Contracampo

ENTANGLED TEMPORALITIES IN THE

Global South

TEMPORALIDADES
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Editorial vol. 36 n. 3: "Entangled Temporalities in the Global South"

This Contracampo's edition celebrates the 20th anniversary of our journal, as well as of the Graduate Program in Communication of Fluminense Federal University. It brings out a special issue on temporalities, specifically discussing the geographies of time in the so-called "Global South". A very important matter, we suggest, not only because it forces us to look at and argue about the experiences of living and being in our present world from the perspective of a certain dispute, distribution and negotiation of power, but also, and mainly, for it links this problem to the idea that media – or perhaps we should say, the contemporary mediatic landscape – is very much responsible for (re)producing such disputes. The great number of articles submitted to this edition reinforces its relevance, and in order to corroborate with this view, we have decided to launch 2 (two) separate issues: the present one (Issue v.36 number 3) and the future edition (Issue v.37 number 1).

First, we would like to suggest the term Global South should be understood here as constitutive of entangled temporalities, and therefore considered less as a category that can be clearly delineated, and instead as an "ex-centric" location (Comaroff, 2012) that calls into question the "world dis/order" (Levander and Mignolo, 2011). In other words, it is the sense of Global South as an extended location that is here recognized and taken as fundamental for us to understand that time itself is much more a problem of entanglements rather than specific established and fixed models.

As Arjun Appadurai pointed out in his groundbreaking study Modernity at Large, today's forced dynamics of globalization exacts a "work of imagination" (1996, 4ff.) in order to come to grips with the ways in which mediation, mobility and deterritorialized labor impact on our experiences of life and locality in a world deeply marked by geopolitical inequalities. In the current special issue of

Contracampo and its follow-up we propose to approach this work of imagination focusing on the role that time plays in the Global South at the heart of the complex conjunctions and disjunctions of ethnoscapes, mediascapes, financescapes, technoscapes and ideoscapes described by Appadurai. As a category, time relates to multiple levels of social phenomena. Time imposes discipline and routines on people so that they can live up to the role assigned to them in the dominant economic and political order. It also has a determining impact on their everyday lives. In addition, it is the clue to imagining the past and the future (Appadurai 2013) and can be a powerful asset to create time frames that resist the dominant order. Finally, time is crucial to the ways in which difference has been and is being constructed in a geopolitical context. Hence, notions of temporality linking modernity and progress to strategies of cultural othering are abundant in the West and have been extensively countered and critiqued from the South.

While all these different notions flock around time as a category in social and cultural theory, curiously enough social theory favored mainly spatial metaphors when looking for a terminology dealing with geopolitical difference – the Torrid Zone, the Third World, the Threshold Countries, the Global South. The major advantage of constructing the South in terms of timescapes is that this semantic shift allows for a more flexible and less essentialised notion of entanglement than space. We all partake of different regimes of temporality at the same time and are highly competent in swopping our roles according to the situational context. In contrast to place, which still suggests some notion of fixed being, "being" in terms of time can only be understood as becoming and overlapping. This simple semantic shift, the wide range of aspects included and the embeddedness of time in power structures make temporality a very efficient tool for understanding inequality in geopolitical terms. In such a way, "timescapes" seems to be a perfect addition to Appadurai's heuristic model of the scapes in order to understand how people are both exposed to and act upon multiple and conflicting regimes of temporality at the heart of the conjunctions and disjunctions of our globalized world.

An understanding of globalized timescapes inevitably points to the notions of time-compression (Harvey 1989) and the resulting acceleration of everyday life (Rosa 2006) that are imposed unevenly across the world as part of the economic globalization. While there is ample evidence on the macro level, a closer look to constellations in the Global South may show a much more differentiated picture.

For example, while the affluent elites derive part of their social power from the ways, in which they are able to move freely and without delay through different timecapes, the same world of flows means for transmigrant workers in the Global South to take on perilous and lengthy journeys in order to bridge the distance between home and work place. Acceleration, holding back and exclusion thus work hand in hand in this context. As envisioned by Paul Virilio (1984), velocity has become one of the organizing principles around which power is organized in contemporary societies and, for subaltern groups, there is only restricted access to these resources. This notion is accentuated even more so by the introduction of economic transactions in real time which transcend anthropocentric understandings of time and maintain vast parts of the Global South in an object position because of the digital gap.

It would be misleading, however, to simply apply the heuristic apparatus of Eurocentric grand theories of modern time to the explanation of the complex workings of time in societies of the Global South. As has been pointed out by Néstor García Canclini with respect to the hybrid cultures in Latin America, the project of modernization has been implemented only in a fragmented manner outside the centers of Euro-America. The regimes of temporality of the globalized economy make no exception to this rule. Thus, the reach of secularized digital time is competing with different regimes of temporality that derive from the deep structures of coloniality, are related to persistent notions of religiosity, articulate non-European knowledges of time or are deeply embedded in natural time. In this sense, social actors in the Global South usually have to mediate between temporal regimes with different exigencies and develop tactics of how to make do in these environments. Following Achile Mbembe's notion of "time of entanglement" in his ground-breaking essay On the Postcolony (2001) – which we present as an introduction to this special issue –, the timescapes of the Global South can be described in terms of multi-layered entangled temporalities. In addition, there is a constant challenge for the social actors of making sense of these heterogeneous timescapes whose incongruences result from uneven power structures and lack the potential for self-determination.

The ways in which time is experienced and being dealt by social actors thus differs widely with respect to the cultural, geographic and situational contexts. Time can be understood as a product of communicative practices which exact

certain (intercultural) competences on behalf of social actors, that are termed "time literacy" by the social psychologist Robert Levine. Levine set out to explore time experience in a comparative and intercultural manner in his essay on A Geography of Time (1997), based on participant observation and dating back in its conception to a lengthy stay at Universidade Federal Fluminense in the 1970s. His research on the pace of life, the experience of duration and issues related to temporal micropolitics uses a willfully ironic tone reminiscent of the Euro-American traveler tradition in order to mildly deconstruct his authoritative claim on time experience in "other" cultures. His "geography of time" thus points to the difficult question of geopolitics of knowledge that any attempt to reach overarching and universal theoretical claims on time have to face.

A Geography of Time in the context of Global South Studies thus has to be particularly sensible to the locatedness of its vantage point, but also of the principle critiques that Postcolonial and Southern Theory has brought forward against the universalistic claims of European time theory. What is significant about Southern theory is that it eschews the forms of geographical essentialism (Marshall 2015; Sparke 2007) still present today in notions of "arrested" decolonization (Jeyifo 1990) or "stalled development" (Leonard/Straus 2003). Given the debates that have raged over the aporetic nature of the term of "the South" itself (e.g. Comaroff and Comaroff 2014) the alternative paradigm of temporality, although it certainly does not eschew attention to spatiality and geography, may offer an opposite means of continuing the study of the Global South while avoiding some of the pitfalls of the term.

Time has been a crucial category for constructing the Other in geopolitical terms from Aristotelian notions of the torrid zone onward – a notion, which was central to the ways in which Enlightenment thought conceived of the South as being deprived of historicity (Hegel 1961, 163). The Enlightenment separation and subsequent reification, hypostatization and commodification of time space (Giddens 1990: 19-21), and the powerful work of such temporal instruments such as work-time (Thompson 1967) laid the groundwork for temporal categories such as "modernity", "development" and "progress" (e.g. Odhiambo 2005). In an ironic twist of history, the universalistic notions of time return, most recently, in the apocalyptic imaginaries of future ecological devastation (Hope 2011; Streeck 2014). These notions of the South as delegated to a different place in history have

always overlaid conceptions of the superiority of the "advanced, "developed" West. Primary among these concerns is of course the chronological teleology inherent in Primitivism by which West anthropology defined the West vis-à-vis non-Western Others, which were imagined as vestiges of the past of humankind (Fabian 1983). Much of Western knowledge since modernity has been expressed with the help of temporal notions of avant-garde progress and the rejection of backward tradition and timelessness, according to an additive model of knowledge-gain (Benjamin).

It is thus of crucial importance to not reduce the entangled temporalities of the Global South simply to reactions to a failed and fragmented imposition of Western dynamics of modernization. Instead, these temporalities should be understood in their own right as constitutive of "lived time" in the Global South aiming for a grounded, subject-oriented understanding of time, developed on the basis of Bergson's concept of "durée" (Bergson 1889), of "experienced time" with its focus on the subject (Mbembe 2000, Sharma 2014) or else of "performative" (as against "pedagogical") concepts of temporality (Bhaba 1994).

Temporal theories based exclusively in Euro-American modernity and its paradigm of empty, homogenous time (Benjamin 1999: 252-3), the unification of global time and the logisticalization of global capitalist space (Hom 2010; Thrift 2008; West-Pavlov 2013), the production of global "time-space compression" (Harvey 1989) or of global acceleration and time-shrinkage (Rosa 2006, 2013) are too limited to take account of the "timescapes" of the Global South. They assume a spurious universality and a "temporal blindness" characteristic of time-homogenization (Birth 2017) thereby neglecting the „multitemporal heterogeneity" (García Canclini et al. 1995) that more properly characterizes the South. There are decisive ethical resons for turning our gaze Southwards. It has become clear that concepts of time, far from being abstract philosophical issues remote from real-world practices, have been one of the fundamental factors in the conquest of the globe and the destruction of the global biosphere (Galison 2003; Kern 1983); the importance of studies of temporality, in the light of the shrinking planetary futures of the global populace (Friedrich et.al. 2016; Lenton et.al. 2008; Scheffers et.al. 2016) and retreating horizons of political hope, cannot be underestimated. In such a context, the "alternative" and "heterogeneous" temporalities to be found in the Global South may harbour future perspectives (z.B. Goldstone/ Obarrio, eds, 2017; Heidenreich/O'Toole, hg. 2016; Mbembe

2013; Piot 2010; Weiss 2014; West-Pavlov, hg. 2014) of vital significance for the entirety of the planetary polity.

An account of the temporalities of the Global South must keep in mind, on the one hand, the universal nature of globalizing temporalities, while, on the other hand, noting that these take effect in the Global South, in dialogue with autochtonous temporalities in quite distinct and diverse ways. Thus the apparently ubiquitous phenomena of temporal acceleration and the disappearance of time and futurity asserted by Rosa (2006) takes on a rather different appearance in a Global South dominated by the imposition of exogenous time regimes and the imperatives of precarity and contingency (Appadurai 1996; Mbembe 2000; Simone 2001). The forcefully imposed temporal regimes of globalized capitalism are certainly present in the South, but they merge with divergent forms of temporality, whose persistence and resilience have determined their emergent forms through the period of colonization and neo-colonization (Anozie 1981: 50-61; Hobsbawn and Ranger, eds 1983; Hitchcock 2009; Mbiti 1969; Membe 2000; Rettová 2016).

Whence the increasing importance of bringing into the foreground theoretical, approaches to Global South temporalities that originate in the South itself, ranging from "multitemporal heterogeneity" (García Canclini et al. 1995), "multiplex temporalities" (Simone 2004: 241), "plural temporalities (Chakrabarty 2000: 109), through to "entangled temporalities" (Adesanmi 2004; Mbembe 2001; Nuttall 2009) or "folded temporalities" (Hook 2013), "layered time" (Henze 2000) and finally, "the nonsynchronicity of the synchronous" (Rincón 1995, inverting Bloch's famous formulation). Such concepts offer an underlying rationale for macro-investigations at the level of "entangled histories" (Werner and Zimmermann 2002),

The Social Production of Entangled Temporalities

The two special issues of Contracampo will be addressing the complex regimes of temporality in the Global South with respect to the social practices and cultural imaginaries that are constitutive for the production of time in concrete local contexts. We do not aim to establish another grand narrative about the effects on social life resulting from the dynamics of modernization and globalization in the Global South. Instead, our contributors direct a micro-gaze upon the often conflicting and overlapping temporal regimes to be encountered

by social actors and cultural texts in concrete and paradigmatic settings, exploring the way these dynamics are reflected or modelled in cultural texts and media.

It is, therefore, not the analytical category of the abstract, empty time of modernity that is the basis of our endeavor, but rather a grounded, subject-oriented notion, developed on the basis of Bergson's concept of "durée" (Bergson 1889), of "experienced time" with its focus on the subject (Mbembe 2001, Sharma 2014) or else of "performative" (as opposed to "pedagogical") concepts of temporality (Bhabha 1994). Above all, however, we understand time as the product of social practices (Elias 1984). Temporality can thus be grasped, following the concepts of a "labor of/on time" (Bear 2014), a "making time" (Anozie 1981: 60) or a "doing time" (Felski 2000), as the result of social production, according to which the levels of structure and agency intertwine and underpin the concept of the subject as a socio-cultural entity (Mbembe 2000; Reckwitz 2006). In accordance with Giddens' understanding of recursivity, temporal relations in the Global South (and elsewhere) thus appear, on the one hand, as the product of temporal politics that mold the subject and, on the other hand, as the result of societal and cultural practices at a collective level. For further analytic precision the social production of temporal entanglements can be described as a layering of three distinct but complementary levels:

a) Temporal politics represent the structural and strategic approaches to the organization of social time, b) temporal practices discern how the subject positions himself tactically to these structures and c) temporal imaginaries show how societies make sense of entangled and conflicting time regimes in cultural texts.

The notion of temporal politics draws on Foucaultian notions of disciplinary time (1975, 1991), for example in the context of wage labour or institutional techniques of subjectification in school and the military, and its extension to temporal regimes of colonial exploitation (slave temporalities, plantation temporalities or "Kafir Time", see Atkins 1988; Johnson 2000). Its systemic dimension cannot be fully understood without taking into account how modern media and technology (Landes 1983) function to communicate time and exert a disciplining effect on the subject. In this context, it is not only the relationship between subject and community that is considered to be recursive (Giddens 1984), but also the relationship between temporality and subjectivity. If temporality is thus considered to be a product of social practices, the subject

implicated in these practices can only be conceptualized in the dimension of temporality (Mbembe 2000). This recursivity of subject and time leads to two complementary approaches of crucial importance to our endeavour. According to socio-centric approaches, the social institutions of time both exert external coercion and furnish an "apparatus of self-coercion" (Elias 1984). Following Foucault, time produces subjectivising effects in the in terms of sense of discipline and self-guidance (Foucault 1975, 1991). On the contrary, subject-centered approaches stress the importance of societal and autonomous forms of "lived time" that result from dissociation from temporal forces of synchronisation. In this latter sense, deoccidentalised alternatives to the concept of "Eigenzeit" ("subjective time", Nowotny 1989) must be developed to take account of the ways Global South temporal practices mirror, refract or disrupt Western discourses of subjectivity. In contexts that are, for broad strata of the Global South, shaped by precarity, informality and acceleration (Simone 2010), it is particularly important to investigate which repertoires of temporal tactics of resilience or of resistance against synchronisation are available to "temporal subjects". This is true for the shaping of everyday time, especially at the point of intersection with the "informal" subsistence economy and the work environment. Within the framework of an entanglement-oriented approach, the issue of an increasing commodification of temporality—in terms of an economisation and consumption of temporal resources—plays a central role.

