this. See also Fechine and Cavalcanti (2016).

²⁰ What sustains broadcast television is the marketing of the advertising space, supported by the "selling of attention" of large audiences.

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The best diet is a living hell: internet users and TV spectators share accounts of humiliation, suffering and overcoming toward the accomplishment of weight loss and self-esteem

TANIA REGINA NEVES DA SILVA

PhD candidate at the *Institute of Scientific and Technological Communication and Information in Health (ICICT)*, Fundação Oswaldo Cruz (FIOCRUZ). Brazil. E-mail: taneves@gmail.com.

KÁTIA LERNER

Phd in Anthropology of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, researcher at the *Institute of Scientific and Technological Communication and Information in Health (ICICT)*, and professor at the Graduate Programme in *Communication and Information in Health (PPGICS)*, Fundação Oswaldo Cruz. Brazil. E-mail: katia.lerner@icict.fiocruz.br

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Abstract

This work proposes an analysis on the contemporary relations between body, visibility, and processes of subjectivation emerging from the narratives of suffering and overcoming of Globo TV show Bem Estar (Wellbeing) spectators, who are urged to share their stories of weight loss and improved self-esteem online at G1. We have observed that dramatic and embarrassing situations experienced by the spectators during obesity, as well as their painful struggle to follow the advice of the show's experts to lose weight, are especially emphasized. A triad composed of specialized knowledge (doctors, experts), the power of personal experience (of obese individuals), and journalists, whose mediation outlines a specific frame meant both to provoke and attract the audience.

Keywords

Communication and health; Medicalization; Memory; Mediatization; Health.

Introduction

In the contemporary context, it is clear that the meanings produced around obesity usually frame its condition as “misconduct”: it is something ugly, embarrassing, pathological and tasteless – to name only a few among the adjectives often employed – as the refusal (or difficulty) to lose weight is generally ascribed to lack of will, discipline, self-esteem, self-consciousness, or viewed patronizingly as a sign of disease. Being fat means being at a disadvantage, dissonant, atypical, sick, a loser; on the other hand, being thin means being healthy, in line with with social expectations, a winner (Sibilia, 2004; Sudo, and Luz, 2007; Mattos, and Luz, 2009; Sacramento, and Cruz, 2014).

Sacramento and Cruz (2014) observe that, once considered the very image of bodily perfection in its abundance and voluptuousness, the fat body within contemporary society assumed a different meaning, that of a health risk, which was constructed upon the impact of biomedical discourse and the wider dissemination of physical education. Understood as an investment of money, work, and sacrifice for achieving a youthful, slim, and fit body (Sibilia, 2004; Goldberg, 2010), exercise and diet practices are no longer options but a duty for the subject to adapt to the standards of a society where, more and more, one is what they appear to be.

Therefore, exhibitionist and performative trends support the new modes of identity construction and consumption, through a spectacularization of the self meant to cause an effect: recognition in the eyes of the other and, moreover, the coveted fact of being seen (Sibilia, 2004, p. 70).

In face of the ever-growing presence of the subjects of health and well-being in the media - and the body and vitality being among the most popular issues – personal stories of struggles with being overweight and obesity and of overcoming the stigmas connected to them are increasingly spotlighted by TV programmes or segments on the ‘self-care’. People who successfully undertook such ventures are increasingly invited to narrate their experiences of the process and, therefore, to encourage other subjects to follow the same path.

One example of these initiatives, the *Bem Estar's* segment *VC* (the abbreviation of ‘you’), which is published online on the Globo TV show page G1 on a weekly basis, has particularly drawn our attention. Especially the article's titles, which often associate the moment when the decision to lose weight was taken with a particular instance of humiliation or shock suffered by the subjects narrating their

own stories, 'Fortaleza youngster loses 61 pounds on "shame formula"¹, 'Carioca loses over 88 pounds after being called "whale" by a doctor², 'Student loses 110 pounds after mother dies during bariatric surgery in Espírito Santo³, 'Youngster changes diet and loses 125 pounds after getting stuck on bus turnstile⁴ are a few examples of this discursive construction that, apparently, the journalist who signs the published article or the editor of the page is in charge of, but whose raw material is provided by the spectators/internet users themselves, who send their stories to the newsroom according to the website's instructions. In general, the accounts imply that the decision to lose weight is taken in a limit situation where one finds oneself marginalized, threatened and humiliated, realizing that the only way to recover one's well-being and self-esteem is to get back in shape (or achieve an ideal standard one never had, that would keep one safe from humiliations and life risks – even if it involves deprivation and great struggle.

As the subject who avoids risky behaviors in the present to assure a happy and safe future by postponing death (Vaz, 2007), the obese individual commits to strict diets and exhausting workout routines in order to enjoy a future life where suffering is abolished. According to Vaz, 'we suffer for not acting properly; if we act well from now on (that is, if we actively indulge in suffering, now seen as the restriction of bodily pleasures and the duty of exercise), we may not suffer in the future.' (Vaz, 2007, p. 112)

The aim of this work is to reflect on the relations between body, visibility, and processes of subjectivation within contemporaneity through a study of the meanings produced in the narratives of suffering and overcoming of obese individuals. Therefore, we have selected some accounts from Bem Estar's online segment VC published on G1 as the object of analysis.

The page acts as an interface between spectators and the TV show staff (Bem Estar is further described later in this paper), comprising not only daily news about health and well-being from the televisual attraction but also the accounts of spectators explaining their everyday use of the experts' information and prescriptions presented in the show. This work focuses on these accounts by audience members that are turned into articles by G1's journalists, and not on the content of the show itself.

1 Available at: <http://g1.globo.com/bemestar/VC-no-Bem-Estar/noticia/2012/07/apos-receita-de-vergonha-na-cara-jovem-de-fortaleza-elimina-28-kg.html>

2 Available at: <http://g1.globo.com/bemestar/VC-no-Bem-Estar/noticia/2013/05/chamada-de-baleia-por-medico-carioca-elimina-mais-de-40-kg.html>

3 Available at: <http://g1.globo.com/bemestar/VC-no-Bem-Estar/noticia/2012/02/morte-da-mae-em-cirurgia-bariatrica-faz-estudante-do-es-perder-50-kg.html>

4 Available at: <http://g1.globo.com/bemestar/VC-no-Bem-Estar/noticia/2013/09/apos-entalar-na-catraca-do-onibus-jovem-muda-dieta-e-perde-57-kg.html>

We argue that by sharing detailed descriptions of the situations in which they felt at disadvantage and managed to revert them, these subjects create a positive connection between the exposition of their troubles and the acknowledgment of their sacrifice and effort to change upon advice from the show's experts. Frequently, exploring the production of subjectivity around the stories of ordinary people is a media strategy employed to expand the audience, which is clear in the textual choices to enhance dramatic or humiliating situations (mother's death, getting stuck on a turnstile) and shocking expressions (shame formula, being called 'whale') to draw the attention of the audience through deprecating obesity and selling the fitness and health market's lifestyle. Finally, these are new forms of constructing authority over the body and health through a triad comprising specialized knowledge (doctors, nutrition and physical education experts), the power of personal experience (the obese individuals), and journalists, who, acting as mediators, elicit a specific framing able to 'shake' those at home who have resigned themselves to obesity and encourage them to take action, which both attracts an audience for the show and reinforces its authority on the issue.

Reconfiguring a certain past in search of a certified future

Today, thin, happy and at peace with oneself. Yesterday, fat, unhappy and frustrated with life and the world. Between these two moments, there is a path marked by sacrifices, suffering and overcoming that crowns this achievement. In general, this is the underlying message of most spectators/Internet users' accounts published online at Bem Estar's segment VC on the website G1. These narratives are elaborated at the final step of the journey, after the complete transformation from fat, and for this reason, they are a mnemonic and auto-biographical act: each individual reconstitutes one's past and life trajectory from one's present perspective, selectively evoking previous facts that help construct a narrative that is coherent with their current values. That is, the past that is activated is a *certain* past, that in which the narrator highlights situations of suffering and develops victim positions, as though one said, 'I was fat and I suffered a lot, so I realized I had to change to be happy. Thus, I have not only changed my practices and my identity, but I *publicly narrated this process*'.

Here, the exercise of memory unfolds in tune with the dictates of a society increasingly centered on looks and visibility, where each one's experience becomes more real as it is publicized and shared. It is important to note that these narratives not only proliferate, but they become widely exposed due to the new visibility regimes of contemporary societies, which value auto-biographical narratives and the exposure of subjectivities (Sibilia, 2004), which is attested not only by the number of people willing to talk about their lives, but also the reception these accounts find in the media, which acknowledges them as highly interesting content for the readers.

Authors such as Rodrigues (1999) and Fausto Neto (2008) have previously described contemporary media and its environment as a privileged space of public visibility: as it is impossible to go everywhere and live every kind of experience, and more and more virtually everything we learn about the world is learned through the media, which brings us closer to the most distant things, summarizing the most complex events, informing us all what we consider necessary to know.

However, as Fausto Neto notes (1999), this is not a nice symmetric space – rather, it is driven by conflicts and negotiations toward discursive hegemony. Especially media organizations – which present themselves as this privileged space where individuals can search for the kind of information that helps them manage their own health and well-being – do not play an indifferent role within this context. Vaz and Cardoso (2011) argue that 'so far, media outlets are not considered as public health authorities' (Vaz, and Cardoso, 2011, p.2), thus, they rely on the experts' word to endow their content with credibility.

And in the dispute of interests and trades between the several actors involved – medical and political authorities, media organizations, the pharmaceutical industry, the medical-hospital complex, etc. - the authorized voices of the experts which reach the ears of the audience members are not absolutely neutral, always acting with a particular purpose, and, occasionally, even on behalf of collective interests.

As obesity is also understood as a medical issue, all this is possible. According to Conrad (1992), 'medicalization' describes a process in which a medical approach is adopted to deal with problems previously foreign to the realm of medicine and inscribed into what was understood as the normality of life. The author understands that the definition of medicalization is too encompassing; it may directly involve doctors and therapies or not, but it certainly broadens diagnostic categories far beyond what used to be understood as illness – the lesion itself – so that deviant behaviors or natural processes of life deserve a different gaze and a different attitude, based in scientific rationality.

Conrad & Schneider (1992) emphasize a particular character of medicalization that is interesting for the purpose of this work: by individualizing certain social problems – such as obesity, post-traumatic disorders, etc. - it leads toward the depoliticization of behaviors and consequently to the shift of responsibility over those matters to the individual itself, disregarding social contexts and absolving managers and (the lack of) public policies that should be held accountable for such situations.

Especially in the case of obesity, medicalization also implies the increasing expansion of the consumption market for products and artifacts for losing weight, upon the promised recovery of health or the elevation of well-being beyond measure with healthier foods, supervised sport practices, medicines, vitamin supplements, etc. It is possible to articulate this to what Clarke et al. (2003) have defined as 'biomedicalization', the clinical, diagnostic, and surgical innovations that provide the individual with the means for acquiring a social identity previously unavailable, materialized in the ideal of the perfect body: genetic transformations, Botox, the postponement of motherhood, youth prolongation, plastic surgery, and so on.

If, on the one hand, the medicalization of obesity can apparently comfort the affected subject by taking the blame off them for their being overweight - for, in principle, nobody chooses to get sick – on the other hand, it simply shifts morality into a different field, as observes Zola (1972): the fat or obese individual might not be guilty for one's 'illness', but is responsible for the self-neglecting behavior that led to one's condition, the lack of information on the habits that cause obesity, the inability to refrain from ingesting overly-caloric foods, the ease of sedentary life. At last, one did not fulfill one's duty and, hence, will always be subjected to moral judgment. For this reason, this individual becomes a follower and an easy target for the available 'solutions' to transform one into a socially adjusted being.

VC no Bem Estar (You at Wellbeing): the media's display of life

On February, 21st, 2011, the TV Globo network first broadcast a project full of novelties in relation to programmes for the audience interested in health topics: *Bem Estar*, a live morning show aired from Monday to Friday, presenting 'issues related to health, balance, good habits, and quality of life' (BEM, 2011). The anchors of the show are a youthful, athletic and dynamic couple - Mariana Ferrão and Fernando Rocha – who daily host doctors, nutritionists, physical education professionals and other experts to comment on the themes chosen by the

production staff and provide the audience with their pieces of advice for the promotion of health and good living. In order to reach the most varied range possible of the general public, the show is notable for its strong online presence on its own page at the news portal G1 (<http://g1.globo.com/bemestar/>), where it also introduces topics not shown on television and through which the spectators can participate by sending questions to be read live. So far in 2017, the couple of anchors is the same and the form remains unaltered, in spite of the inclusion of some novelties and minor changes to the scenery on each season.

No longer than two months after its debut on April, 26th 2011, the producers posted an invitation on the show's online page (G1, 2011), asking audience members to send accounts on how the advice from the anchors and experts have helped them to change their lives. The goal was to create a new segment of the show upon these accounts titled *VC no Bem Estar (You at Wellbeing)*. The invitation's purpose was nothing less than showing, through real life examples, the way how the teachings of the experts from the show were being employed by the spectators/readers to change their routines and improve their health and quality of life. The show addresses its audience in a moment when, as several authors observe (Sant'anna, 2009; Pereira, and Adghirni, 2011), journalism faces a heavy crisis of authority and intense competition with social media networks. The attempted solution is attracting Internet users to the TV show, reinventing it as a journalistic product upon the renegotiation of its basis of authority: journalism no longer speaks for itself; it welcomes other voices – naturally, disciplining them, as the rules of participation attest.

The guidelines⁵ instruct the registering process at Globo.com, specifying the kind of video and the amount of photos and file formats acceptable, as well as offering a brief lesson on how to write the story according to journalistic newsworthy rules and frameworks.

Adding to the videos presented on the TV show, by August, 2011, some stories came to be published on the G1 page randomly at first, but then more frequently on Saturdays, and, eventually on a regular basis since. We have observed that the earliest posts addressed stories of various types, invariably related to a given topic presented on the show: people who have quit smoking after watching a television report on the evils of tobacco; others who told they have learned more on viruses and bacteria through a report on the invisible dangers, or have adopted prescriptions from the show to handle pregnancy, alongside some

5 Indications available at: <<http://g1.globo.com/bemestar/VC-no-Bem-Estar/enviar-noticia.html>>

who have followed the experts' advice to lose weight by changing their diets and exercising.

In our investigation, we have identified that this G1 section first appeared regularly on Saturdays in 2013, including some double publications. Due to its comprehensiveness, we have decided to focus on the year 2013, considering that the one year gap resulted in sufficient material for a preliminary analysis of the phenomenon. As mentioned, during this period, there were more than the scheduled 52 publications (one per Saturday) because two different accounts had been published occasionally. Hence, we collected 59 posts from the VC segment on *Bem Estar*, totaling 60 participants in the analyzed period because one single account was sent by a couple.

To better illustrate the similarities and differences between the stories and offer a broad view of the addressed topics, information such as participants' gender, age, geographic location and their problems to be overcome are organized on Table 1. By its turn, Table 2 identifies the will which motivated each person to pursue life-changing attitudes; the event or element that triggered the decision for transformation and the action toward accomplishing change.

To classify the type of change intended (will), what triggered the decision to change (the triggering element), and how it was accomplished (action), we have created subcategories stemming from the identified elements in the exploratory analysis of the 59 posts comprising the corpus. As to 'will', it is divided as follows: a) will to beauty; b) will for health; c) desire for beauty, mainly, and health secondarily; d) will for health, mainly, and secondarily beauty. The identified triggering elements were classified as: a) aesthetic discomfort; b) health scare; c) challenges; d) others. Actions were sorted as: a) bariatric surgery; b) diet; c) diet complemented by exercises; d) exercises complemented by diet.

The first finding (Table 1) was impressive: in virtually 100% of the reported cases, obesity was the problem to be overcome. The only exception is the couple's account, in which the woman did not mention the will or the need to lose weight, contrary to the man. The other 58 posts describe how obesity can cause discomfort and how the person had lost weight. Here, it is worth emphasizing that we do not have available information so to attest that only accounts of obesity were sent – and, therefore, the stress on obesity/weight loss would have been given by the audience – or if selecting only obesity/weight lost accounts was an editorial option.