On the level of temporal practices, temporality is produced in ways, which are either affirmative of the imposed structural and systemic patterns or else offer ways of managing time in a productive, autonomous and resistant manner. When studying everyday practices in Global South, notions of "making time" (Anozie 1981: 60), "making do" or social "bricolage" (Lévi-Strauss 1962) show to be part of the repertoire of tactics and improvisations (de Certeau 1980; Lefebvre 1975). Although they are embedded in the dominant relations of production and power structures, these forms of praxis nevertheless offer space for self-construction and informal subsistence. The manner in which the body is involved in everyday practices or in the experience of the duration or pace relate to the above mentioned notions of lived time ("temps vécu", Mbembe 2000). Of crucial importance is the question as to which mediation efforts are applied by subjects to rival rhythms of life and which "time-maps" (Gell 1992) they implement to

negotiate such tensions. Which imaginaries of temporality do time-users employ to respond, productively and reflexively, to the regimes of temporality in which they are embedded? In which temporal imaginaries do subjects ground political agency? How are such imaginaries connected to the everyday praxis of political interaction (Lazar 2014)? How are temporal practices themselves used as political resources in the debate about societal participation—for example, in the form of refusal and resistance? Finally, the corporeal dimension of lived time is of significance in this context: how do bodily and natural rhythms, social practices and temporal politics interact with one another? In which way do the culturally specific roles of gender, ethnicity, class, religion and age—always understood within the perspective of their intersectionality—impact the potential formations of temporality (Felski 2000).

Complementary to the strategies of temporal politics and to the tactical level of everyday praxis, temporal imaginaries inform the ways in which time is being conceived and made sense of. This category is based on the notion of social imaginaries as cultural foundations of social structure (Castoriadis 1975, Anderson 1983, Taylor 2004) as well as on Appadurai's concept of the above mentioned "work of imagination" (Appadurai 1996). The role of temporal imagination is of crucial importance to our context because the multi-temporal heterogeneity of temporal relations in the Global South creates a fundamental epistemological problem: the engagement with the contingency, fluidity, precarity and heterogeneity of social and political structures in everyday practices constantly challenges subjects to create a meaningful relationship to the dominant regimes of temporality. This happens through imaginaries that are not limited to the cultural elite and their capacity for reflection, but as Munn (1992: 116) postulates, can be understood symbolic categories initially based on experiential knowledge i.e. that emerge from everyday practices. Moreover, the circulation, mediatisation and archiving of embodied knowledge are to be situated on the level of temporal imaginaries as forms of symbolic and aesthetic modelling of time. The level of temporal imaginaries therefore requires the aggregation of different approaches: the cultural anthropological consideration of autochthonic practices of the imagination, especially in the sense of the ritualistic production or embodiment of temporality, textual analyses of symbolic modelling of temporality in literature and

media production and, finally, the cultural theoretical analysis of abstract theories of time.

It is at this level, that that entangled temporalities connect to the production of the past (Comaroff and Comaroff 2012) and the production of the future (Appadurai 2013). In the light of a drastic reduction of temporal horizons of futurity and historicity in the present, one must ask which utopian futures are still available at all today (Scott 1999, 2004, 2014; Mbembe 2000; Titlestad 2014). When considering the dimension of the past, it is noticeable that questions of identity in literature and the media are bound up, to a great extent, with their respective modes of modelling history, and the ways precolonial, colonial and postcolonial, mythic and progress-oriented conceptions of history are interwoven in those modes. For large sections of the Global South public, interaction with the past—for example, in the context of memory culture (truth commissions, restitution policies)—plays an important role (Comaroff/Comaroff 2012: 133-52) in which connections with present-day interests and with projections for the future cannot be neglected. With respect to imagined futures in the Global South, it is vital to understand which notions of the future, connected with hopes (Ortner 2016) and aspirations (Appadurai 2013), are possible following the crisis of the socialist liberation utopias after 1990 (Piot 2010) and in the face of precarious living conditions and global threats? What does the crisis of utopian projection mean for social agency (e.g. Heidenreich und O'Toole, ed. 2016; Weiss 2004; West-Pavlov, ed. 2014, Lambek 2010)? Which autochthonous resources for the production of futures offer possibilities of agency in the face of widespread experiences of contingency and precarity? In other words, which role do those values and norms, cosmologies and everyday practices, experiences and forms of engagement with the past play for the conceptualization and design of a good future (Robbins 2013; de Sousa Santos 2014)?

The articles in this first special issue, through distinct perspectives, cross and complexify the temporal levels mentioned before. For instance, , Sudesh Mishra's article "On Seeing a Bull's Skull in a Bicycle Seat: Innovative Archaisms" directly questions the issue of temporalities in Oceania"", interrogating how and if indigenous practices in that specific region of the world can open up the possibility of a future occluded by the long epoch of surplus accumulation. By arguing that future co-exists as an impeded possibility in the present, the author demonstrates

how the Global South of Oceania turns into a region of innovative archaisms, counter-national imaginings, subverting practices and communal forms of ecological ethics.

Susanne Goumegou, in "Entangled rhythms of life in Dakar…", discusses, through literature, how the description of structures and functions in the Global South city requires not only spatial but also temporal categories. The time of capitalism materialized in the circulation of disposable consumer goods is set in contrast to the ritual notions of time among the town locals who are caught in an ongoing process of transculturation. By focusing on temporality, the author demonstrates how Diop manages to integrate in his portrait of Dakar historical dimensions as well as global entanglements. Also by looking at the ordinary life of a small town in the south of Brazil, Renata Pozzo, in "The everyday life of cinema", demonstrates how the moving image, in the context of a so-called "modernity", becomes part of the everyday of the inhabitants of Laguna.

As the issue of entangled temporalities is directly related to the one of multiterritorialities, the article written by Viviane Borelli and Vinícius Flôres – "Another measure of space-time in mediatization" – ought to be understood as a discussion, from the perspective of the digital, of the multiterritorialisation in the region of the Negro River (the Amazon) and the measure of space-time of the natives, which, according to the authors, dates back to the pre-colonial period of South America. And in "Multiple Temporalities: cultural analyses of Figueroas' music videos and performance in cultural mediations and mutations", Itania Mota Gomes, Thiago dos Santos, Carolina Araújo and Edinaldo Mota Junior articulate the maps of cultural mediations and mutations in the work of a Brazilian artist. From specific theoretical and methodological choices, the study challenges and relates different temporalities and spatialities, juxtaposing cultural matrices with global and regional musical references.

Back to literature as a resource that helps us understand how time and space are provocative instances when referring to the Global South, West-Pavlov's article brings up issues related to networking and pedagogy. In "The Time of Teaching in the Global South…", the author, based on reflection aboutCaribbean poetry, contributes substantially to our understanding of the interconnections between time/space, which is, somehow, in the core of this special issue itself. All of these articles, as we suggest, help the reader have a broader comprehension of the

problems tackled by this first Contracampo's special issue. In addition to the articles specifically dedicated to the proposed theme, but in no way distant from the interconnections related to entangled temporalities, Global South and media, other articles in this issue discuss matters from the perspective of Brazil as part of the "timescapes" to which the whole issue is dedicated.

From an epistemological perspective, for example, the article written by Ângela Cristina Marques e Luiz Sá Martino brings an intriguing reflection. In "Connections and tensions of time in Communication Theories", the authors raise the question of knowledge production, developing a specific vision of the potentialities and limits of the presence of time in communicative processes. From the reflection about time dimensions in certain Theories of Communication, Marques and Martino help us understand that time is a component of distinction in theoretical formulations, though its specific aspects seem to be considered as a unique dimension among others of the interactional phenomena. The questions this fact presents, when thinking from the perspective of the Global South itself, are up to each one of us readers to produce. The connection between knowledge production and the power inscribed in the created opposition South/North is somehow, as far as we understand, a very important aspect related to entangled temporalities in the Global South.

Through this issue and the problems it touches, Contracampo also presents to the international community other specific media practices and phenomena that are very specifically related to theBrazilian context and concerns. Corporate communication actions and organization, for instance, are seen and criticized through the lenses of face-to-face interactions. The biomes of Pantanal and Amazon, regions where technological appeal is less evident, are part of Ana Maria Dantas de Maio's article, one which focuses on the identification of mediations imposed by this kind of environment, analyzing the way in which these scenarios are built and mediated by the media. In "The internet as a moral space: an analysis of the "teachings" of Deboísmo", Henrique Mazetti and Ricardo Gomes da Silva address the relationship between media and morality. Mozahir Salomão Bruk e Rennan Antunes, in "Journeys and heroes in Piauí`s magazine profiles...", by analysing a Brazilian magazine which uses a special type of journalism, propose a central question: how and to what extent does piauí magazine use the narrative strategy of profiling to offer the reader new ingredients and perspectives both on

the person profiled and the context and social circumstances in which they are inserted? Finally, Alisson Machado and Sandra Rubia da Silva, in "There I can be a woman": transvestite everyday life and sociability in digital trajectories", use internet ethnographic research to interpret some elements of transvestite sociability based on their practices of consumption and use of digital technologies.

This issue and the next to come are part of (and in some extension a result of) the project "Literary Cultures of the Global South" (DAAD, Germany), a research project developed by PPGCOM/UFF in collaboration with the Eberhard Karls University of Tübingen. In this sense, by launching these issues, Contracampo celebrates this valuable partnership and its 20th anniversary, emphasizing the importance of building up transnational academic dialogues. We would like to thank all the team, authors and reviewers involved in this process. And we sincerely wish you all a very pleasurable and productive reading.

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EDITORIAL TEAM

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Time on the move[1]

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[1] Editor's note: This text was published on On the Postcolony (2001) and was adapted for the purpose of introducing this special issue.

No, they were not inhuman. Well, you know, that was the worst of it this suspicion of their not being inhuman. It would come slowly to one. They howled and leaped, and spun, and made horrid faces; but what thrilled you was just the thought of their humanity like yours the thought of your remote kinship with this wild and passionate uproar.[1]

Speaking rationally about Africa is not something that has ever come naturally. Doing so, at this cusp between Millenia, comes even less so.[2] It is for all the world as if the most radical critique of the most obtuse and cynical prejudices about Africa were being made against the background of an impossibility, the impossibility of getting over and done "with something without running the risk of repeating it and perpetuating it under some other guise."[3] What is going on?

First, the African human experience constantly appears in the discourse of our times as an experience that can only be understood through a negative interpretation. Africa is never seen as possessing things and attributes properly part of "human nature." Or, when it is, its things and attributes are generally of lesser value, little importance, and poor quality. It is this elementariness and primitiveness that makes Africa the world par excellence of all that is incomplete, mutilated, and unfinished, its history reduced to a series of setbacks of nature in its quest for humankind.

At another level, discourse on Africa is almost always deployed in the framework (or on the fringes) of a meta-text about the animal to be exact, about the beast: its experience, its world, and its spectacle. In this meta-text, the life of Africans' unfolds under two signs.

First is the sign of the strange and the monstrous of what, even as it opens an appealing depth before us, is constantly eluding and escaping us. Attempts are made to discover its status, and to do so the first requirement is, apparently, to abandon our world of meaning; is not Africa to be understood for what it is, an entity with its peculiar feature that of shared roots with absolute brutality, sexual license, and death?

The other sign, in the discourse of our times, under which African life is interpreted is that of intimacy. It is assumed that, although the African possesses a self-referring structure that makes him or her close to "being human" he or she belongs, up to a point, to a world we cannot penetrate. At bottom, he/she is familiar to us. We can give an account of him/ her-in the same way we can understand the psychic life of the beast. We can even, through a process of domestication and training, bring the African to where he or she can enjoy a fully

human life. In this perspective, Africa is essentially, for us, an object of experimentation.

There is no single explanation for such a state of affairs. We should first remind ourselves that, as a general rule; the experience of the Other, or the problem of the "I" of others and of human beings we perceive as foreign to us, has almost always posed virtually insurmountable difficulties to the Western philosophical and political tradition. Whether dealing with Africa or with other non-European worlds, this tradition long denied the existence of any "self" but its own. Each time it came to peoples different in race, language, and culture, the idea that we have, concretely and typically, the same flesh, or that, in Husserl's words, "My flesh already has the meaning of being a flesh typical in general for us all," became problematic.[4] The theoretical and practical recognition of the body and flesh of "the stranger" as flesh and body just like mine, the idea of a common human nature, a humanity shared with others, long posed, and still poses, a problem for Western consciousness.[5]

But it is in relation to Africa that the notion of "absolute otherness" has been taken farthest. It is now widely acknowledged that Africa as an idea, a concept, has historically served, and continues to serve, as a polemical argument for the West's desperate desire to assert its difference from the rest of the world.[6] In several respects, Africa still constitutes one of the metaphors through which the West represents the origin of its own norms, develops a self-image, and integrates this image into the set of signifiers asserting what it supposes to be its identity.[7] And Africa, because it was and remains that fissure between what the West is, what it thinks it represents, and what it thinks it signifies, is not simply part of its imaginary significations, it is one of those. Significations. By imaginary significations, we mean "that something invented" that paradoxically, becomes necessary because "that something" plays a key role; both in the world the West constitutes for itself and in the West's apologetic concerns and exclusionary and brutal practices towards others.[8]

The Long Dogmatic Sleep

Whether in everyday discourse or in ostensibly scholarly narratives, the continent is the very figure of "the strange." It is similar to that inaccessible "Other with a capital O" evoked by Jacques Lacan. In this extremity of the Earth, reason is

supposedly permanently at bay, and the unknown has supposedly attained its highest point. Africa, a headless figure threatened with madness and quite innocent of any notion of center, hierarchy, or stability, is portrayed as a vast dark cave where every benchmark and distinction come together in total confusion, and the rifts of a tragic and unhappy human history stand revealed: a mixture of the half-created and the incomplete, strange signs, convulsive movements in short, a bottomless abyss where everything is noise, yawning gap, and primordial chaos.