Table 1 – Who are the VC no Bem Estar participants and what problems they report

GENDER	Male	58,30%
	Female	41,70%

AGE	>20	5%
	20/29	53,30%
	30/39	31,70%
	40/49	6,70%
	50/59	0%
	<60	1,70%
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION	North	0%
	Northeast	10%
	Midwest	18,30%
	Southeast	61,70%
	South	10%
PROBLEM TO OVERCOME	Overweight	98,30%
	None	1,70%

Source: the authors

The universe of 60 participants in 2013 included 35 men (58,3%) and 25 women (41,7%); the average age ranges was between 20 - 29 years (53,3%), followed by 30 - 39 years (31,7%), 40 - 49 years (6,7%), under 20 (5%) and over 60 (1,7%), without representatives in the range from 50 - 59 years⁶; as to participants' geographic location, 61,7% live in the Southeast, 18,3% in the Midwest, 10% in the South, 10% in the Northeast, and nobody in the North. If we contrast the composition of the Brazilian population by gender in 2013 (Brasil, 2014a), when there was 49,41% men and 50,59% women, with Internet users' profiles in 2013 (Brasil, 2015) - 49,3% male and 49,5% female - it seems unlikely that male participation in *Vc no Bem Estar* is more intense. However, the numbers seem less incoherent after one considers the percentage of male and female obese individuals: according to the 2013 Vigitel Brasil report, 54,7% of men and 47,4% of women struggled with being overweight (Brasil, 2014b), which explains why men are more concerned with the issue. As to age, there are coincidences related to the range under 20 years: according to the data from PNAD 2013, Internet use is high between 20-24 years (70,5%) and gradually declines among older individuals, reaching 12,6% from 60 years old on (Brasil, 2015). According to this same survey, the age groups which use Internet the most are 15 - 17 (75,7%) and 18-19 years old (73,8%), and their participation on *Vc no Bem Estar* is bland. Here, the hypothesis drawn from most of the stories, is that the situations of discomfort and pressure experienced by obese individuals are more frequent during the productive age, particularly in the workplace and the early years of marriage, which explains

⁶ One participant did not inform one's age, so the percentage sum remains bellow 100%.

the weaker participation of younger people. As to participant's geographic location, the Southeastern predominance is also corroborated by the number of Internet users' profiles in 2013 (Brasil, 2015), which indicates that 57% of the region's inhabitants regularly browse the web.

Yet, Table 2 shows that the will for a merely aesthetic result motivated 47% of the participants; 10% said they only wanted health; 23,3% mainly sought aesthetic improvements, but also health; 18,3% particularly wanted health, but also beauty. What triggered the decisions to change had to do with aesthetic discomfort for most participants (45%); health scare for 20%; some sort of challenge for 3,3%; numerous reasons for 11,7%; no specific purpose for 20% of the participants. To handle the problem, the majority (66,7%) opted for dieting plus exercises; 23,3% preferred to complement exercises with diet; 6,7% only dieted; 3,3% resorted to bariatric surgery.

Table 2 – What they want, what triggered the will, and they have decided to act

WILL	Beauty	47%
	Beauty and Health	23,30%
	Health and Beauty	18,30%
	Health	10%
TRIGGER	Aesthetic Discomfort	45%
	Health scare	20%
	None	20%
	Others	11,70%
	Challenges	3,30%
ACTION	Diet and exercises	66,70%
	Exercises and diet	23,30%
	Diet	6,70%
	Surgery	3,30%

Source: The authors

As mentioned earlier, what is most striking is the concentration of accounts around the topic of obesity and the will to lose weight, instead of the previously more varied health issues. In 2013, fighting obesity became the backbone of every narrative posted to the *VC no Bem Estar* section. We have no means of knowing whether other kinds of reports were no longer sent to the show's production staff or if it was an editorial decision to select and publicize only the ones describing the processes of weight loss, but the meanings produced suggest that currently the major hindrance to people's welfare is being overweight, reaffirming the idea of

obesity as something negative and abject, while thinness is something positive and desirable.

Also in relation to the study, if the emphasis on the issue of obesity, in disregard to other health issues, already drew attention, the conclusion that the aesthetic perspective was more valued than health once more evokes the question of the moralization of discourses on well-being: rather than being actually healthy, appearing to be healthy is more important; in this sense, what attests to one's health is the mirror, the clothing size, the digits on the scale, hence reinforcing the culture based in looks and the cult of the body (Sudo, and Luz, 2007; Goldenberg, 2010).

Reconstructing memory upon narratives of suffering and overcoming

To develop a further specific study on the narratives produced by Bem Estar spectators/readers and the participants of the segment *VC no Bem Estar*, it was necessary to downsize the number of stories from the corpus as originally delimited (the 59 accounts posted in 2013), in order to obtain an analyzable sample. We have decided to select the compilation of 10 stories as edited by the website itself, which, in December, 28th, 2013 has published the article, 'The Ten Commandments for weight loss in 2014' (Palma, 2013k), where each commandment refers to an original post published over that year.

Concerning the texts posted to G1, it is important to note that they are not the original account sent by each participant: they are always changed by a journalist, who adapts the story to journalistic language and a standard format. Generally, the structure follows a given script: it often elects the trigger of the decision to change as the initial impact point (as if everything developed from it), even when going back in time to illustrate a farther past. Next, it considers how the condition before change was distressful and limiting, usually evoking a series of unpleasant experiences and describing the actions performed in order to implement the great transformation, as well as the difficulties faced along this process. Finally, it concludes with the accomplished result generally contrasting the present (a time of happiness) with the past (a time of suffering). Occasionally, a moral is deduced from it. Therefore, the account results from a mnemonic act toward a selective remembrance that is both contextual and dialogical. The conflicts and the negotiations experienced by subjects in concrete social situations are present, resulting in several frameworks and disputes over meaning.

Although most participants acknowledge that their motivation to lose weight is the aesthetic discomfort caused by fat – thus, a focus on contemporary beauty standards – the discourse around healthy life, quality of life, and lifestyle transformation is recurring in the majority of stories. After all, what leads all these people through this journey is the advice from Bem Estar experts – who moreover personify, medical rationality. And this refers to the medicalization of obesity.

Regarding the narratives, we have observed that the question of aesthetics motivated the will to change in most participants, and it appears in relation to the difficulty in finding and buying clothes in their size, or the abjection toward their own image at that moment. Mobility and health issues also emerge within the accounts, 'By the end of 2012, I went shopping before going on vacation and could not find anything. The only thing I found was a pair of shorts size 22, but when I looked myself in the mirror of the fitting room, I realized I needed to take action' (Palma, 2013e); 'I could barely look myself in the mirror, so it was the time to really make a decision' (Palma, 2013h); 'It was unbearable to not fit into clothes, being unable to run, and having health problems' (Palma, 2013j). It is clear that the question of looks and vitality occupies a relevant position, corroborating what Sudo and Luz (2007) have described as an eternal dissatisfaction with one's bodily image, a translation of the social oppression capable of distressing even someone who is alone in front of the mirror.

Aesthetics became something other than medical rationality, the social-cultural criterion of the imperative of health. The latter also determines if the subject needs to perform some *healthy activity*, restricting one's diet or subjecting to aesthetic surgery (Sudo, and Luz, 2007, p. 1.038, italicized by the authors).

By naming and describing the triggers of their attitude toward change, some participants narrate situations when they suffered humiliations or reveal they were shaken by some event related to life risk, 'She said [the cardiologist] that I had to change if I wanted to see my children grow up, and this sentence is always on my mind' (Palma, 2013g); 'He [the doctor] said I was obese and had no chances to get pregnant. I left his office in tears. He finished me, but today I am thankful because he not only offered advice, but slapped me hard' (Palma, 2013d). Since the biographical narrative is produced in the present, when the person has already been compensated for past suffering, one reports this experience – which one describes as traumatic – through a positive angle. Certainly, on the day when the cardiologist told the young hypertensive man that his children could be orphaned, he did not feel happy or motivated, but afraid; as in the past the candidate for mother considered her doctor cruel instead of 'nice'. Nevertheless, when seen

through the perspective of the present, these moments gain a different color: the reconstitution of memories from the times of obesity and suffering to accomplish transformation, what was seen as limiting now is presented as motivation. By problematizing the category of memory, emphasizing its character as a historical and social construct, Lerner (2013) observes that within contemporary temporality, one of its strong and recurring uses is exactly to activate past events which evoke violent and offensive situations, 'The lived experience becomes a memory to which it returns recurrently, playing an important role in the identity constitution of groups and their relations to the present, the past, and the future' (Lerner, 2013, p. 208). However, resorting to the traumatic past is not a means to restore the condition of victim or sufferer, but rather to justify that the happiness achieved in the present was costly in the past, and the price was paid along the path of deprivation and struggles which led toward the accomplishment of a new social identity.

Likewise, what is initially indicated as sacrifice and struggle – dieting and exercising – is resignified later, respectively as restraint and discipline, 'I quit eating sweets completely. Unfortunately, because they are too good, aren't they? But I had to change' (Palma, 2013j); 'Working out is not as hard because it takes 50 minutes a day, while diet takes 24 hours every day, it is a far too radical change. Eventually it became a habit' (Palma, 2013c); 'I am always on the move. I practice jiu-jitsu and now I have joined a gym to start bodybuilding, although I don't really like it' (Palma, 2013i); 'We have even jogged in 32 degrees heat in Curitiba' (Palma, 2013b). By being rewarded with a new image, a new body, and an identity in conformity with the valued contemporary standard, all obtained through effort and deprivation, the subject assumes that adopting a rigid life is one's share of sacrifice in the negotiation of this eternal debt. However, as observes Vaz (1999), it is necessary to remain vigilant not to lose the right to keep consuming.

The constant discomfort of the fat body, in a repeated negation of the identity one wishes to replace, is another recurrent aspect of the stories, 'Nobody wants to be fat. So, you have to chose not be like that anymore' (Palma, 2013j); 'I was ashamed to go to a gym, so I walked around the house' (Palma, 2013e); 'Being fat at my age was shameful. Now I want more and more to keep fit and feel increasingly better' (Palma, 2013a); 'Expelling this disease from my body made my life much better and brought me lots of happiness. Today I am healthy and live a happy life' (Palma, 2013j). Questioning the social standards which impose thinness as a norm, thus pushing everyone who does not fit the model toward suffering is not intended by these narratives. After analyzing the meanings ascribed by obese subjects to bodily practices within the scope of a physical education and health

project, Mattos and Luz (2009) observed that the overrating of thinness in our society eventually transforms fat into a symbol of moral failure. In this sense, the obese individual carries not only the physical overweight, but also a social mark of that what is undesirable and abject.

However, since our time is marked by the cult of entrepreneurship and self-esteem (Freire Filho, 2013), the media sells – and the audience buys – the idea that this stigma can be overcome if the subject wants to and works hard, for caring for one's happiness is each one's own business, and, in the case of fat people, it is directly related to weight loss in exchange for social acceptance and respect, 'My self-esteem has changed a lot. Today I can look at myself in the mirror, get dressed and not feel that people are going to stare at me' (Palma, 2013h); 'I have always been flawless, but I gradually surrendered to being overweight. Now I can wear jeans and t-shirts again and I am very happy with myself, more in love with myself' (Palma, 2013f); 'Today I wear the same clothes I wore when I was 13' (Palma, 2013e); "I could not even buy clothes and today I do, my self-esteem is much higher" (Palma, 2013c); 'I am a happy person and I am very happy about my life' (Palma, 2013d). It is important to note that the mostly celebrated accomplishments are the increase of self-esteem and happiness, not necessarily the recovery or improvement of health. And this increase is accomplished through conformity with the market dictates and acceptance from others (Sibilia, 2004).

On the recent, vast literary and journalistic production about self-esteem, Freire Filho (2013) stresses that, instead of problematizing to what extent abusive social demands and derogatory attitudes toward subjects have increased the level of individual suffering, the guides and articles prefer to emphasize the benefits of a positive self-image.

Final Considerations

We have opened these considerations drawing from Freire Filho (2013), who identifies a moral sense connected to self-esteem, which is more evidenced by Neoliberalism: since it is described and valued as the major essence of those who are successful, autonomous, and self-reliant, it works as the perfect medicine to be prescribed against affective dependence and the vice of assistentialism. In the case of health, this can be translated as encouragement for private initiatives and the erasure of the importance of collective actions and public policies in this field.

Due to its scripted formula, which follows the model that explores the causal relation between sacrifice/reward, crime/punishment, and investment/profit, the

narratives of suffering and overcoming from Bem Estar spectators/readers perform the task of raising their self-esteem – always mentioned by the end of the process as the most valuable benefit - upon affirming the accomplished action, but, on the other hand, they also reinforce the social significations produced around fat and obesity as something invariably negative, something we should be ashamed of and, preferably, avoid.

Even when they evoke the memories of humiliation and discrimination endured over their past as fat individuals, the former fat individuals do not problematize the cruelty of social canons which impose the types of bodies that deserve to be socially included or excluded as fashion and pleasing to the market; rather, they celebrate the fact of obtaining their passports to (re)enter the magic world of thinness. The analyzed narratives also reveal important marks within their context of production: due to institutional disciplining provoked by the media framing, there is a certain erasure of tensions; the former fat individual incorporates the discriminatory, excluding discourse against oneself, both excusing and romanticizing a process of utter violence.

From the media's perspective, the objective to reaffirm as an authorized voice and simulate an intense interactivity seems to be accomplished. As the anchors Fernando Rocha and Mariana Ferrão have stressed in Bem Estar's first special anniversary edition, in February, 2012, the purpose of the show 'is to be like a Roberto Carlos song: make the population relate to each story told' (G1, 2012). Indeed, the TV show's longevity attests to the success of the model, both among the audience and advertisers. However, while this television attraction fulfills its aim to impel subjects toward the search for information on and adoption of healthier habits, on the other hand it also contributes toward the reinforcement of the individualist conception of health, connecting more and more the practices of self-care to the submission to prescriptions and the mandatory consumption of products, medicines, and services. Eventually, this broadens the inequality gap, for as the private health market further expands, public policies lose space and resources.

Furthermore, if obesity is actually a matter of health that requires medical guidance and accompaniment by experts, it would be necessary to (re)position it within the scope of public policies and collective actions.

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Towards the consolidation of digital content markets?

A case study of the music industry in Brazil

Leonardo De Marchi

Doctor in Communication and Culture at the Graduate Programme in Communication of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ). Visiting Lecturer at the Faculty of Communications of the State University of Rio de Janeiro (FCS-UERJ). Brazil.

leonardodemarchi@gmail.com

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Abstract

In reaction to the distrust of the feasibility of a market for digital music, e-companies have presented new business models that generate value for this type of content. The access economy that characterizes them requires such businesses to compete with markets worldwide. As they start operating in a particular national market, they insert the works of local artists, record labels and music publishers into their virtual and global system. This presents commercial potentialities as well as cultural challenges. The article presents an explanatory case study of the Brazilian record industry from 2010 to 2015. Based on interviews conducted with different actors involved in the music industry, the objective is to understand this new composition of forces and the resulting tensions that characterize the Brazilian record industry in the digital age. In the concluding remarks, we underline some challenges for the music industry as well as for media and culture policies in Brazil.

Keywords

Digital content; Record industry in Brazil; Music e-companies.

Introduction

The figures presented on recorded music marketing show that the recording industry¹ is undergoing a new phase of its digitization. After years of mistrust regarding the feasibility of establishing a digital record trade in light of free file sharing and the subsequent loss of value of sound recordings, some digital companies have introduced new business models that can generate value for access to such digital content, such as virtual stores and streaming services (Herchmann, 2010). According to data from the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI), its revenue has grown again in recent years. In 2015, it reached the milestone of \$15 billion, which represented a 3.2% increase over the previous fiscal year (IFPI, 2016). This was due not so much to CD and DVD/Blu-Ray sales, which are steadily declining, but rather digital activities (paid downloads, streaming and podcasting), which accounted for 45% of the industry's total revenue in 2015.

The access economics that characterize these new digital platforms require the creation of large-scale demand-driven markets. This forces such companies to compete in international markets. iTunes, YouTube, Deezer, Spotify, SoundCloud, Pandora, etc. are services that have established themselves in several countries, in almost every continent. As they begin operating in a particular market, they insert the works of local artists, record labels and publishers into their virtual and global digital content system. This presents a range of commercial potentialities, as well as cultural challenges.

Although digital platforms identify themselves as providers of information services, claiming not to interfere with music production, it is clear that they affect key aspects of the music economy as they play a leading role in the music industry. In the end, they define the value of access to digital records, establishing the amount of money paid to content producers, regulating the kind of music that is accessible to the public through their algorithms, or demanding reforms in copyright laws, among other aspects. Therefore, what could the consequences of inserting these new global players into the communication and culture market be for local music industries?