But since, in principle, nothing Africa says is untranslatable into a human language, this alleged inaccessibility must flow not from the intrinsic difficulty of the undertaking, not from what therein is to be seen and heard, not from what is dissimulated. It flows from there being hardly ever any discourse about Africa for itself. In the very principle of its constitution, in its language, and in its finalities, narrative about Africa is always pretext for a comment about something else some other place, some other people. More precisely, Africa is the mediation that enables the West to accede to its own subconscious and give a public account of its subjectivity.[9] Thus, there is no need to look for the status of this discourse; essentially, it has to do at best with self-deception, and at worst with perversion.

The harshness of such a diagnosis may surprise. But it must not be forgotten that almost universally the simplistic and narrow prejudice persists that African social formations belong to a specific category, that of simple societies or of traditional societies.[10] That such a prejudice has been emptied o⁻ f all substance by recent criticism seems to make absolutely no difference; the corpse obstinately persists in getting up again every time it is buried and, year in year out, everyday language and much ostensibly scholarly writing remain largely in thrall to this presupposition.[11]

Three major features are seen as characterizing traditional societies. First are what might be called facticity and arbitrariness. By facticity is meant that, in Hegel's words, "the thing is; and it is merely because it is . . . and this simple immediacy constitutes its truth. "[12] In such case, there is nothing to justify; since things and institutions have always been there, there is no need to seek any other ground for them than the fact of their being there. By arbitrariness is meant that, in contrast to reason in the West, myth and fable are seen as what, in such societies, denote order and time. Since myth and fable are seen as expressing the very power of the origin Aire, nothing in these societies requires, as noted above, justification, and there is little place for open argument; it is enough to invoke the time of origins.

Caught in a relation of pure immediacy to the world and to themselves, such societies are incapable of uttering the universal.

Second, in addition to being moved by the blind force of custom, these societies are seen as living under the burden of charms, spells, and prodigies, and resistant to change. Time it was always there," "since time immemorial," "we came to meet it" is supposedly stationary: thus, the importance of repetition and cycles, and the alleged central Place of witch-craft and divination procedures. The idea of progress is said to disintegrate in such societies; should change occur rare indeed it would, as of necessity, follow a disordered trajectory and fortuitous path ending only in undifferentiated chaos. Finally, in these societies the "person" is seen as predominant over the "individual," considered (it is added) "a strictly Western creation." Instead of the individual, there are entities, captives of magical signs, amid an enchanted and mysterious universe in which the power of invocation and evocation replaces the power of production, and in which fantasy and caprice coexist not only with the possibility of disaster but with its reality.

More than any other region, Africa thus stands out as the supreme receptacle of the West's obsession with, and circular discourse about, the facts of "absence," "lack," and "non-being," of identity and difference, of negativeness in short, of nothingness.[13] And, contrary to M. de Certeau's view, the problem is not that Western thought posits the self (self-identity) as other than the other.[14] Nor does everything come down to a simple opposition between truth and error, or to a confrontation between reason and that form of unreason called fable or even madness.[15] In fact, here is a principle of language and classificatory systems in which to differ from something or somebody is not simply not to be like (in the sense of being non-identical or being-other); it is also not to be at all (nonbeing),...More, it is being nothing (nothingness). Flying in the face of likelihood or plausibility, these systems of reading the world attempt to exercise an authority of a particular type, assigning Africa to a special unreality such that the continent becomes the very figure of what is null, abolished, and, in its essence, in opposition to What is the very expression of that nothing whose special feature is to be nothing at all.

There, in all its closed glory, is the prior discourse against which any comment by an African about Africa is deployed. There is the language that every comment by an African about Africa must endlessly eradicate, validate, or ignore, often to his/her cost, the ordeal whose erratic fulfillment many Africans have spent their lives trying to prevent. In their objects, language, and results, the fragments of studies brought

together in this book endeavor to tease out the far-reaching consequences of the theoretical and practical effects of this violence and this extremism. Starting with the theme of contemporaneousness, they seek to give as intelligible an account as possible of some aspects of political imagination and political, social, and cultural reality in Africa today, both for their intrinsic worth and in the perspective of a comparative study of societies. The problem is to do so in a manner that does justice to what J. E Bay art describes as "the true historicity of African societies"[16] that is the foundations of what might be called their "true lawfulness," "true raisons d'être" and "relation to nothing other than themselves." Such an undertaking poses numerous problems of methodology and of definition.

The first has to do with the extraordinary poverty of the political science and economics literature on Africa, and with the crisis of its languages, procedures, and reasonings.[17] The issue is not that nothing has been achieved, or that there have not been remarkable advances.[18] And it is not that other disciplines have had fewer shortcomings and weaknesses.[19] Concerned with explaining either single and unrepeatable occurrences or symbolic representations, recent historiography, anthropology, and feminist criticism inspired by Foucauldian, neo-Gramscian paradigms or post-structuralism problematize everything in terms of how identities are "invented," "hybrid," "fluid," and "negotiated." On the pretext of avoiding single-factor explanations of domination, these disciplines have reduced the complex phenomena of the state and power to "discourses" and "representations," forgetting that discourses and representations have materiality. The rediscovery of the subaltern subject and the stress on his/her inventiveness have taken the form of an endless invocation of the notions of "hegemony," "moral economy," "agency," and "resistance." In keeping with an outdated Marxist tradition, most scholars have continued to operate as if the economic and material conditions of existence find an automatic reflection and expression in a subject's consciousness; to account for the tension between structural determinants and individual action, they lapse into the grossest Parsonian functionalism.

Thus, on the basis of dichotomies that hardly exist, everything is considered said once it has been shown that the subjects of action, subjected to power and law colonized people, women, peasants, workers (in short, the dominated) have a rich and complex consciousness; that they are capable of challenging their oppression; and that power, far from being total, is endlessly contested, deflated, and reappropriated by its "targets. "[20] Helped by the collapse of Marxism as an analytical

tool and all-embracing project, and by the demise of theories of dependency, economic explanations of contemporary social and political phenomena have, with consideration of the draconian character of external constraints, all but disappeared, all struggles have become struggles of representation. Levies, exploitation, corvée, taxes, tribute, and coercion no longer exist. Breaking away from the influence of Weber, everything has become "network," and no one asks any more about the market and capitalism as institutions both contingent and violent.[21] Only rarely is there recourse to the effects of the longue durée to explain the paths taken by different societies and to account for contradictory contemporary phenomena. Finally, there persists the false dichotomy between the objectivity of structures and the subjectivity of representations a distinction allowing all that is cultural and symbolic to be put on one side, all that is economic and material to be put on the other. Rejection of philosophical perspective is such that any basic thinking about African societies and their history is deprived of all legitimacy. An instrumentalist paradigm now rules, too reductionist to throw intelligible light on fundamental problems touching on the nature of social reality in Africa.

The concepts developed in this volume start from two observations. The first postulates that what passes for social reality in sub-Saharan Africa is made up of a number of socially produced and objectified practices. These practices are not simply matters of discourse and language, although of course the existential experience of the world is, here as elsewhere, symbolically structured by language; the constitution of the African self as a reflexive subject also involves _doing, seeing, hearing, tasting, feeling, and touching. In the eyes of all involved in the production of that self an~ subject, these practices constitute what might be called meaningful human expressions. Thus, the African subject is like any other human being: he or she engages in meaningful acts. (It is self-evident that these meaningful human expressions do not necessarily make sense for everyone in the same way.) The second observation is that the African subject does not exist apart from the acts that produce social reality, or apart from the process by which those practices are, so to speak, imbued with meaning.

Subsequent chapters proceed in two directions at once. On the one hand, they endeavor to study some sites and moments of "imbuing with meaning," while showing how, in postcolonial Africa, this process is inseparable from a subjective individuation. On the other hand, they attempt, through examples drawn from history and everyday life, to grasp the ways this subjectivity is constituted.

Returning to the literature of political science and development economics, it becomes clear these disciplines have undermined the very possibility of understanding African economic and political facts. In spite of the countless critiques made of theories of social evolutionism and ideologies of development and modernization, the academic output in the se disciplines continues, almost entirely, in total thrall to these two teleologies.[22] This thralldom has had implications for understanding the purposes of these disciplines in Africa, for the conception of their object, and for the choice of their methods. Mired in the demands of what is immediately useful, enclosed in the narrow horizon of "good governance" and the neo-liberal catechism about the market economy, torn by the current fads for "civil society," "conflict resolution," and alleged "transitions to democracy," the discussion, as habitually engaged, is primarily concerned, not with comprehending the political in Africa or with producing knowledge in general, but with social engineering. As a general rule, what is stated is dogmatically programmatic; interpretations are almost always cavalier, and what passes for argument is almost always reductionist. The criteria that African agents accept as valid, the reasons they exchange within their own instituted rationalities, are, to many, of no value. What African agents accept as reasons for acting, what their claim to act in the light of reason implies (as a general claim to be right, avoir raison), what makes their action intelligible to themselves: all this is of virtually .no account in the eyes of analysts. Since the models are seen as self-sufficient, history does not exist. Nor does anthropology. It is enough to postulate, somehow, in a form totally timeless, the necessity of "freeing" the economy from the shackles of the state, and of a reform of institutions from above, for this economy, these institutions, to function on the basis of norms decreed universal and desirable.[23]

It should be noted, as far as fieldwork is concerned, that there is less and less. Knowledge of local languages, vital to any theoretical and philosophical understanding, is deemed unnecessary. To judge from recent academic output, sub-Saharan Africa, wrapped in a cloak of impenetrability, has become the black hole of reason, the pit where its powerlessness rests unveiled. Instead of patient, careful, in-depth research, there are off the-cuff representations possessed and accumulated without anyone's knowing how, notions that everyone uses but of origin quite unknown in Kant's well-known formulation, "groundless assertions, against which others equally specious can always be set.[24] One consequence of this blindness is that African politics and economics have been condemned to appear in social theory only as the sign of a

lack, while the discourse of political science and development economics has become that of a quest for the causes-of that lack. On the basis of a grotesque dramatization, what political imagination is in Africa is held incomprehensible, patho-logical, and abnormal. War is seen as all-pervasive. The continent, a great, soft, fantastic body, is seen as powerless, engaged in rampant self-destruction. Human action there is seen as stupid and mad, always proceeding from anything but rational calculation.

Not that ¯there is no distress. Terrible movements, laws that underpin and organize tragedy and genocide, gods that present themselves in the guise of death and destitution, monsters lying in wait, corpses coming and going on the tide, infernal powers, threats of all sorts, abandonments, events without response, monstrous couplings, blind waves, impossible paths, terrible forces that every day tear human beings, animals, plants, and things from their sphere of life and condemn them to death: all these are present. But what is missing, far from the dead ends, random observations, and false dilemmas (Afrocentrism vs. Africanism), is any sign of radical questioning. For what Africa as a concept calls fundamentally into question is the manner in which social theory has hitherto reflected on the problem (observable also elsewhere) of the collapse of worlds, their fluctuations and trembling, their about-turns and disguises, their silences and murmurings. Social theory has failed also to account for time as lived, not synchronically or diachronically, but in its multiplicity and simultaneities its presence and absences, beyond the lazy categories of permanence and change beloved of so many historians.

What a certain rationality, claiming to be universal but in reality, mired in the contingent and the particular, has never understood is that all human societies participate in a complex order, rich in unexpected turns, meanders, and changes of course, without this implying their necessary abolition in an absence of center. The torment of nonfulfillment and in completeness, the labyrinthine entanglement, are in no way specifically African features. Fluctuations and indeterminacy do not necessarily amount to lack of order. Every representation of an unstable world can-not automatically be subsumed under the heading "chaos." But, reduced to impatience and ignorance, carried away by verbal delirium, slogans, and linguistic inadequacy with some analysts, only reading French, others only English, and few speaking local languages the literature lapses into repetition and plagiarism; dogmatic assertions, cavalier interpretations, and shallow rehashes become the order of the day. Ethnographic description, distinguishing between causes and

effects, asking the subjective meaning of actions, determining the genesis of practices and their interconnections: all this is abandoned for instant judgment, often factually wrong, always encumbered with off-the-cuff representations. The standard prescriptive discourse of economism is becoming combined with the exhortation and social prophetism of a certain sort of political activism. The upshot is that while we now feel we know nearly everything' that African states, societies, and economies are not, we still know absolutely nothing about what they actually are.

The discussions in this volume stand apart from such crass judgment and the negative thinking leading to such judgment. It is not that, in absolute terms, it is impossible to imagine rigorously conceiving the negative or founding a specific body of knowledge that would be the knowledge of non-being, of nothingness *(the ecceity of non-being) but* because it is not true, as either starting point or conclusion, that Africa is an incomparable monster, a silent shadow and mute place of darkness, amounting to no more than a lacuna.

Between Generality and Singularity

The central assumption that guides what follows is that the peculiar "historicity" of African societies, their own raisons d'être and their relation to solely themselves, are rooted in a multiplicity of times, trajectories, and rationalities that, although particular and sometimes local, cannot be conceptualized outside a world that is, so to speak, globalized.[25] From a narrow methodological standpoint, this means that, from the fifteenth century, there is no longer a "distinctive historicity" of these societies, one not embedded in times and rhythms heavily conditioned by European domination.

Therefore, dealing with African societies' "historicity" requires more than simply giving an account of what occurs on the continent itself at the interface between the working of internal forces and the working of international actors.[26] It also presupposes a critical delving into Western history and the theories that claim to interpret it.

An extraordinary difficulty at once begins to loom. Social theory has always sought to legitimize itself by stressing its capacity to construct universal grammars. On the basis of this claim, it has produced forms of knowledge that privilege a number of categories dividing up the real world, defining the objects of enquiry, establishing relations of similarity and equivalences, and making

classifications. It has equipped itself with tools to ask questions, organize descriptions, and formulate hypotheses.[27] But this same social theory has defined itself, above all, as an accurate perception of so called modern Europe.[28] When examined, it turns out to rest on a body created, for the most part, at the time of the first industrialization and the birth of modern urban societies; modernity itself as a phenomenon has‐ been primarily understood in the perspective of Western rationalism.[29] In other words, from Max Weber to the deconstructionists, the link between modernity, rationalism, and Westernism was seen as more than merely contingent; it was seen as constitutive of all three, so that it is precisely this interlinking that is the "distinctive feature of the West," distinguishes it from the rest of the world, Means that its developments have not happened anywhere else.[30] This uniqueness would cover, for example, the secularization of culture, the release form the thrall of nature, the end of miracles, the elimination of finalism from religions, and the shattering of primary bonds and loyalties and ancient customs and beliefs an assertion of which the validity might, if one so wanted, be profoundly questioned.

Continuing the habitual argument, modernity is also seen as characterized by the liberation of the sentient subject and his/her sovereignty from the unifying power of religion and the authority of faith and tradition. The triumph of the principle of free will (in the sense of the right to criticize and the right to accept as valid only what appears justified), as well as the individual's acquired capacity to self-refer, to block any attempt at absolutism, and to achieve self-realization through art, are seen as key attributes of modern consciousness. So is differentiation among the various sectors of social life for example, between state or bureaucracy and the market, or between public and private life. On key matters, the Hegelian. post-Hegelian, and Weberian traditions, philosophies of action and philosophies of deconstruction derived from Nietzsche or Heidegger, share the representation of the distinction between the West and other historical human forms as, largely, the way the individual in the West has gradually freed her/himself from the sway of traditions and attained an autonomous capacity to conceive, in the here and now the definition of norms and their free formulation by individual, rational Wills.[31] These traditions also share, to varying degrees, the assumption that, compared to the West, other societies are primitive, simple, or traditional in that, in them, the weight of the past predetermines individual behavior and limits the areas of choice as it were, a priori. The formulation of norms in these latter societies has

nothing to do with reasoned public deliberation, since the setting of norms by a process of argument is a specific invention of modern Europe.

In this context, when articulated, the critique of modernity is always directed against the positivism seen as emanating from the alienated life and self-dispossession resulting from a form of work that deprives the producer of the enjoyment of what he or she has produced (Marx); against the total assimilation of reason and power, with claims to validity seen as simply masking mundane claims to domination (Nietzsche); against the corruption of all rational criteria and the confusion of reason, technicism, and absolute domination by obscene totalitarian forces (Horkheimer and Adorno); against the absolutization of reifying, in-strumental, and calculating reason (Heidegger); or in the name of the supposed death of every form of unifying teleological interpretation of the world (Derrida, Foucault, etc.).[32] The dispute thus bears not on the Westernness of modernity but on what the Enlightenment bequeathed "us" and on the possibilities of accomplishing in reality the promises of universality contained in the ideals of the *Aufklarung.*[33]

On Time in The State of Becoming

What these comments and their tautological character quite clearly show is that, by defining itself both as an accurate portrayal of Western modernity that is, by starting from conventions that are purely local and as universal grammar, social theory has condemned itself always to make generalizations from idioms of a provincialism that no longer requires quires demonstration since it proves extremely difficult to understand non-Western objects within its dominant paradigms.[34] There thus arises the purely methodological question of knowing whether it is possible to offer an intelligible reading of the forms of social and political imagination in contemporary Africa solely through conceptual structures and fictional representations used precisely ˉto deny African societies any historical depth and to define them as radically other, as all that the West is not.

In the following pages I have sought neither to discover traces of European modernity in Africa nor to sketch dubious comparisons between historical trajectories. There is no question of going back over the hoary question of what it means to be African in the world. As with the Jews in a recent period, many African thinkers, moved by determination to rebuild a history of the "black nation," have in effect devoted their work to offering Africans a view of their historical destiny that is dense

with meaning.[35] In so doing, they have sought to demonstrate the capacity of Africans to achieve sociability within nations, and to create their own image of their destiny. Such an effort formed part of a general emancipatory project; it rested on the messianic utopia of a world that would in future, in a complete absence of prejudice, be free of unreason or so these-thinkers believed.

To secure emancipation and recognition, they thought, required the production of an apologetic discourse based on rediscovery of what was supposed to be the essence, the distinctive genius, of the black. "race." It also required the actualization of the possibilities of this genius and its power to give itself a form of reason in history, a form it was supposed to harbor; the necessary means of realizing this genius was its fusion in the crucible of the universal.[36] There can be no doubt that this African struggle for self-understanding was marked, perhaps unknowingly, by a degree of naivete quite peculiar to it. This struggle and naiveté had arisen out of adversity, the shadow of ancient at times poetic, at times terrifying dreams, of blind alleys, of the distress of existence deprived of power, peace, and rest. Their imagination was working on the memory of an Africa, a vast petrified song, deemed past and misunderstood.[37] But, as a result of the tension inherent in the twin project of emancipation and assimilation, discussion of the possibility of an African modernity was reduced to an endless interrogation of the possibility, for the African subject, of achieving a balance between his/her total identification with "traditional" (in philosophies of authenticity) African life, and his/her merging with, and subsequent loss in, modernity (in the discourse of alienation).[38]

For the men and women of these generations seeking some crumb of fulfillment, such was the stark choice available. For many, it has ended, either in acceptance of a tragic duality and an inner twoness,[39] or as a result of repeated stress on the absoluteness of the African self (in the terms of Afrocentric theses) in an extraordinary sensitivity about identity.[40] I do not mean that, in the chaotic nightmare that followed the abolition of slavery and ended in colonization, the reaffirmation of African humanity was a matter of no consequence. The uncompromising nature of the Western self and its active negation of anything not itself had the counter-effect of reducing. African discourse to a simple polemical reaffirmation of black humanity. However, both the asserted denial and the reaffirmation of that humanity now look like the two sterile sides of the same coin.

What distinguishes our age from previous ages, the breach over which there is apparently no going back, the absolute split of our times that breaks up the spirit

and splits it into many, is again contingent, dispersed, and powerless existence: existence that is contingent, dispersed, and powerless but reveals itself in the guise of arbitrariness and the absolute power to give death anytime, anywhere, by any means, and for any reason. More precisely, it is the current face of arbitrariness over the *longue durée,* yet not just any arbitrariness, but arbitrariness in its comedy and stark horror, a real shadow that, while totally devoid of beauty, does not lack clarity; not just any arbitrariness, but arbitrariness as human and contingent violence with the distinctive feature of committing acts of destruction that, in their starkness, scale, and "knock-out" effects, have the peculiar characteristic of concealing human suffering, burying it in an infinite circle centered, so to speak, everywhere. This is, then, the arbitrariness that accomplishes its own work and validates itself through its own sovereignty, and thereby permits power to be exercised as a right to kill and invests Africa with deaths at once at the heart of every age and above time.

But the question of the violence of tyranny was already posed to Africans by their remote and their recent past, a past slow to end. This obsession is found in African awareness in the nineteenth century. The slave trade had ramifications that remain unknown to us; to a large extent, the trade was the event through which Africa was born to modernity. Colonialism also, in both its forms and its substance, posited the issue of contingent human violence. Indeed, the slave trade and colonialism echoed one another with the lingering doubt of the very possibility of self-government, and with the risk, which has never disappeared, of the continent and Africans being again consigned for a long time to a degrading condition. In many ways, the form of domination imposed during both the slave trade and colonialism in Africa could be called phallic. During the colonial era and its aftermath, phallic domination has been all the more strategic in power relationships, not only because it is based on a mobilization of the subjective foundations of masculinity and femininity but also because it has direct, close connections with the general economy of sexuality. In fact, the phallus has been the focus of ways of constructing masculinity and power. Male domination derives in large measure from the power and the spectacle of the phallus not so much from the threat to life during war as from the individual male's ability to demonstrate his virility at the expense of a woman and to obtain its validation from the subjugated woman herself.

Thus, it was through the slave trade and colonialism that Africans came face to face with the opaque and murky domain of power, a domain inhabited by obscure drives and that everywhere and always makes animality and bestiality its essential

components, plunging human beings into a never-ending process of brutalization. It is these lines of separation and of continuities that African philosophy has failed to take up. Underlying the problem of arbitrariness and tyranny, as we have sketched it of course lies- the problem of freedom from servitude and the possibility of an autonomous African subject.

It is to focus on these issues that I have deliberately abstained from theorizing that would involve examining how, in sub-Saharan Africa, the critical power of reason could be retained or by what means could be ensured its triumph against all sorts of superstitions, customs, and habits.

To ask whether Africa is separated from the West by an unbridgeable gulf seems pointless. In an attempt to force Africa to face up to itself in the world, I have tried to state, in the most productive Possible way some general questions suggested by concepts drawn from social theory notably those notions used generally for thinking about time, the bonds of subjection, the ways domination is validated, the collapse of .historic "possibles" or their extensions, the symbolic constitution of the world, constraint and terror as limits of what is human, and relations to tran-scendence and finitude. Where these concepts were manifestly incapable of describing the particular figures of reason in African history and the practices of our time, I have invented different modes of discourse, a different writing.

By focusing the discussion on what I have called the "post colony," the aim was not to denounce power as such, but rather to rehabilitate the two notions of age and duree. By age is meant not a simple category of time but a number of relationships and a configuration of events often visible and perceptible, sometimes diffuse, "hydra-headed," but to which contemporaries could testify since very aware of them. As an age, the post colony encloses multiple durées made up of discontinuities, reversals, inertias, and swings that overlay one another, interpenetrate one another, and envelope one another:[41] an entanglement. I also wanted to pose the whole question of displacement. To do so with even a minimum of relevance, it was necessary to reject theories that by proclaiming not only "the death of God" and "man" but also of "morality" and the "subject" at the risk of bringing about the disappearance of any axiological reference point and any object other than "oneself" reduce individuals to mere flows of drives and networks of " desires," to libidinal ma-chines. The central concern was to rethink the theme of the African subject emerging, focusing on him/herself, withdrawing, in the act and context of displacement and entanglement.

Displacement is not simply intended to signify dislocation, transit, or "the impossibility of any centrality other than one that is provisional, ad hoc, and permanently being redefined."[42] While willing to take up a philosophical perspective when needed, I started from the idea that there is a close relationship between subjectivity and temporality that, in some way, one can envisage subjectivity itself as temporality. The intuition behind this idea was that, for each time and each age, there exists something distinctive and particular or, to use the term, a "spirit" (Zeitgeist). These distinctive' and particular things are constituted by a set of material practices, signs, figures, superstitions, images, and fictions that, because they are available to individuals' imagination and intelligence and actually experienced, form what might be called "languages of life."

This "life world" is not only the field where individuals' existence unfolds in practice; it is where they exercise existence that is, live their lives out and confront the very forms of their death. On this basis, I then asked what is the set of particular signs that confers on the current African age its character of urgency, its distinctive mark, its eccentricities, its vocabularies, and its magic, and make it both a source of terror, astonishment, and hilarity at once? What gives this set of things significations that all can share? In what languages are these significations expressed? How can these languages be deciphered?

This line of thought led me to ask, for example, about the fact and the sign of the potentate, the relations between the government of people and the multiplication of things, the various forms of indigence, and the problem of excess and laughter, or of finitude and madness, as stated in the languages and practices of the supernatural and the divine.[43]

From the outset, there were two difficulties. First, every age, including the post colony, is in reality a combination of several temporalities.[44] In the case of the post colony, to postulate the existence of a "before" and an "after" of colonization could not exhaust the problem of the relationship between temporality and subjectivity, nor was it sufficient to raise questions about the passage from one stage (before) to the other (after), and the question of transit that such passage raises, or again to recognize that every age has contradictory significations to different actors. It was still necessary to know how, for each time, this multiplicity of times was to be re-inscribed not only in the longue duree, but also in indigenous durées. And then it was necessary to think about the status of that peculiar time that is emerging time.

To think relevantly about this time that is appearing, this passing time, meant abandoning conventional views, for these only perceive time as a current that carries individuals and societies from a background to a foreground, with the future emerging necessarily from the past and following that past, itself irreversible. But of central interest was that peculiar time that might be called the time of existence and experience the time of entanglement. There was no way to give a plausible account of such time without asserting, at the outset, three postulates. First, this time of African existence is neither a linear time nor a simple sequence in which each moment effaces, annuls, and replaces those that preceded it, to the point where a single age exists within society. This time is not a series but an interlocking of presents, pasts, and futures that retain their depths of other presents, pasts, and futures, each age bearing, altering, and maintaining the previous ones.

Second, this time is made up of disturbances, of a bundle of unforeseen events, of more or less regular fluctuations and oscillations, not necessarily resulting in chaos and anarchy (although that sometimes is the case); moreover, instabilities, unforeseen events, and oscillations do not always lead to erratic and unpredictable behaviors on the actors' part (although that happens, too).

Finally, close attention to its real pattern of ebbs and flows shows that this time is not irreversible. All sharp breaks, sudden and abrupt outbursts of volatility, it cannot be forced into any simplistic model and calls into question the hypothesis of stability and rupture underpinning social theory, notably where the sole concern is to account for either Western modernity or the failures of non-European worlds to perfectly replicate it.

African social formations are not necessarily converging toward a single point, trend, or cycle. They harbor the possibility of a variety of trajectories neither convergent nor divergent but interlocked, paradoxical. More philosophically, it may be supposed that the present as experience of a time is precisely that moment when different forms of absence become mixed together: absence of those presences that are no longer so and that one remembers (the past), and absence of those others that are yet to come and are anticipated (the future). This is what this book en-deavors to interpret. I felt that what distinguishes the contemporary African experience is that this emerging time is appearing in a context today in which the future horizon is apparently closed, while the horizon of the past has apparently receded.[45]

Moreover, to focus on time of entanglement was to repudiate not only linear models but the ignorance that they maintain and the extremism to which they have repeatedly given rise. Research on Africa has hardly stood out for its attempts to integrate nonlinear phenomena into its analyses. Similarly, it has not always been able to account for complexity. On the one hand, it has assimilated all non-linearity to chaos, forgetting that chaos is only one possible corollary of unstable dynamic systems. In addition, underestimate the fact that one characteristic of African societies over the longue duree has, been that they follow a great variety of temporal trajectories and a wide range of swings only reducible to an analysis in terms of convergent or divergent evolution at the cost of an extraordinary impoverishment of reality. Further, research on Africa has literally impoverished our understanding of notions such as rationality, value, wealth, and interest in short, what it means to be a subject in contexts of instability and crisis.[46]

In this book, the subject emerging, acting effectively, withdrawing, or being removed in the act and context of displacement refers to two things: first, to the forms of "living in the concrete world," then to the subjective forms that make possible any validation of its contents that objectify it. In Africa today, the subject who accomplishes the age and validates it, who lives and espouses his/her contemporaneousness that is, what is "distinctive" or "particular" to his/her present real world is first a subject who has an experience of "living in the concrete world." She/he is a subject of experience and a validating subject, not only in the` sense that she/he is a conscious existence or has a perceptive consciousness of things, but to the extent that his/her "living in the concrete world" involves, and is evaluated by, his/her eyes, ears, mouth in short, his/her flesh, his/her body. What are these modes of validation of conscious existence? Which are capable of being re-actualized? What is the share of arbitrariness in that re-actualization? And to what particular figures of reason and violence does that arbitrariness refer?