¹ The 'music industry' is defined here as a complex of activities dedicated to the production and marketing of sound reproduction technologies, whose contents are constituted predominantly, but not exclusively, by musical repertoire, subject to legal regulation through intellectual property rights. It is a specialized part of other activities that form the so-called 'music industry.' Their products (records and/or video) acquire functionality only when they are consumed with reproductive devices (hardware), which requires the coordination and compatibility between their production chain and those of businesses that would otherwise not have any intelligible connection to one another, i.e., the electronics, telecommunications, entertainment, computer and music-related industries (concerts, publishing, musical instruments, etc.).

To answer this question, we must observe particular cases. In this sense, Brazil presents itself as an interesting example. The 2000s can be classified as the 'first phase' of the digitization of its phonographic market, characterized by experiences conducted by local digital companies (startups) and autonomous artists (who manage their careers without having a contract with record companies) who developed the first digital content distribution platforms (De Marchi, 2016). For a number of reasons, these ventures failed to establish a profitable and secure digital music market. Since 2010, however, the country has witnessed a continual influx of digital global companies, which have given a new impetus to the digital music market, opening the 'second phase' of the digitization of the local music market.

At this stage, global digital companies demand a profound adaptation from publishers, record companies, artists and the media, as well as local startups themselves, to their *modus operandi*. First, they require local digital companies either to become service providers for their platforms or to terminate their activities. They demand that publishers and record labels alike be technologically suitable to their payment reports. Because they are also platforms for the consumption of digital musical content, they begin to compete with local radio and television companies in the digital environment. This movement is due to the fact that these companies have already taken a leading role in the local market – in 2015, digital commercial activities accounted for 60.96% of the total revenue of the local music industry thanks to the performance of platforms such as iTunes, Spotify and YouTube, according to the Brazilian Association of Disc Producers (ABPD, 2016).

In order to understand the characteristics and consequences of this phase, an exploratory case study of the Brazilian phonographic market was conducted in the period 2010-2015². Adopting economic sociology³ as a theoretical reference, it is assumed that all economic action is rooted in social and cultural relations, which makes economic decision an inherently political action (Fligstein, 2001). In particular, it is understood that markets function as fields in which economic agents vie for specific economic opportunities (De Marchi, *op. cit.*). This arena of conflicts

² This article also derives from the postdoctoral paper *"Inovação nas indústrias culturais na era digital: um estudo de caso das empresas eletrônicas da indústria fonográfica brasileira"* ("Innovation in the culture industries of the digital era: the future of the eco-empowerment of the record industry" (proceeding 2012/10549-7), developed between 2012 and 2015. The author would like to thank the Research Support Foundation of the State of São Paulo (FAPESP) for the postdoctoral fellowship granted, as well as the Department of Cinema, Radio and Television of the School of Communications and Arts of the University of São Paulo (ECA-USP) for supporting the research. In particular, the author would like to thank the kindness and professionalism demonstrated by the research supervisor, Prof. Dr. Eduardo Vicente.

³ Economic sociology is the application of frames of reference, variables and explanatory models of sociology to the complex of activities related to the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of goods and services. This approach is also defined in opposition to the belief in the abstract rationality of the neoclassical economic theory, as well as the emphasis on the labor-value theory of the political economy. On economic sociology, cf. SMELSER; SWEDBERG, 1994.

of interest is structured based on the relations of domination between established, dominant and dominated agents. Nevertheless, at times, new agents enter the field, presenting themselves as challengers, e.g. entrepreneurs (introducing innovations to the market), initiating a process of transformation of the compositions of power in the field through the introduction of innovations⁴. At the end of this creative destruction, a new order of domination is established. Thus, the purpose of this article is to understand the new composition of forces that characterizes the Brazilian music industry in the highlighted period.

Two techniques are noteworthy in relation to the research methodology. The first is classified by Jean Claude Kaufman (2013), based on comprehensive interviews. Drawing on the method of understanding (*verstehen*), this type of interview should enable the researcher to analyze the meaning that each individual attributes to his or her actions. As Alfred Schütz (2008) defines *verstehen*, the subjective meanings that social actors attribute to their actions derive from the historical and social context into which each individual is inserted, presented as an objective reality. Thus, each speech delivered by an individual can be understood as a text that allows the interpretation of both the personal motivations and the sociocultural context into which the interviewee is inserted (Ricoeur, 2011). In order to achieve this, we chose to conduct individual interviews with a semi-structured script. The purpose was to induce informants to carry out a reflexive exercise based on themes that are developed in the interaction with the interviewer, before a tape recorder⁵. For the research that provides the foundation of this article, we approached 24 individuals, including agents of the Brazilian and international music market, politicians and employees of the Brazilian government.

The second technique is the analysis of data provided by the reports on the international (IFPI) and Brazilian (ABPD) phonographic markets. It should be noted that, besides the interest in the figures themselves, the discourse on the digital market was analyzed by entities representing the music industry. It is understood

⁴ 'Innovation' is defined precisely as a new combination of elements that produces some other type of product, production technique, distribution or consumption practice that necessarily has a disjunctive effect in relation to the current commercial and cultural practices of the market in question (Cf. De Marchi, 2016).

⁵ The materiality of the medium in which the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee is established is an important aspect for the analysis of the data. The awareness that the interview is being recorded (and that this speech can be turned into text) causes the interviewee to play a role before the recording device. Each recording is a performance conducted for the machine, on which the researcher must build in advance a text that is based on this experience. Thus, the idea of obtaining 'truth' in fieldwork becomes inadequate. In fact, it matters little if the interviewee lies or says what they believe to be true. What Kaufman (2013, p. 103) defines as the 'logic of the production of meaning,' i.e., how each agent builds a narrative on a particular subject, is of interest. It is not a matter of countering the informant's speech, but rather of understanding a singular and momentary expression that can allow the interpretation of the action of a specific agent and/or the wider context into which he or she is inserted.

that such publications operate as 'fictions,' as defined by Jens Beckert⁶ (2013), creating an image of the status of a market, which enables economic agents to make decisions based on projections that may or may not be realized⁷.

The text is divided into two subsections. The first is the entry of international digital companies into the local market. Following that, we address the changes in laws affecting the digital music market. In the final remarks, challenges for the local music industry are highlighted, as well as for the communication and culture policies in the country.

Consolidation of the Digital Phonographic Market in Brazil? International Digital Companies and Conflicts of Interest

Throughout the 2000s, innovations introduced by Brazilian entrepreneurs (startups and autonomous musicians) sought to develop the first systems for the distribution of digital records. Despite the potentialities of the technical solutions presented by these agents, they were not able to develop an autochthonous model for the digital content market, for various reasons to be discussed in detail at another time (De Marchi, 2016).

The Turning Point: The Entry of International Digital Companies

Nevertheless, two events mark a turning point in the trajectory of the digital phonographic music market in Brazil. These are the agreements between Google and the Central Office for Copyright Collection and Distribution (ECAD) and between

⁶ It should be acknowledged that the official reports present methodological problems. In the case of the phonographic industry, the IFPI documents are prepared based on the national surveys conducted by associations affiliated with the federation. Each country has different methodological problems in data collection (on the ABPD case, cf. De Marchi, 2016). Nevertheless, the data, as well as their interpretations contained in this type of report, are an important indication of the understandings given by the agents of this market regarding the circumstantial situation of their business. In other words, these documents function as fictions, a term defined by Beckert (2013, p.222) as projections of present and future situations that provide guidance in economic decision-making, despite the uncertainty inherent in the future. Fictions do not have to be true, but convincing, which implies that economic action also originates from emotions based on this fictional narrative.

⁷ Therefore, the fact that the figures themselves indicate the growth or retraction of the phonographic business is less important than the impression of the field's dominant agents as to whether these figures reflect a situation considered by them to be 'positive' or 'negative' for investment.

Apple and the Brazilian Union of Music Publishers (UBEM). Although YouTube⁸ had been serving Brazilian users since 2007, it was only in 2010 that an agreement was reached with ECAD for the payment of royalties for public performance. In 2011, Apple made UBEM its intermediary for the payment of related rights through iTunes⁹.

Although these agreements did not solve the problem of legal uncertainty in this market, they established a channel for dialogue between traditional players in the local phonographic industry and digital international companies. Unsurprisingly, other foreign companies began operating in Brazil as content (The Orchard, CD Baby, and Believe Digital) and streaming service aggregators (Deezer, Rdio, Spotify and Tidal, among others), shortly after these two major players began activity in the global digital content market. In fact, this causal relationship was made explicit during interviews conducted for this research. As the CEO of one of the most important international aggregators defined¹⁰:

When we make the decision to invest in a territory, when we look at the next market to do business in, we look at a number of factors. One of these factors is, as regards the digital music market, the introduction of iTunes. This factor alone is able to turn a place that did not make money into somewhere profitable. In addition, there is the entry of other agents, such as YouTube, which provides income from advertising, as well as Spotify, Deezer and other services that are successful in other territories. When they enter a territory [...], boom, a market is created in [about] two years. (Interview given on 4/20/2013. Translation by the author)

A similar response was given by the CEO for Latin America of another aggregator, also with foreign capital. When asked how he managed to persuade company directors to invest in the country, he noted:

The [company for which he works], as well as others with whom I spoke abroad, [had similar reactions when this individual proposed that they begin their activities in Brazil]. The first reaction was:

⁸ Although YouTube was intended for the audiovisual industry, the feature of being fed content generated by its users has allowed it to become a platform used for music consumption. YouTube is currently one of the main sources of access to music in many countries. According to the market survey published by the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI, 2016b, p.10), 82% of users generally use it to access music (this number increases to 93% among users in the 16-24 age range).

⁹ UBEM is a collection society created in 2010, bringing together the main publishers in Brazil, notably multinationals (EMI Songs/Tapajós, Warner Chappell Edições Musicais Ltda., Universal Publishing/MGB and Sony Music ATV/SM). The entity was created with the obvious purpose of becoming the 'one-stop-shop', as per the market jargon, for Apple in Brazil.

¹⁰ During the research, some discomfort was identified on behalf of the sources that work in the phonographic market in relation to the publication of their speeches in scientific articles. To give informants greater security, we agreed not to publish the names of those interviewed.

"Wow, Brazil! Rio [de Janeiro]! Caipirinha!" [laughs]. [...]. The second [reaction] was: "Ah, Brazil is in the spotlight now..." But, are you going to Brazil? [...]. They said, "It's hard to open an operation there, right? It's an expensive, costly operation, without clear rules for investment, [with] too much taxation, very difficult to do business" [...]. On the other hand, [they said], "We have to go to Brazil!" Why? [...] The guys look at the big numbers. So, the guys look and say, "You have to be [operating in Brazil] because the country has a GDP of X, a growth rate of Z, it's one of the BRICS..." [...]

So, what I think happened to the companies abroad – and I say that because I think it's going to happen here – is that they all came together. "Look at iTunes making sales. Where is it making sales? Oh, it's [in country X], so let's go there." So, when those guys land here, pal, they bring investment funds with millions and millions of dollars. When I tell you that the business has to work, music has to work... you've got to invest the money. (Interview given on 5/29/2013).

The beginning of the operation of these global companies has changed the assessment of the traditional players in the local phonographic industry in relation to the digital market, urging them to negotiate with these platforms as they had not done before with the domestic digital companies. As the last sentence stated by the informant suggests, international companies had sufficient economic capital to generate revenue through the advance payment of royalties from copyright, something impractical for local startups. In addition, they offered access to the global market, as suggested by the president of an independent Brazilian label:

There are a lot of "gringo" [foreign] companies, because they have the technology, really. They also have a bigger market. As is already happening in the U.S. but not in Brazil, there is a stimulus for investment and [the] development of tools. Here, however, the market is constricted. (Interview given on 2/15/2013)

This, however, requires adjustments to the way international platforms work, including with regard to locally adopted business practices. For example, an effort was made to replace the free distribution of digital records with commercial strategies that generated income for access to such content¹¹, as noted by the label manager at the time of the interview, regarding a foreign third-party content aggregator:

I believe that the business model of O Teatro Mágico [an autonomous group] is old. The model of giving out things for free is outdated. I think artists should have a more diversified model. If

¹¹ During the 2000s, autonomous artists (i.e., without contracts with record companies) adopted the free distribution of their records as a commercial strategy to attract consumers (De Marchi, 2016).

you want, you can put something out for free, but do not give away everything for free, because you also have to educate the public. Nowadays, you just have to give a little [money] to listen to good music, giving something back to the artist. [...] I think artists should be able to choose whether to give it for free or not, and at this time [of free file sharing on the Internet], they cannot. (Interview given on 5/14/2013)

The interviewee's speech is interesting not because it 'reproduces' the discourse of her company, but rather because it synthesizes a worldview of the business world of challenging agents in the field who vie with other entrepreneurs. After all, the entry of these international digital platforms implies the importation of a business model agreed on the global scale, which problematizes understandings deemed obvious for the marketing of music at the local level, causing a chain of random consequences.

Such random effects can be easily identified in competitive relationships with other agents in the local market. For instance, the presence of these global companies quickly changed the conditions of Brazilian digital platforms. As soon as iTunes began its operations in the country, Brazilian virtual stores, such as iMusica and Mercado da Música, stopped operating as retail platforms. Competition extended to the highly profitable mobile market. While, during the 2000s, iMusica virtually monopolized this market niche (De Marchi, op. cit.), most mobile operators in the following decade began contracting the services of international streaming platforms: Oi signed an agreement with Rdio, TIM contracted Deezer, and Vivo began relying on the Napster/Rhapsody services. These contracts mean that such platforms have indirectly gained access to a large number of users who pay for the services of mobile operators. Consequently, in 2014, Claro (América Móvil, from Mexico) acquired the shares of iMusica, turning it into part of its company.

Unusually, this entry into the digital telephony market has also created competition with local broadcasting companies. As the Brazilian population began using mobile phones to access digital music content, they began to rely more on digital platforms, as opposed to online versions of traditional radio or television stations, as music services are already listed as part of their mobile plans. Furthermore, according to the current Brazilian telecommunications legislation, digital companies provide information, or over-the-top (OTT) services, as per the technical nomenclature. This type of company is exempt from regulation by the state for not demanding access to scarce resources, such as electromagnetic waves. On the contrary, broadcasting companies are regulated and required to invest in telecommunications infrastructure, paying different taxes. Thus, when broadcasting companies turn to the digital environment, they find themselves at a

great disadvantage in relation to global OTTs. In the case of music, an immediate result involved radio stations, which stopped investing in music for their online versions, prioritizing variety and news programs (Kischinhevsky; De Marchi, 2016). If it remains unchanged, this trend may turn global digital platforms into the main intermediary of the Brazilian music market.

Institutional Transformations, Yet Without Legal Certainty

Such disputes become more dramatic as the regulatory frameworks of the field experience an unrestrained process of change. While, during the previous decade, one of the most serious problems for the consolidation of the phonographic market was the complete lack of changes to its regulatory institutions, it is also true that the changes carried out in the following period did not contribute to ensuring greater legal certainty to entrepreneurs. In any case, two news items are worth mentioning: the Collective Copyright Act (Act 12,853/13) and the Civil Rights Framework for the Internet (Act 12,965/14).

The issue of collective copyright management goes beyond the debate on the phonographic market, but rather is a decisive aspect of its development. This convergence was evident when digital remote access companies (Internet radio and streaming services) began to dispute the legality of ECAD's charges. According to Pedro Francisco and Mariana Valente (2016), the first case of relevance in this sense was the case filed by ECAD against the former Rádio Oi, which belonged to the mobile operator Oi (Brasil Telecom S.A./Portugal Telecom). This airwave-based radio station had an Internet version, through which it offered content in the webcasting and simulcasting modes¹². During the trial, ECAD demanded that the digital platform pay the proceeds for the public execution of both modes. Rádio Oi, in turn, argued that the charge to the programming also broadcast in airwaves constituted duplicity. In the first instance, the defendant won. ECAD appealed, and it was then defined that the simulcasting mode fit the definition of public execution, while webcasting did not. In this case, ECAD should make the charge for what was deemed a private execution. Such a decision created a case law that, in practice, removed ECAD's right to negotiate with digital platforms using only the webcasting mode. Unsurprisingly, other streaming platforms were later exempted from paying

¹² Webcasting refers to the mode of access to digital content through the remote transmission of data packets in which the user individually chooses the content they wish to access, not being required to see and/or listen to a program predefined by the electronic platform. In the case of simulcasting, the user accesses only content pre-programmed by the company, without the possibility of selecting other content according to their wish.

the office, such as MySpace and Terra Sonora, as well as allowing YouTube to question the need to pay ECAD¹³.