This book may not answer all these questions. They may not have been well posed, or I may not have the means to deal with them. It has seemed enough to initiate some thinking about the postcolonial African subject, his/her history and his/her present in the world. Throughout the chapters that follow, I have tried to "write Africa," not as a fiction, but in the harshness of its destiny, its power, and its eccentricities, without laying any claim to speak in the name of anyone at all. As far as possible, I have adopted the attitude that everything remains to be learned about this continent and that, at any moment, things may inflict surprises, even dis-

avowals, on me. I was hardly seeking to "grasp and reproduce the effective reality in all its immediacy."[47] It sufficed me, coming from and being of the world, to try to say what, it is said, seems to resist being said.

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Notes

1. Marlow, in J. Conrad, Heart of Darkness (New York: Dell, l960), 70.
2. See A. Mbembe, quire l'Afrique à partir d'une faille," Politique africaine 53(1993).
3. J. Bouveresse, Rationalite et cynisme (Paris : Minuit, 1984), 118 ; comment on J. Derrida and philosophies of deconstruction.
4. There are numerous studies, for example: the collective work The Representation of the Black in Western Art (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989); 0. Patterson, Slavery and Social Death, D. Brion Davis, The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970).
5. Attempts at resolution of this problem in philosophical terms only seriously began with the works of M. Scheler, M. Heidegger, K. Jaspers, and, later, E. Levinas and P. Ricoeur. See also M. Merleau-Ponty, Phenomenologie de la perception (Paris: Gallimard, 1945) [Phenomenology of Perception, trans. C. Smith, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962.1, and J. P. Sartre, L'etre et le neant: Essai d'ontologie phenomenologique (Paris, Gallimard, 1943) [trans. H. E. Barnes, Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology, London: Methuen and Co., 1957]. Even these studies often end in a pluralist idealism that leaves the foundations of Western solipsism intact.
6. See V. Y. Mudimbe, The Invention of Africa (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1988) and The Idea of Africa (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994)

7. C. Castoriadis very pertinently recalls, "The institution of society is in each case the institution of a magma of social imaginary significations, which we can and must call a *world* of significations . . . Society brings into being a world of significations and itself exists in reference to such a world . . . And it is only in correlation with this world of significations as it is instituted in each case that we can reflect on the question raised: what is the 'unity' and the 'identity', that is to say the *ecceity* of a society, what is it that holds a society together? What holds a society together is the holding-together of its world of significations." See *L'Institution imaginaire de la society* (Paris: Seuil, 1975), 480-481. [Trans. K. Blarney, *The Imaginary Institution of Society,* Cambridge: Polity, 1987, 359].

8. See C. Miller, Blank Darkness (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

9. . This approach, which often consists, in contrasting "the identical to oneself" with "the other" by excluding it, is at the basis of a more or less similar contrast between allegedly holistic societies and others said to be individualistic. The first are said to stress "above all, order, and hence the conformity of each element with its role in the whole, in a word society as a whole." The others, "at any event ours, emphasize the individual human being: in our eyes, every man is an incarnation of the whole of humanity, and as such he is equal to every other man, and free." See L. Dumont, Homo Aequalis : Genese et epanouissement de Pideologie communiqué (Paris : Gallimard, 1985), i2. [Eng. trans of the first ed., From Mandeville to Marx: The Genesis and Triumph of Economic Ideology, London: University of Chicago Press, 1977]. See Aso Dumont's Homo Hierarchicus : Le systeme des castes et ses implications (Paris : Gallimard, 1966). [Trans. of rev. ed. by M. Sainsbury, B. Gulati, Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

10. For This type of classification, See G. Balandier, Le Dedale : Pour en finir avec le XXe siécle (Paris : Fayard, 1994), 15. It is, in part, to remove all credibility from such consideration and return to these societies a historical dimension that many recent studies lay so much, stress on the problematique of their "invention."

11. G. W. F. Hegel, Phenomenology of Spirit, Eng. trans. A. V. Miller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 58-59. The italics are Hegel's.

12. Without going way back to Parmenides, see A. Kojeve, Introduction a la lecture de Hegel (Paris: Gallimard, 1947) [trans. A. Bloom, Introduction to the Reading of Hegel, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980]; J. P. Sartre, L'etre et le neant; M. Heidegger, Questions I e t II (Paris: Gallimard, 1968).

13. See M. de Certeau, L'ecriture de Phistoire (Paris : Gallimard, 1975, ch5). [Trans. T. Conley, The Writing of History, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.]

14. See M. Foucault, Histoire de la folie à Page classique (Paris : Gallimard1971). [Abridged translation of first ed. by R. Howard, Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity

in the Age of Reason, London: Tavistock, 1967]; B. Mouralis, L'Europe, l'Afrique, et la folie, (Paris: Presence africaine, 1993),15-74

15. J. F. Bayart, L'Etat en Afrique : La politique du ventre (Paris : Fayard, 1989). [Eng. ed., The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly, London: Longman, 1993.]

16. These questions were touched on in J. E Bayart, A. Mbembe, and C. Toulabor, Le politique par le bas en Afrique noire : Contributions a une problematique de la democratie (Paris : Karthala, 1992), 9-64,233-56.

17. See the survey in the apologetic work by R. Bates, V. Y. Mudimbe, and J. O'Barr, Africa and the Disciplines: The Contribution of Research in Africa to the Social Sciences and Humanities (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). In addition, there are excellent works in French, in various disciplines.

18. For an initial critique, see, for example, E Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History," American Historical Review 99, 5 (1994): 1516-45.

19. This is not to say that such assertions are necessarily false, but to suggest that a project to build a cumulative body of knowledge about Africa cannot rest on such thin hypotheses without dangerously impoverishing reality. Reducing everything to "resistance" or to quantifiable calculation is to ignore the qualitative variety of the ends of human action in Africa.

20. See Max Weber, Histoire economique. Esquisse d'une histoire universelle de reconomie et de la Société, French trans. C. Bouchindhomme (Paris: Gallimard, 1992). [Eng. trans. S. Hellman and M. Palyi, General Economic History, London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1927.] The best recent studies of firms and wealth formation are not exempt; see, in particular, Y. A. Faure, Petits entrepreneurs en Cote d'Ivoire: Des professionels en mal de developpernent (Paris: Karthala, 1994); E. Gregoire and P. Labazee, eds. Grands commercants d'Afrique de l'ouest: Logiques et pratiques d'un groupe d'affaires contemporains (Paris: Karthala, 1993); J. Ellis, Y. A. Faure, eds., Entreprises et entrepreneurs africains (Paris: Karthala-Orstom, 1995).

21. On this point, see the criticisms by J. Ferguson, The Anti-Politics Machine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

22. . See B. Hibou, "The Political Economy of the World Bank's Discourse: From Economic Catechism to Missionary Deeds (and Misdeeds)," Les Etudes du CERI 39 (1998).

23. . E. Kant, Critique de la raison pure, third Ed., (Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 1990), 45. [trans. J. M. D. Meiklejohn, Critique of Pure Reason, rev. ed. (New York: Colonial Press, 190o), 14.]

24. . Care must be taken not to conceptualize this globalization only in terms of "failed Westernization" leading to social trauma and disorders in international relations, as does B. Badie in L'Etat importe: L'occidentalisation de l'ordre politique (Paris: Fayard, 1991). A more historically situated and hence more complex assessment of these phenomena is provided by F. Cooper, "Africa and the World Economy," in F. Cooper et al., Confronting

Historical Paradigms (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 84-201. See also A. Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," Public Culture 2.2 (1990) I-24.

25. For an examination of the basic underpinning of this social theory, from which knowledge and scholarship are possible, see J. S. Coleman, Foundations of Social Theory (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1990) ı-23; M. Foucault, Les mots et les choses: Une archeologie des sciences humaines (Paris: Gallimard, 1966) [trans. by A. Sheridan-Smith, The Order of Things: An Archaeology of Human Knowledge, London, Tavistock, 1970]; J. Habermas, On the Logic of the Social Sciences, trans. from the German by S. Weber-Nicholson, J. A. Stark (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989); and J. Bohman, New Philosophy of Social Sciences: Problems of Indeterminacy (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991)

26. A. Giddens, The Consequences of Modernity (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 10-12

27. See, nevertheless, three recent efforts by "non-European" theorists: H. Bhabha, The Location of Culture (London: Routledge, 1994); P. Gilroy, The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994); C. Patterjee, The Nation and Its Fragments (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

28. M. Weber, L'ethique protestante et resprit du capitalisme, Fr. trans. J. Chavy (Paris, 1964), 23. [Eng. trans. T. Parsons, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, London: Allen and Unwin, 1930.]

29. . According to L. Ferry and A. Renaut, "The distinctive feature of modernity lies precisely in the way in which the individual, even though he quite clearly does not have absolute freedom to create his own norms, yet sees himself as having the sovereign right to submit them to a free examination and, as this critical examination proceeds, asserts and thinks of himself as the ultimate foundation of the process of argument through which he legitimizes or rejects them." In Pourquoi nous ne sommes pas nietzscheens (Paris: Grasset, 1992), 131.

30. A summary of the key elements of these various critiques will be found in J. Habermas, Le discours philosophique de la modernite, Fr. trans. C. Bouchindhomme and R. Rochlitz (Paris: Gallimard, 1988) [Eng. trans. F. Lawrence, The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987]. See Also A. Touraine, Critique de la modernite (Paris : Fayard, 1992.). [Trans. D. Macey, Critique of Modernity, Oxford, Blackwell, 1995.]

31. This, for example, is one meaning of the controversy between Foucault and Habermas over what attaining "the age, of man" means. See, for instance, Foucault's "What Is Enlightenment?" in P. Rabinow, ed., The Foucault Reader (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984) and Habermas, Le discours philosophique de la modernite; or M. Kelly, ed.,

Critique and Power: Recasting the Foucault/Habermas Debate (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994).

32. The notes by V. Descombes, "Notre probleme critique," in Stanford French Review, 15 (1991):253-61, give an accurate idea of the epistemological nature of the issues raised here.

33. On the Jews, see, for example, H. Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1951); G. Scholem, Fidelite et utopie: Essais sur le judaisme contemporain (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1978), 79-100; I. Berlin, Trois essais sur la condition juive (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1973). On the Africans, see C. A. Diop, Nations negres et culture (Paris: Presence africaine, 1954)

34. On this point, see the writings of A. Horton, Blyden, and others in H. S. Wilson, ed., Origins of West African Nationalism (London: Macmillan, 1969), 167-2.65.

35. See C. A. Diop, L'anteriorite des civilisations negres : My the ou verite historique (Paris : Presence africaine, 1967) [Trans. M. Cook, The African Origins of Civilization: Myth or Reality? (Westport, Conn : Lawrence Hill, 1974)] ; T. Obenga, L'Afrique dans l'antiquite (Paris : Presence africaine, 1973) ; E. Mveng, Les sources grecques de l'histoire negro-africaine (Paris : Presence africaine, 1972).

36. This problematic has already been criticized. See, inter alia, F Eboussi Boulaga, La crise du Muntu : Authenticite africaine et philosophie (Paris : Presence africaine, 1977) ; P. Hountondji, Sur la "philosophie africaine" (Paris : Maspero, 1977) [Trans. H. Evans, with the collaboration of J. Ree, African Philosophy: Myth and Reality, London: Hutchinson University Library for Africa, 1983]; V. Y. Mudimbe, The Invention of Africa (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988); K. A. Appiah, In My Father's House (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

37. W. E. B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk (New York: Bantam, 1989 [first pub. 1903]).

38. . M. K. Asante, Afrocentricity (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1989) and Afrocentricity and Knowledge (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1990).

39. See M. Foucault, "Revenir a l'histoire," Dits et ecrits (Paris : Gallimard, [1]994), 278-80.

40. As suggested by P. Michel in "De la notion tie la 'transition': Remarques epistemologiques," Cahiers internationaux de sociologie 96 (1994)214.

41. These are some reasons our problematic has little in common with current discussions in the United States on "postcoloniality" or "subaltern" consciousness. On these latter see A. Quayson, Postcolonialism: Theory, Practice, or Process? (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000); G. C. Spivak, A Critique of Postcolonial Reason (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999); E. Shohat, "Notes on the Postcolonial," Social Text 31-32 (1992): 84-113; G. Prakash, "Post-colonial Criticism and Indian Historiography," Social Text 31-32 (1992); G. Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as. Postcolonial Criticism," American Historical Review 99, 5 (1994): 1475-90; G. Prakash, After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements

(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); D. Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for `Indian' Pasts?" Representations 37 (1992).

42. For some discussions of time in general, see F. Braudel, "Histoire et sciences sociales, la longue duree," Annales ESC, 4 (1958); K. Pomian, L'ordre du temps (Paris: Gallimard, 1984); P. Osborne, The Politics of Time: Modernity and Avant-Garde (London: Verso, 1995).

43. Read J. Ferguson, Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copper Belt (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999).

44. A. Mbembe and J. Roitman, "Figures of the Subject in Times of Crisis," Public Culture 7, **2** (1995).

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On Seeing a Bull's Skull in a Bicycle Seat: Innovative Archaism

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Abstract

How may indigenous practices from Oceania open up the possibility of a future occluded by the long epoch of surplus accumulation? This future is not unforeseeable, but rather one that co-exists as an impeded possibility in the present. The global South—whether as time, space, value or figure—inhabits the order of the non-synchronous and archaic vis-à- vis the global north as dictated by the normative law of surplus accumulation. In this paper I draw on Theodor Adorno's insight concerning the co-presence of the archaic in the time of modernity to argue that the perspectival aspect of modernity is built on the act of looking at something while looking through it. In other words, seeing concerns the paradoxical act of not-seeing, of looking through some aspect or dimension of whatever one is looking at. If, however, silence were to discover speech, and we commenced to look at what we have been taught to look through, modernity starts to take on an altogether different aspect. The Global South of Oceania, in particular, turns into a region of innovative archaisms, counter-national imaginings, surplus-subverting practices and communal forms of ecological ethics. This paper contends that archaic indigenous practices, in concert with scientific knowledge, may be in advance of the modern in offering a pragmatic response to the climate-related crisis generated by modernity.

Keywords

For some years now, I have mulled over Theodor Adorno's letter to Walter Benjamin dated 5 April 1934 in which he gives a compelling account of the "essential and categorical historicity of the archaic" (Adorno & Benjamin, 38) and its co-presence with the modern and the new. In the letter, Adorno hits on the realization "that just as the modern is the most ancient, so too the archaic itself is a function of the new: it is first produced historically as the archaic, and to that extent it is dialectical in character and not 'pre-historical,' but rather the exact opposite" (Adorno & Benjamin, 38). Consequently, the archaic is "nothing but the site of everything whose voice has fallen silent because of history: something which can only be measured in terms of that historical rhythm which alone 'produces' it as a kind of primal history" (Adorno & Benjamin, 38). The critical aspect to this quite remarkable aside is that the archaic, as a co-emergent element of the modern, of modernity, is produced by the same history that reduces it to a state of silence and muteness. Just as the modern comes to vociferously dominate history, the archaic, which is engendered simultaneously by this history, falls silent and its address is a form of muteness.

It is here that Adorno, I think, is advancing his most revolutionary point. The very silence of the archaic is produced by the same history that gives voice to the modern within historical modernity. It would be wrong, however, to read this silence as a form of erasure, as a permanent dumbfounding of the archaic, for just as the potential of speech is silence, so the potential of silence is speech. The same law of time that produces both these categories may upend the orders of speech and silence. In other words, if the archaic were to realize its potential and speak in and through historical modernity, its primal status would dissolve, just as the advanced status of the modern would dissolve were it to fall silent. It is at this juncture that Adorno's insight resonates with Ernst Bloch's masterly analysis of the revolutionary potential of the non-synchronous in the service of an "impeded future" (Bloch, 33). The extant yet unfinished past, for Bloch, cannot be future-directed unless its non-synchronicity informs the synchronous present of modernity, thereby unshackling "the still possible future from the past…by putting both in the present" (Bloch, 33). How do we, in other words, open up the possibility of a future occluded by the long epoch of surplus accumulation? This future is not unforeseeable, but rather one that co-exists as an impeded possibility in the present. In any case, it may have dawned on you that the global south—whether as time, space, value or figure—inhabits the order of the non-synchronous and archaic vis-à-vis the global north as dictated by the normative law of surplus accumulation. It is my intention, in this paper, to draw on Adorno's insight concerning the archaic to argue that the perspectival aspect of modernity is built on

the act of looking at something while looking through it. In other words, seeing concerns the paradoxical act of not-seeing, of looking through some aspect or dimension of whatever one is looking at. If, however, silence were to discover speech, and we commenced to look at what we have been taught to look through, modernity starts to take on an altogether different aspect. The global south of Oceania, in particular, turns into a region of innovative archaisms, counter-national imaginings, surplus-subverting practices and communal forms of ecological ethics.

Epeli Hau'ofa's much-lauded seminal paper, 'Our Sea of Islands,' is principally a quarrel with perspective as it relates to the ideological practices of modernity. Derived from the Latin, *perspicere*, the noun 'perspective' relates to the prepositions 'at' and 'through' when brought into conjunction with 'look' (*spicere*). Perspective, therefore, involves the act of looking at something while looking through it. In other words, seeing concerns the paradoxical act of not-seeing, of looking through some aspect or dimension of whatever one is looking at. Indeed "one-sidedness is," as Joseph Brodsky notes, "the enemy of perspective" (Brodsky, 454). In his essay, Hau'ofa confesses that, for a long time as a scholar, he was looking through our large sea of islands while looking at small islands in the sea. He writes that "the idea of smallness…depends on what is included and excluded in any calculation of size" (Hau'ofa, 6). This is exactly the point at which his intervention turns into a rousing critique of a borrowed perspective, of an entire borrowed consciousness, predicated on the legacies of northern modernity. At the heart of Hau'ofa's paper lies an epiphany linking the perspectival to the epistemic whereby the character of knowledge—and acts of knowing—are transformed precisely when we look at whatever we have been taught to look through. The act of looking at and looking through belong to the same relational dynamic because invisibility is a function of visibility. That which is made visible by modernity, of which the bourgeois nation-state defined by a bounded landmass is exemplary, renders invisible that which resists incorporation into its forever-restive system of political, material and ideological reproduction. Any perspective that accounts for Oceanic islands as territorially-distinct nation-states spatially discounts the sea that forms an integral part of the interdependence of archipelagic life-worlds. Hau'ofa performs a recovery of an alternative southern perspective by looking at our large sea of islands while looking through modernity's account of small islands in the sea—and this latter account continues to persist in the idea of Small Island Developing States (SIDS). By dint of this simple yet ingenious shift in perspective—which is relational in that what is looked through and looked at are in a state of perpetual contestation—he retrieves an indigenous perspective (or an archaism) whose scope evades and exceeds the frames of modernity. There

is a magisterial simplicity in Hau'ofa's approach. All he is saying on one plane is that if you link up dots you stop seeing autonomous dots across watery voids of separation; instead, you begin to see broad waves of convergence, detour and flight stretching from the South to the North Pacific. This perspective, once rescued from a structural repression which, as Jacques Derrida notes, always gives rise to hauntings (Derrida, 37), resists modernity's account of hemmed-in, auto-centered, aid-dependent micro-states of Oceania.

Hau'ofa published his essay in 1993, the same year that Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic* appeared in Boston. Both texts, in their different ways, sought to argue that modernity, insofar as it is seen as a non-dialogic western enterprise, is repressively structured by the practices and values it looks through in selectively looking at certain practices and values as shaped by the *longue durée* of capital accumulation. Gilroy, for instance, points out that black practices—cultural, musical, literary or political—cannot be understood in relation to national paradigms because they breach bounded communities and categories and include multiple territorial arenas washed by the Atlantic Ocean. Gilroy's account effectively upends the two poles of the archaic and the modern. Classical practices of surplus accumulation relied heavily on archaic forms of enslaved labour, where the labour time was not bought temporarily—as with waged labour—but indefinitely and transnationally. So modernity in its classical form exploitatively produced transnational archaic work. Yet, it was the ordeal of these enslaved workers, and their resistant narratives and practices, on which the modern politics of emancipation, transnational resistant aesthetics and the discourse of rights found expression. Archaic labour engenders the modern ethical and emancipatory discourses of the Enlightenment.

While Gilroy was drawing on the black Atlantic and arguing for its constitutive if antagonistic role—or 'antagonistic indebtedness' as he calls it (Gilroy, 191)—in shaping the ethical and political discourses of modernity, Hau'ofa was salvaging a regional perspective that decried modernity's belittlement of islanders and its perspectival sequestering of islands from oceans and oceanic peoples from each other. It is no coincidence that Hau'ofa and Gilroy came up with two southerly accounts of what may be called 'oceanic transnationalism' in 1993. By the early nineties, with the rise of neoliberalism on the back of border-breaching capital flows, large-scale migratory traffic and the strategic adjustment policies imposed on the global south, the emergent areas of transnational studies and diaspora criticism was drawing interest from a raft of scholars. Implicit in the works of Hau'ofa and Gilroy is the desire to salvage two older perspectives, one concerned with pre-colonial Oceania and the other with post-emancipation Atlantic, without losing sight

of the flows of capital, cultures, goods and subjects in the time of globalized modernity. I make this point to attest to the complex nature of Hau'ofa's retrieval of an Oceanic perspective which concerns a form of recovery where an older perspective is salvaged through an account of present itinerant practices that cannot circumvent neoliberal forms of surplus accumulation. In a nutshell, when Hau'ofa looks through small islands in the sea described by northern agencies, he is looking at our large sea of islands through contemporary diaspora practices that return him to an older form of transoceanic enmeshment through trade, migration, war, marriage, shared cosmology, itinerant labour and gifting. His is a form of double visioning. The oceanic commerce between islanders, and between islands and continents, in the globalized present fires up his imagination to the point that he is transported to the past, to classical forms of inter-island trade and traffic, bypassed by northern modernity. Hau'ofa, then, adduces modern diasporic circuits to access the archaic network of interisland commerce, thus attesting to the constitutive persistence of such traces in the time of modernity.

Hau'ofa's essay is a fine testimony to how the work of the imagination transports us to spaces and practices rendered invisible by modernity in its disavowal of the constitutive role they actually play in its unfinished project. It also testifies to the contagious character of such acts of the imagination as his work has inspired the imagination of others, and of historians and linguists in particular, thereby contributing to a reconsideration of history. Cultural and linguistic histories now assume oceanic proportions in that inter-island mobility, cultural enmeshment and cosmopolitan drift are salient features of an unbounded methodology. David Chappell, for example, recuperates the sea of islands metaphor to capture the sea-change islanders such as Lojeik, Ahutoru and Tupaia endured as a consequence of crossing and crisscrossing the threshold between cultures, technologies, languages and life-worlds. Paul D'Arcy's account of pre-contact mobility draws a broad picture of inter-island traffic motivated, in some cases, by an exchange economy where valuable shells, sinnet cords and woven clothing are traded for turmeric, cooking pots and wood or, alternatively, where stingray stings for spears, symbolic whales' teeth, fine tapa-cloth are bartered for vesi canoes, bright feathers and sandalwood. The linguist, Paul Geraghty, makes a similar point while tracing the genealogy of Pulotu, the mythical homeland of Polynesians. Describing how Pulotu (or Burotu in Fijian) came to be associated with a celebrated red hue, he observes that the plumes of the kula lory, which decorated the edges of woven mats, were part of an exchange economy between Fiji, Tonga and Samoa (Geraghty, 350). The prestige associated with bird feathers, especially colorful and rare ones, was an important catalyst for inter-island commerce in most of Oceania. Nicholas Thomas, for his

part, thinks of islanders as exemplary cosmopolitans driven to travel for heterogeneous reasons. When not moved by adventure and a sense of curiosity, they set out to acquire prestige and status; when not shipping out as sailors on whalers or steamers, they go abroad on missionary work; when not picked up by blackbirders for inter-island drudgery, they wander along metropolitan ports as willing sight-seers. Critically, all four scholars dispense with methodological nationalism by opting for a perspective that discusses travelling islanders in terms of their different causes and drives as enacted on an undulant and borderless oceanic stage.

One year before Hau'ofa and Gilroy published their bold interventions, *The Shark that Ate the Sun,* a novel authored by John Pule of Niue, appeared under the imprint of Penguin Books. Sections of the novel draw on an epistolary tactic to capture the exchange of information, commodities, money, ideas, political ideologies and food taking place among members of the Niuean diaspora over a period of two decades from 1942 to 1962. As the letters crisscross the Pacific Ocean we are given insight into the transversal relations and practices that characterize the Niuean diaspora. Not only do members of the family transit through multiple regional points, such as Samoa, Tahiti and Fiji, when moving between New Zealand and Niue, but they also make their way to Canada and England. The letters, in their circular sociality, testify to a fluid cartography of flows, outflows and counter-flows in an epistolary narrative that resists settling down in any one territory. If characters move from Liku to Apia to Suva to Auckland, they also undertake the reverse journey. Not only do the letters move back and forth in a crabwise fashion, but they also attest to the back and forth movement of material and ideological practices. If northern commodities such as money, shoes, clothes, wedding rings, pots and photographs wend their way to Niue from Auckland, Niue sends back talo, yam, banana, breadfruit, resistance narratives and children as part of its southern kinship network. The novel's letters speak to each other in a manner where the present context of the addresser intersects with absent context of the addressee, forging lines of convergence and divergence through the work of the imagination. Pule's vision of Oceania is large-scale and interwoven. His sea of islands is, however, not restricted to Hau'ofa's capacious oceanic frame; it is a large sea of islands certainly, but found sometimes on a small street in Auckland. When the Niuean, Mocca, writes to her brother, Puhia, she observes:

> There is a friendly Palagi family next door and a Samoan family on the other side. Across the road is another Palagi family and next to them is a Maori family. We have already made friends with the

Indian couple who own the fruit shop on Great North Road (Pule, 45).

Mocca also makes the point that "there is no change if you change everything" (Pule, 52). There is a philosophical reading to be had here in that, if one changes everything all the time without respite, change turns into a rather pointless idea. Mocca, however, seems to be implying that cultural patterns and perspectives might endure even when practices have changed as a consequence of the long epoch of modernity. Thus we return to Hau'ofa's double visioning of the constitutive forgetting of the archaic that is at the heart of modernity. Both Pule and Hau'ofa perceive current oceanic exchanges among mobile islanders as discontinuously continuous with classical oceanic practices identified by historians. They access the past via the present by looking through the static land-bound and hugely delimiting view of islands as underscored by the growth-oriented paradigms of a nationally-prescribed northern modernity.

Hau'ofa and Pule are concerned with oceanic forms of itinerancy as manifested prior to the new millennium. The former gives the example of an uneducated Tongan worker who lives in Berkeley, California, flies to Fiji via Honolulu with a cooler filled with T-shirts, some for students in Fiji and the remainder for his relatives in Tonga, purchases kava while in Suva, catches a second plane to Tonga where the kava is pounded and packed, meanwhile replenishing his cooler with seafood, before flying back to California via Fiji and Honolulu where the kava and the seafood are sold to put his two sons through college. Both Hau'ofa and Pule are alert to the ever-expanding web of circulation among islanders as these relate to actual life-worlds and practices bypassed by developmental discourses. More than two decades later, we continue to witness such material forms of circulation with the difference that an enormous amount of cultural, familial, financial and political intercourse now happens in the digital or virtual form. Instead of citing examples of this new form of exchange and circulation, thereby attesting to what is plainly self-evident, it might be preferable to imagine how the discontinuously continuous practices of our sea of islands might be re-configured as the region confronts the challenges of the digital age, 'crisis' modernity, climate-related dislocations and global hyper-mobility. For us to accomplish this feat, however, requires an act of double visioning where we start looking at what we have been looking through for far too long.