Simultaneously, ECAD suffered political defeats. At the completion of the Fourth Parliamentary Inquiry Commission (CPI) into the office, a final report was published containing evidence of a series of crimes, such as ideological falsehood, tax evasion, gang formation and abuse of economic power, among others (CPI, 2011). This report would comprise the base for Draft Law (PL) 129/12, which would later be approved by the Legislature in the form of Act 12,853, of 2013. According to the text, ECAD would be maintained as a private, non-profit entity. A provision was made, however, for the transparency of the entity's procedures. Taken together, these procedures can significantly alter power relationships within the entity. As one agent involved in the drafting of the law explains:

The first question [...] is the [differentiation between] the original owners and the right holders. Who are the original owners? They are those who actually create: authors, composers, musicians [performers] and even producers, who at least hire the musicians and arrangers to create a record. Performers, musicians and producers alike are the original owners of the rights. [...] Publishers are referred to as derivative holders because, by signing publishing contracts with creators, they are able to manage those rights in a derivative manner. Therefore, when making this differentiation in the law and establishing that only the original copyright holders may hold management positions in societies and ECAD, the law prevents publishers from exercising the management of entities [...] This is an obvious and straightforward development, which is certainly a disturbance for publishers and is being subjected to this [Direct] Unconstitutionality Lawsuit..." (Interview given on 4/10/2014).

As the interviewee points out, ECAD filed a Direct Unconstitutionality Lawsuit (ADI 5,062) at the Federal Supreme Court (STF), as it considered that the law allowed the state to interfere in a private entity. On October 27, 2016, however, the STF decided against the ADI request, by 8 votes to one.

In the midst of ECAD's crisis of legitimacy, collection societies attempt to take on the revenue collection in the digital market. One of the most traditional entities, the Brazilian Union of Composers (UBC), has been equipped to handle digital companies. It became one of the shareholders of a failed development project for an international music repertoire database, the Global Repertoire Database, which should have facilitated data matching for member companies. The

¹³ In a ruling on March 23, 2017, Minister Villas Bôas Cueva, of the Superior Justice Court, ruled that ECAD may charge copyrights from digital platforms that broadcast Internet television as webcasting, as well as simulcasting.

directors of UBC, therefore, hoped that this system would ensure massive technological capital gains for the association, enabling it to take on a role for which ECAD was technically and legally unsuitable¹⁴. As one board member explained in an interview given for this research:

In Brazil, this interactive service [made by BackOffice] on the issue of reproduction and distribution rights is controlled by this group of publishers, which is collectively managing it through its association [the UBEM], which is only a trade organization aiming to establish a market. They do not have 100% of the repertoire, however. That is because a considerable portion – say, 10% – of the circulating repertoire is not owned by the members of that organization. [...] Above all, there is the European BIEM repertoire, which, as representatives of the publishers, cannot have the 100% in terms of reproduction and distribution, as it belongs to foreign societies.

So, you have an organization like UBC, at which I have developed the phono-mechanical, reproduction and distribution [rights] department here, aiming solely at digital rights. So, I have contracts with these BIEM societies and with companies that have phono-mechanical rights [...]. In theory, part of these rights in the foreign repertory, even if they represent the original publisher [in the country of origin of the work], the sub-editor here is not able to charge everything. They may charge one part for the publisher, but the part that belongs to the author, who is a member of the BIEM society, has to stay with me [UBC]. So, when that [digital record sales] report comes in a DDEX format [...] (this DDEX is all a language exchange compound with plenty of information.) So, they have modules. They have a module intended to provide [information on] the recording itself. [...] So, iTunes, Spotify, Deezer, or Muve send a DDEX to Brazil, to the organization of that publishers' association. They then account for distribution and reproduction rights of everything. One part will thus remain [staying out of that distribution of information and, probably, the money to be distributed to the publishers and authors], as they cannot charge what they do not have. So, you will have a margin of about five to ten percent of the repertoire used in limbo. [...] UBC is currently entering this limbo today. (Interview given on 4/19/2013)

The problem with this system lies in the fact that the payment of income goes through several agents, taking up more time and becoming more opaque for the owners of the works. Precisely because it is confusing, there is no guarantee that everyone will be able to find their money in this legal and technological limbo.

Another important regulatory change was the approval of Act 12,965 of 2014, also known as the Civil Rights Framework for the Internet (MCI). Regarding this discussion, two devices should be highlighted: net neutrality and network nonimputability.

¹⁴ In mid-2016, UBC released a note stating that it had contracted the services of the Argentina-based metadata solutions provider BackOffice Music Services to conduct the processing of the revenues related to reproduction and downloading rights.

Provided in Chapter III, Section I, Article 9, net neutrality is a device establishing no discrimination in relation to information traffic on digital networks, without distinction as to destination, origin, service, content, application, or communicational device. One of its purposes is to allow ISPs to offer band diversification, yet prohibiting blocking or limiting the speed of traffic within contracted packets. Thus, privileges are avoided for certain applications, websites or content, fostering free competition between OTT companies.

During the proceedings of PL 2,266/11, this topic generated strong resistance among mobile companies, as they understood that it harmed their commercial strategies, notably what is labeled in this market as zero rating. This commercial strategy allows customers, after using their entire franchise data, to continue accessing the Internet without penalty charges only through a certain application. This is because the mobile operator has an agreement with said digital company, not considering this use as part of the data package. Although mobile operators maintain that such a practice expands Internet access among social groups with less ability to pay for postpaid plans, it is undeniable that it favors certain digital companies. As the rapporteur for the bill, then Federal Deputy for the state of Rio de Janeiro, Alessandro Molon (at the time representing the Workers' Party) summarized in an interview granted for this research:

The point of the bill that generated the most resistance was definitely net neutrality. [This device] is fundamental to [preserve] the free, open and decentralized nature of the Internet. It goes, however, against the interests of the telephony companies, which provide and manage the cables that connect us to the Internet.

These companies wanted to be able to offer Internet in the form of pay TV. The idea was to create a basic plan, with an email only, on the grounds that this would democratize access to the Internet, because prices would be lower. Nevertheless, you would be charged an extra value for each service accessed other than the email. [...] That is to say, the complete experience that all citizens can have today would be the privilege of a few among the wealthier ones.

The lack of neutrality also opened doors for connection providers to make business agreements with certain services, to prioritize access to them. [...] Once again, major websites, with more resources, would be privileged. Internet users would then quickly access a [large newspaper] website, but would have a slower connection to see a more modest blog. This affects users' freedom of choice. The choices would be made by telephony companies, not the citizens. (Interview given on 4/4/2015)

During the processing of the PL, the ISPs' lobby was in effect able to guarantee the differentiation of data plans, creating a loophole in the law, which

may favor international streaming services, as they provide the technological infrastructure for the mobile operators.

Another controversial issue was net non-imputability. In Section III, Article 18, the MCI establishes that ISPs should not be held liable for damages arising from content generated by third parties, establishing that punishments should be dealt to those who committed the crime. Article 19, however, establishes that, in order to be completely exempt, IPSs should comply with judicial notices that require that such content and/or websites be taken down (a device known as notice-and-take-down in similar legislations). Nevertheless, there are several situations in which there is no clarity as to whether the removal of digital content constitutes a breach of the net neutrality rule. This issue becomes particularly opaque when the situation involves copyright infringement. As noted by Mariana Valente, the provision regarding the blocking of data packets from servers hosting illegal content involves three problems:

The first is of an interpretive nature, and concerns the exceptions set out in Article 9 on the principle of neutrality, which does not include the blocking of specific server data packets, for the pursuit of other purposes that may be understood as desirable. [...] The second problem is political: to establish, under the regulation of the Civil Rights Framework, a regime for the prosecution of contents that breach copyrights would mean an anticipation of the discussions that must be established democratically about how best to achieve the objective, taking into account the rights of citizens. [...] The third is linked to historically established disputes around the protection of business models based on copyright exploitation versus technological innovation and other legitimate interests. Packet blocking with the aim of blocking access to services altogether may not differentiate between lawful and unlawful uses thereof, which may mean openness to the censoring of legitimate content. [...] The identification of specific content from certain sites [...] raises serious concerns regarding monitoring. (Valente, 2015, p.21)

These shortcomings of the MCI draw attention to one decisive aspect: the maintenance of Copyright Act 9,610/98¹⁵. It is clear that even the innovations that the MCI presents for digital communication do not result in legal certainty for the digital content market, as a change in line with the culture market legislations is necessary.

¹⁵ The original MCI PL contained a chapter on copyrights. Nevertheless, the subject caused so much discussion behind the scenes of the National Congress that its rapporteurs decided to withdraw it, leaving the task to a new copyright law in the future. During their tenures at the Ministry of Culture, both Gilberto Gil (2003-2008) and João Luiz "Juca" Ferreira (2008-2010/2014-2016) strove to enact a new legislation on the subject. Although bills were presented, they were never put to a vote.

Despite these impasses, the figures presented by the ABPD in the analyzed period show that the digital sector has gained prominence in recent years. In general, the growth of the local phonographic industry was resumed. While its total revenue was \$347 million as of 2010, this number increased to \$ 581.7 million as of 2014 (ABPD, 2015). A closer look at the vectors that compose this figure reveals that the sale of physical records follows its systematic decline, but the digital sector presents a sustained growth. In the period 2010-2014, its revenue increased by 404.45%, from R\$53.9 million to R\$218 million. In the period 2010-2015, its share in the total revenue of the music industry rose from 16% to 60.96% (ABPD, 2016), surpassing, for the first time, physical media sales. This performance can be understood by looking at each category that makes up the digital market:

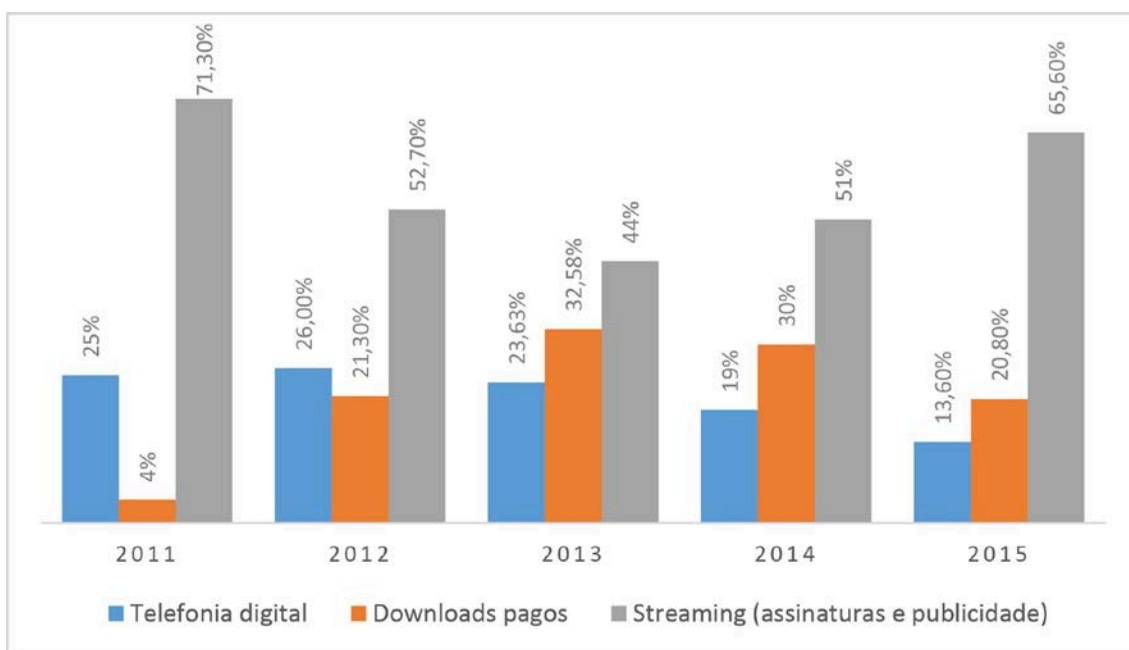


Chart 1. Collection share among digital formats, 2011-2015.
Source: ABPD.

In this figure, a few factors are worth mentioning. First, we see the robust growth of paid downloads from 2011, when the iTunes Store opened in Brazil (although it soon stabilized). The second factor is the importance of streaming services. After losing ground to paid downloads, streaming recovered its leading position starting in 2014. Finally, we can see the decrease in revenues from mobile telephony. After accounting for about 96% of the digital sector's revenue, in 2006, this category reached 13.6% less than ten years later (we must consider, however, that music consumption via mobile phones is carried out via streaming, which can lead to distortions in that figure).

More important than the figures themselves, however, is the fact that such data indicates that the Brazilian digital market already has characteristics that are common to the global scenario: the increasing importance of digital trade in the general revenue of the industry, particularly through remote access modes other than paid downloads. Nevertheless, it is not possible to state that the digital market in Brazil is consolidated, as there are delicate situations to be properly addressed.

Final Remarks

One of the main obstacles in the digital phonographic market is the distribution of income from digital commerce. As argued, there is legal confusion over the way in which money from digital platforms should be attained and distributed among the agents of the Brazilian music market. In the absence of legal certainty, a certain urgency arises for technological updating among the traditional agents of the local phonographic industry, who seek to obtain their own technologies that communicate with the digital platforms. Major labels and publishers are already mobilizing to halt such technology. Small and medium agents, however, remain at the margin of this process, hoping that collective entities can represent them. Nonetheless, ECAD's capacity for action in the digital market is being discussed by the Judiciary, which has made decisions based on individual understandings, which derive from the outdated Copyright Act 9,610/98. Thus, such confusion may result in a disproportionate distribution of money to certain agents (those who have the technology to monitor their share of the payments), thereby increasing economic inequality in the Brazilian music market. Furthermore, we should look at the disputes between copyright holders in Brazil and global digital companies. The continual friction between the interests of these agents results in the threat of withdrawal of this repertoire from the digital platforms. It is clear that copyright owners and related parties should pursue what they consider to be an appropriate response. Nevertheless, as digital platforms replace traditional radio and television companies, there is doubt as to what will be the alternative for national artists to access their consumer market.

Another aspect to be observed is access to the works inserted into this global and virtual digital content system. The inadequacy of the Copyright Act in Brazil means that the insertion of the works of local artists onto global platforms is confusing, inconstant and slow, making access to such content difficult in national territory. This creates unusual situations, such as the existence of works by Brazilian artists that are digitized from records licensed abroad and are not

accessible to consumers through the global platforms that operate in Brazil. Despite being a minority, this type of situation highlights the different threats to the cultural diversity of the digital music market. After all, how do we ensure access to the works of Brazilian artists on global digital content platforms by Brazilian consumers?

At this point in reasoning, one may assume that public policies are necessary to regulate such conflicts of interest. Brazilian politicians, however, also face considerable challenges: is it possible to regulate OTTs that function as global information flow systems? If so, would it be technically and legally feasible to regulate them as broadcasting companies? Or would it be more efficient if the Brazilian state proposed to be a distributor of content through public digital platforms? If the answer is yes, how to do it, since the costs of digitizing and maintaining digital files is high? If not, would it be of interest to propose measures that encourage the consumption of local music on these private platforms, such as the laws on broadcasting of 'national music'? But how do we make it, following a virtual and global business model based on algorithms?

These questions only point to the complexity of the challenges facing the Brazilian phonographic industry. Having failed to establish its own marketing model for digital content, its agents adapt in a disorganized way to the demands of a virtual and global business. As a result, the level of disputes between agents involved in this market reaches critical levels of volatility. Several bilateral articulations are being agreed upon or challenged at the same time (Apple and UBEM, streaming services and major publishers, YouTube versus UBEM and ECAD, etc.), even disregarding each other. None of these agents is sure as to whether their agreements will succeed, or for how long, and what the consequences will be in the near future. This creates a vacuum of identity in the field (it is unknown who are the dominant or the dominated entities), enabling the formation of diverse and unstable nuclei of power. It is not possible to be sure if these movements are a temporary phenomenon. Nor is it possible to predict whether institutional insecurity will hinder new investments in the Brazilian market. It is only possible to state that it is necessary to discuss the possible directions for this industry in the country.

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