Last year, Fiji was visited by a cyclone of preternatural strength, resulting in the devastation of life, property and crops. While the international community was quick and compassionate in its response, there were disturbing stories of hunger and malnutrition emanating from the outer islands. The same modernity that came

to our aid might have been responsible not only for the unbearable winds, but also for dismantling indigenous food preservation systems. Brian Schultz observes that Fijians in the past had established strategies to counter food shortages as a consequence of wars, droughts and hurricanes: "Classic examples of traditional food preservation techniques include the drying of shaved cassava or yams so as to produce a storable powder, the pit preservation method of staple carbohydrate foods such as breadfruit and taro where [they]...were soaked in water and buried in leaf-lined pits [and]...left to ferment, and the sun-drying and smoking of fish" (Schultz, 10). Ingrid Johnston ratifies this claim in a recent study entitled *Rebuilding Communities after Disasters: Remote Islands* (Johnston, 67-68). As food becomes scarcer and more expensive, southern islanders might want to reimagine, and share with one another, these context-specific strategies for food preservation and security in the age of super droughts and storms.

Hurricanes have also drawn attention to the pitfalls of a diminishing reliance on indigenous architectural knowledge and a status-conscious dependence on northern housing materials, designs and styles. It has been shown that the Fijian bure and the Samoan/Tongan fale are architecturally designed to cope with extreme weather events and that the elders in Oceania's scattered villages have a good handle on these structural principles. In a report based on interviews conducted with architects two years after Samoa was struck by Cyclone Evans, Catherine Wilson observes that "the majority of homes damaged during the disaster were Western style, with destruction of roofs a common problem" (Wilson, digital page). Drawing on the expertise of her Samoan informants, she points out:

> Traditional architecture is epitomised by the 'fale', an oval-shaped open structure with timber posts supporting a steep domed roof. All of the building elements are 'lashed' or bound together, originally with a plaited rope made from dried coconut fibre.
>
> The fale's open structure allows strong winds to pass straight through it, and the complex system of lashing offers flexible movement and strength in the face of ever-changing winds...
>
> "The roof of a fale is curved and winds which hit it will move around its surface without meeting resistance..." (Wilson, digital page).

She cites a third architect who observes that "[t]he design of the fale connects the roof directly to the posts that are concreted into the ground, creating less points of weakness" whereas "Western housing designs...are reliant on more points of connection from the foundation to the roof, leaving them more vulnerable to fail under stress..." (Wilson, digital page). The Tongan scholar, Futa Helu, discussing the work of the architect, Tomui Kaloni, who called attention to the "instinctive geometry" of Polynesian architecture (Helu, 324), made a similar

observation in 1999. Remarking that the style of the fale faka-Manuka drew on "traditional naval architecture...where the roof is the independent variable to which the floor had to be adjusted," he remarks that it led to the construction of a house where the walls and roof "are gently curved at critical points to divert or ease lateral as well as vertical loading" (Helu, 319-20). The critical aspect to the fale's architecture is a moving part in the half-dome sections called feleano that "has the effect of unifying all ta (half-dome) action into one which then develops complex load-bearing stresses—cable and twist actions—in addition to being the resisting force to lateral loads on the main central roof section that are all channeled to the ground through the feleano" (Helu, 323-26). Thus the non-synchronous, when faced by climatic perversities unleashed by the relentless system of surplus accumulation, returns as an innovative archaism, as that which is breathtakingly in advance of the modern.

I might add that the present anthropogenic environmental crisis is directly linked to exclusionary property relations brought about by a northern system of surplus accumulation. It is this property relation that dictates lives and laws in most cities. While bourgeois property law also governs life in the cities of Oceania, there are some practices among city-dwellers in this region not encompassed by such laws. In Suva, for instance, there is an unacknowledged consensus amongst the people that any unutilized arable land, whether privately or publically owned, may be borrowed by another party to supplement their domestic food supply. So a bele garden might appear on the neglected lawn of a police post, a dalo plot on the banks of the council's drainage system or a cassava patch at the back of a bus stop next to an upmarket hotel. I, too, participate in this outer-legal but slyly sanctioned and quietly ethical i-taukei practice where the notion of exclusionary ownership turns, at best, murky. The idle land next to my property I share with a villager from down the road, although neither of us is the legal proprietor. Sadly, his raurau patch is bigger than mine. It took an outsider, John O'Carroll, to point out how such archaic koro-derived practices are invisible to modernity and to urban morphologists because of growth-related paradigms linked to the market economy (O'Carroll, 37) and to, I might add, urban landscape aesthetics drawn from the global north. Caught up in a visible system governed by the circulation of exchange value, we cease to grasp the possibility of use-value existing for itself outside the exchange system—use-value, that is, in its enduringly archaic form. However, if such unbounded forms of land-sharing for purposes of subsistence contribute to our everyday food supply, then we need to discuss what this southern practice might mean regionally.

The fapui'aki ritual of Rotuma provides another instance of an ethical practice in food distribution and food conservation. The fapui is a coconut frond tied around the trunk of a tree, usually a fruit tree, to mark it as forbidden to harvest. Where there is no sign of a fapui, the fruit of that tree becomes common property regardless of land ownership. The fapui, if not hijacked to serve private interests, has the potential to be employed as an instrument for the conservation of fruit trees and for the sharing of food surpluses. This practice lies at the core of Rotuma's foundational cosmology (Howard, 53-54). There are many examples from Oceania of the quiet persistence of such adaptive practices, but they are seen to occupy the order of the archaic and so remain largely unremarked. Given that we are living in a world facing a crisis that is multi-layered and cross-thatched, it is time to the look closely at the market-circumventing options offered by the discontinuously continuous practices of Oceania.

I want to draw your attention to how one such archaic practice is being resurrected across the waters and islands of Fiji to the point of being adopted by those operating the hospitality industry. In this instance at least, touristic modernity is alert to the financial windfalls associated with an indigenous conservation practice. Faced with the depletion of marine stocks by commercial fishing, many coastal villages are reviving the customary practice of tabu whereby the harvesting of seafood is prohibited for some years in areas covering ocean tracts, fringing reefs and mangrove estuaries which are home to mud crabs. Tabu, however, is not simply a synonym for prohibition. Tabu-na or vaka-tabu-ya implies putting tabu on something by rendering it sacred through the act of consecration. So where modernity might view the ocean as a storehouse for edible maritime commodities, shorn altogether of the sacred, of sanctity, the observers of tabu regard it as a source of food certainly, but also as a hallowed extension of the vanua and therefore inclusive of land, sea, sea life, genealogical ties, reciprocities, duty of care, ecological ethics, and so on. Vanua is at the heart of the oceanic sublime in that it aspires to the condition of the sacred where nature, culture, genealogy, food, sea, river, land and life are indissolubly bound together. In 2001, for instance, Shangri-La Fiji actively worked with eight coastal Cuvu villages to put a tabu on selected reef and mangrove systems bordering the resort. Under a plan ratified by the Cuvu Tikina Council, it was possible to "set aside 50% of the Tikina's reefs as well as some adjacent mangrove and seagrass habitats as no-fishing areas (Bowden-Kerby, 153). Not only were the areas under tabu more appealing to visitors because of the abundant reef and marine life, but the fee levied from them was channeled into further acts of ecological restoration while ensuring the replenishment of food stocks for local communities. The denizens of Kavula in Bua

furnish another recent example of how southern tabu practices may intersect with modern instruments of conservation. With the aid of flip charts and related illustration tools provided by the NGO cChange, the community was able to mobilize support to impose a tabu on gravel extraction from the Kavula River. The tabu's overall objective is to replenish fish stocks by protecting the Redigobius Lekutu, a rare species of freshwater fish (*The Fiji Times,* July 7, 2016).

Many i-taukei coastal communities, in fact, have been drawing on scientific knowledge to revive customary practices, thereby engendering innovative archaisms in a bid to reverse modernity's assault on food sources and ecological life-worlds. The villagers of Ucunivanua have achieved notable success in reversing the steady decline in the population of the kaikoso clam. Imposing a three-year tabu on the harvesting of the kaikoso, they obtained assistance from scientists at my university who taught them how to monitor and statistically-sample the clam population in the region. Their success in increasing the clam size and population led other villages in the area to resurrect the practice: "Sawa villagers, for example, imposed a *tabu* on a mangrove island. By counting the "active" holes in the mangroves, they found that the numbers of the mangrove lobster *Thalassina anomala* increased by roughly 250 percent annually, with a spillover effect of roughly 120 percent outside the *tabu* area" (Aalbersberg, Tawake & Parras,146). The authors of the report proceed to cite the case of Nacamaki village on the island of Gau where "one year after creating a *tabu* area the community harvested approximately eight tons of their food totem, the rabbitfish, in one week," provoking one elderly woman to declare that "our ancestors have released the blessing to us by reviving this tradition" (Aalbersberg, Tawake & Parras, 146). Here, then, to hark back to Bloch, the marriage of the non-synchronous tabu with synchronous scientific knowledge informs the future-forging resurrection of an unfinished past.

I-taukei oral narrative testifies liberally to the efficacy of the tabu as a longstanding indigenous practice based on the convergence of ecological, ethical and survivalist ethics. The villagers of Nacamaki and Namuana, based respectively on the islands of Koro and Kadavu, are famously associated with the ceremony of summoning sea turtles with their incantatory songs. In the case of the Nacamaki, the villagers are forbidden by the tabu to look upon the turtles once they have ventured on the beach:

> As soon as the turtle invasion began it was the custom for the villagers to go back to their homes without a single backward glance, and to stay there for a night and a day, leaving the beach to the turtles. There was much speculation as to what happened there, but the ceremony was one that had been imposed upon their

ancestors by the gods, and no one dared to break the tabu, until one inquisitive and skeptical man defied the ancient edict in order to satisfy his curiosity (Reed and Hamez, 211).

For his violation of this injunction against human interference in the reproductive habits of turtles, the curious man is turned into a tree bearing vonu or turtle nuts. He also serves as a cautionary reminder to the others not to breach the communal tabu. It is difficult not to read the narrative as an instructive critique of the disenchanted economic man, narcissistic, daring and skeptical, who seeks to extract value from a secret pertaining to the reproductive rights of turtles. The legend associated with Namuana village, on the other hand, concerns the abduction of two chiefly women by Nabukelevu fishermen. When the sea intervenes by inciting a storm and changing the women into turtles, the terrified fishermen cast the changelings into the ocean and scramble for home. Unable to be re-transformed, the turtles live in the bay fronting Namuana village and make an appearance only when invoked through song by its womenfolk. As a result of the rapport between the women of Namuana and the turtles of Namuanu, there is a tabu in place on the harvesting of fish and turtles (Blakelock, 47). Such fabulous accounts possess potency precisely because they create the conditions for the systemic application of the tabu. The tabu, in turn, informs the effective and ethical management of the marine eco-system which constitutes the qoliqoli or customary fishing arena coming under local stewardship. Not surprisingly perhaps, the revival of the tabu was a key recommendation of a report on sea turtles commissioned in 1993 by the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (Guinea, 32). Tabu and transformation go hand in glove in i-taukei cosmology and suggests an ethical interspecies contract that, in the light of the present planetary crisis, constitutes an innovative archaism in the time of modernity. Innovative archaisms, as I have argued, are in advance of the progressively desolating time of modernity.

For this and kindred reasons it behoves us to conduct our discussion in another idiom by changing the grammar behind our epistemic categories in the way Hau'ofa changed the grammar of perspective. For to keep speaking of sustainable development, strategic adjustments, regional food or other securities, market integration, property rights, remittance economies or policy-driven education is to settle for the grammar—and therefore the codes—of northern or neoliberal modernity while looking through extant southern practices that permit us to live, know and travel in ways uncharted by the overlong and overdrawn age of surplus accumulation. If modernity defines itself through a process whereby it relationally relegates to areas of darkness what is, in fact, constitutively necessary to it, then it

is time to shine a light on these dark areas in order to transform the 'death drive' driving surplus accumulation. The challenge is to see a bull's skull in a bicycle seat—and that presupposes a new grammar of the imagination where selected ethical archaisms, working in concert with the synchronous scientific present, gain visibility.

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Entangled Rhythms of Life in Dakar: Subject, community and time in Pape Pathé Diop's *La poubelle* (1984)

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Abstract

In its reading of Pape Pathé Diop's urban novel *La poubelle* (1984), this article demonstrates that not only spatial but also temporal categories are necessary to describe structures and functions in the Global South city. Taking as a starting point the leading metaphors of transitivity, daily rhythms and footprint effects developed by urban geographers Amin and Thrift (2002), and Achille Mbembe's concept of a 'time of entanglement', the paper analyses the various time frames and temporal entanglements determining the relationship between subject and community in Dakar. It shows that by focusing on temporality, Diop succeeds in integrating both historical dimensions and global entanglements into his portrait of Dakar.

Keywords

Introduction

This paper sets out to demonstrate that the city as a concept must, if it is to provide an adequate description of its structures and functions, be understood not only in terms of space, but also in terms of temporality.[1] African post-colonial cities in particular are largely characterised by an entanglement of various time frames, and they use temporal categories to construct social and cultural differences. I shall illustrate this thesis by examining Pape Pathé Diop's *La poubelle* (1984), a novel which is fairly representative of Senegalese literature of its time and which provides a new perspective on the topic of the city. The novel focuses on everyday life in Dakar in the 1980s, showing how notions of community and subjectivity have to be redefined in a growing megalopolis that is marked on the one hand by Muslim traditions and on the other by colonialism and Western modernity.[2] In his novel, Diop highlights the tensions between European-influenced modernity and autochthonous culture, while at the same time exploring entanglements with the global economy.

In contrast to the spatial conception of the city previously dominant in African literature, Diop makes significant use of the category of time to construe the differences between the neighbourhoods. This enables him not only to write about the contrasts between traditional and modern African society and the way they are geared to different time frames, but also to focus on reciprocities, mixtures and entanglements more successfully than the category of space would allow. Such entanglements,[3] both within the sub-areas of the city and between the city's urban and global dynamics, are particularly characteristic of the big cities of the Global South, where various different temporal politics, practices and imaginaries come together.[4]

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[1] For their work on the English version of this paper, I should like to thank Patrícia Matos and Imogen. Taylor. Unless otherwise indicated translations of the French citations are those of Imogen Taylor.

[2] Founded by Europeans in the mid-nineteenth century, Dakar fulfilled important political and administrative functions as the capital of French West Africa from 1902 until its independence in 1960, and had a relatively high number of European inhabitants as a result. See Dresch (1992) and Coquery-Vidrovitch (1988a) on the urban development of Dakar and the colonial period, and Faye (2000) for details on the district of Médina. Statistics on the post-colonial era can be found in Landing & Antoine (1989, pp. 18-19).

[3] The term 'entanglement' is defined by Sarah Nuttall in her eponymous book as 'a condition of being twisted together or entwined, involved with; it speaks of an intimacy gained, even if it was resisted, or ignored or uninvited. It is a term which may gesture towards a relationship or set of social relationships that is complicated, ensnaring, in a tangle, but which also implies a human foldedness' (Nuttall, 2009, p. 1).

[4] This concept of 'Entangled Temporalities in the Global South' is the subject of a recently approved PhD program at Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen. The most important passages of the proposal can be found at the following link: http://www.uni-tuebingen.de/fakultaeten/philosophische-fakultaet/forschung/zentren-und-interdisziplinaere-einrichtungen/interdisciplinary-centre-for-global-

In classic urban discourses, such as those of Simmel, Benjamin, de Certeau or Lefebvre, the conception of the city is also primarily spatial. Only recently have urban studies begun to focus on the city as a temporalised space offering a set of instruments for analysing the city in terms of time. And in *De la postcolonie* (2000), Achille Mbembe has developed a concept for describing post-colonial African societies: the 'time of entanglement' (Mbembe, 2001, p. 16). This article aims to combine the two approaches and to demonstrate, through its analysis of *La poubelle*, the advantages of understanding the city as a temporalised space and of applying temporality as a crucial category in the construction of social and cultural difference in Global South societies.

The City as a Temporalised Space

The city-country divide is a recurrent and much-varied theme in Francophone African literature.[5] In the colonial novel, starting with Mongo Beti's *Ville cruelle* (1954) the city symbolizes, above all, the colonial sphere of influence. During the colonial period, only the predominantly European city centre was referred to as *ville,* while the indigenous neighbourhoods were known as *villages:* Africa and urbanity were regarded as opposites.[6] In the post-colonial novel, the city increasingly represents the place of conflict between tradition and modernity, as for instance in Ahmadou Kourouma's famous novel *Les soleils des indépendances* (1968). Clear spatial borders play as important a role in the architecture of these textual cities as they do in Frantz Fanon's description of the colonial city in *Les damnés de la terre (*1961*)* when he writes about the concept of the 'monde compartimenté'[7] (Fanon, 2002, pp. 41–44). The same is also true of Tierno Monénembo's novel *Les écailles du ciel (1986)*, which describes the turmoil and upheavals of independence in a city characterised by a strict divide between centre and periphery.

Let us begin by examining the description of the divided colonial city in Mongo Beti's first novel *Ville cruelle* (1954).[8] The two halves of Tanga, a fictional

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south/forschungsprogramm.html/05.07/2019.

[5] See Chemain's standard reference work (1981), but also Schomers (1985), Paravy (1999) and Coussy (2003).

[6] See Goerg (2006) who claims that historical urban research on Africa was not developed until the late 1970s. The first works on the city of (West) Africa come from geographers (Dresch, 1992; Vennetier, 1991). Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch was an early authority on historical urban studies (1988b, 1993). A sound overview of research on the history of West African cities can be found in Fourchard (2004).

[7] 'World divided into compartments' (Fanon, 1968, p. 38).

[8] The novel was first released under the pseudonym Eza Boto. See Tsofack (2009) on the division of the city in *Ville cruelle*, and Di Bernardini (2011) on the Cameroonian cities of that time.

city that acts as a paradigm for the colonial city in Africa, extend along the two opposite slopes of the hill and are presented as two cities, almost idealised antitheses of one another:

> Sur les deux versants opposés de cette colline, se situaient les deux Tanga. Le Tanga commerçant et administratif – Tanga des autres, Tanga étranger – occupait le versant sud [...] (Boto, 2015, p. 16)[9]
>
> L'autre Tanga, le Tanga sans spécialité, le Tanga auquel les bâtiments administratifs tournaient le dos – par une erreur d'appréciation probablement – le Tanga indigène, le Tanga des cases, occupait le versant nord peu incliné, étendu en éventail. Ce Tanga se subdivisait en innombrables petits quartiers [...].
>
> Deux Tanga... deux mondes... deux destins ! (ibid., p. 20)[10]

The division of the city could hardly be more marked. The narrator, however, insists not only on the divide, but also on the circulation between the two parts, which comes about mainly as a result of the movement of the people who live there:

> Le jour, le Tanga du versant sud, Tanga commercial, Tanga de l'argent et du travail lucratif, vidait l'autre Tanga de sa substance humaine. Les Noirs remplissaient le Tanga des autres, où ils s'acquittaient de leurs fonctions. [...] La nuit, la vie changeait de quartier général. Le Tanga du versant nord récupérait les siens et s'animait alors d'une effervescence incroyable (Boto, 2015, pp. 20–22)[11]

The city seems different, depending on whether the focus is on its architecture or on the movement of its people—which in turn depends on the various kinds of work they do at different times of day. It is only by observing Tanga over a longer period of time that it is possible to get a broader picture of the city, in which the apparently strictly divided districts are shown to communicate after all. The white people's city is presented as the Tanga of work and of the day, while the indigenous Tanga is a place of night-time festivities. Seen from this perspective, the colonial city is not a static, divided space, but a dynamic place, characterized by movement—and this means that a temporal category is brought into play.

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[9] 'On the two opposite slopes of this hill were the two Tangas. The commercial and administrative Tanga—the others' Tanga, the foreign Tanga—on the southern slope [...]'.

[10] 'The second Tanga—the unskilled Tanga, on which the administrative buildings, presumably insufficiently appreciative, turned their backs, the indigenous Tanga, the hutted Tanga— fanned out over the shallow northern slope. This Tanga was subdivided into countless little districts [...] Two Tangas ...two worlds ...two destinies!'

[11] 'During the day, the Tanga of the southern slope, the commercial Tanga, the Tanga of money and well-paid work, drained the other Tanga of its human substance. The black people filled the Tanga of the others as they went about their business. [...] At night, life moved headquarters. The Tanga of the northern slope had its people returned to it, and came alive with incredible vibrancy'.

Recent urban geography[12] has concentrated increasingly on such dynamic aspects, understanding the city not as a closed spatial entity, but rather, in the words of Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift as 'a place of mobility, flow and everyday practices' (Amin & Thrift, 2002, p. 7) and as an 'amalgam of often disjointed processes and social heterogeneity, a place of near and far connections, a concatenation of rhythms, always edging in new directions' (ibid., p. 7). Michael Crang takes things in a similar direction, when he describes the rhythms of a city as 'temporalised space and motion' (Crang, 2001). All three urbanists understand the city as a space of social interaction and opt for a phenomenological approach, following Georg Simmel's urban sociology, Walter Benjamin's *flâneur*, Michel de Certeau's work on everyday life and Henri Lefebvre's urban philosophy. Their 'observer', a descendant of the *flâneur*, need not be a critical intellectual, but can be an ordinary resident walking about the city, just like Michel de Certeau's *marcheur*.

Hard though it is to for urban studies to practise such observation when their aim is to go beyond the point of view of the individual, it corresponds closely to the type of urban representation in many African novels. The literary representation of the city privileges a subject-centred perspective almost by definition. The passages from *Ville cruelle* quoted above, in which the city is presented from the bird's-eye view of an omniscient, Balzac-like narrator, are an exception, both in the novel itself and in descriptions of cities in African novels in general. On the whole, the predominant perspective is that of a single protagonist moving around the city.

Through the movement of the *marcheur*, the city comes to be read almost automatically as a temporalised space, characterised by movements and encounters. The busy, moving nature of the city was also a central aspect in Simmel's *Die Großstädte und das Geistesleben* (*The Metropolis and Mental Life*, 1903). Simmel famously attributes the heightening of nervous life to the 'raschen und ununterbrochenen Wechsel äußerer und innerer Eindrücke' (*the rapid and constant back and forth between outer and inner stimuli*), which contrasts with the 'langsameren, gewohnteren, gleichmäßiger fließenden Rhythmus' (*the slower, more habitual, more steadily flowing rhythm*) of small-town and country life.[13] More recent studies on the 'rhythms of the city' (Crang, 2001) take Henri Lefebvre's *Eléments de rythmanalyse* (1992), as a starting point from which to develop a set of instruments capable of describing the plurality of the many rhythms of the city.[14]

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[12] The most important works in this area are May & Thrift (2001) and Amin & Thrift (2010). For a cultural studies perspective, see also Donald (1999), which focuses more on the aspect of imagination.
[13] Simmel (1995, pp. 116–131).
[14] Crang (2001), Amin & Thrift (2002), Wunderlich (2008) and Goonewardena (2008).

They consider time from the perspective of an observer for whom time is an 'experience of flow' (Crang, 2001, p. 206), an approach which shows that the city's temporality is far more complex than Simmel's dichotomy suggests.

In their book *Cities: Reimagining the Urban (2002)*, Amin and Thrift develop three leading metaphors to describe the modern city: transitivity, daily rhythms and footprint effects. The first derives from Walter Benjamin's concept of porosity: 'Transitivity/porosity is what allows the city to continually fashion and refashion itself' (Amin & Thrift 2002, p. 10). For these changes to be perceived, the city must be seen from the point of view of the *flâneur.* In their descriptions of the daily rhythms of the city, the authors quote John Allen:

> anything from the regular comings and goings of people about the city to the vast range of repetitive activities, sounds and even smells that punctuate life in the city and which give many of those who live and work there a sense of time and location (Allen, 1999, p. 56, quoted in Amin & Thrift 2002, p. 17)

For those who live there, the rhythms of the city represent a kind of system of coordinates that allows them to get their bearings, while the 'footprint effects' introduce a dimension of historicity, preserving traces of the past or pointing beyond the present place: 'imprints from the past, the daily tracks of movement across, and links beyond the city' (Amin & Thrift, 2002, p. 9).

A third term could be added to these three metaphors which are explicitly denoted as such, namely 'circulation', a term which Amin and Thrift cite as a central feature of the city, without counting it as a leading metaphor. In *La poubelle* it is certainly employed not only with the concrete meanings of traffic and the circulation of goods, but also on a metaphorical level.

All four metaphors are ultimately connected to dimensions of time and aspects of entanglement. This makes them well-suited to describe the copresence of heterogeneous temporalities, which, according to Achille Mbembe, are characteristic of African societies in general:

> L'hypothèse centrale [...] est que la légalité propre des sociétés africaines, leurs propres raisons d'être et leur rapport à rien d'autre qu'à elles-mêmes s'enracinent dans une multiplicité de temps, de rythmes et de rationalités qui, bien que particuliers et, parfois, locaux, ne peuvent pas être pensés en dehors d'un monde qui s'est, pour ainsi dire, dilaté. [...] (Mbembe, 2005, p. 21)[15]

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[15] 'The central assumption that guides what follows is that the peculiar "historicity" of African societies, their own raisons d'être and their relation to nothing but themselves, are rooted in a multiplicity of times, trajectories, and rationalities that, although particular and sometimes local, cannot be conceptualized outside a world that is, so to speak, globalized' (Mbembe 2001, p. 9, slightly modified translation).

The concept of a 'time of entanglement' developed in this context proves helpful for an analysis of *La poubell*e, where the characters are implicated in a variety of time frames and global dynamics. Although the colonial age is over, colonial structures persist in Dakar—mainly in the area of economics and the resulting power relations, but also in connection with the modernisation of traditional society in the city. In this study, I will use the term 'entangled rhythms of life' to describe the temporalities of everyday postcolonial life—temporalities which make visible the interplay (or entanglement) between autochthonous temporalities, the *longue durée* of colonisation and globalisation.

La poubelle as a Portrait of Daily Life in Dakar

Around 1980, everyday life in Dakar acquired literary relevance. A few years before Diop's *La poubelle*, Aminata Sow Fall's very successful novel *La grève des battù ou Les déchets humains* (1979) paints a portrait of Dakar addressing the tension between the model of European modernity and Islamic traditions of community. In a genre that falls between satire and utopia, the author focuses on the beggars in Dakar, who are tellingly referred to in the subheading as 'waste' and whom the council wants to drive out of the city to make it more attractive to European tourists.[16]

The tension between African traditions and European-influenced modernity in Dakar is also the theme of Diop's only novel. Like many other novels from this period, *La poubelle* highlights the existence of a double view of history and the world by integrating Wolof elements into the text.[17] In his portrait of the city, the author focuses on describing everyday life and social community in Médina, a 'quartier mi-bourgeois mi-populaire'[18] directly bordering the city centre, Dakar-Plateau. At the same time, Diop devotes a lot of space to the interplay with global economic dynamics, and in this context, the eponymous dustbin has an important part to play, representing on a smaller scale the circulation of goods between Africa and Europe.

So far, the novel has received almost no academic attention.[19] In 2012, Sara C. Hanaburgh dedicated a chapter to *La poubelle* in her dissertation about *Global Wreckage and Consumer Illusions* (2012), in which she read it as an

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[16] See Kalaora (2007), Diouf (2011) and Miller (1987) on Aminata Sow Fall's novel.
[17] See Diop (1995, pp. 82–83). Wolof is the most important Senegalese language.
[18] Diop (1984, p. 9).
[19] Although the novel is occasionally mentioned in surveys on Francophone African literature, there are almost no exclusive studies. Beside the chapter in Hanaburgh's dissertation (2012, pp. 110-123), there is an article by Diané (1999, pp. 101-107), which focuses on the linguistic problem.

example of the destructive effects of the global circulation of goods on the individual.[20] This reading differs sharply from the announcement of the narrator, who understands the novel as an 'histoire de l'après-adolescence de Babacar, de sa vie d'adulte dans Médina et dans la ville de la capitale' (Diop, 1984, p. 35).[21] His primary focus is on the local, and his coming-of-age story emphasises the relationship between individual and community.

Babacar or Mour—the name he is usually known by in Médina—left his native village a few years ago to move to Dakar, where he works in the construction industry, has learned the rudimentaries of reading and writing from student friends, and lives with his uncle in Médina. His is a typical biography of village-city migration, a frequent topic of the African novel. Diop does, however, modify the topos by focusing not on Mour's arrival in the city, but on his assumption of social responsibility at an important point in his life. He finds himself up against two social duties which mark important stages in his coming-of-age. First of all, he signs an instalment-purchase contract for a (social-housing) flat in an HLM which is still under construction—a first requirement for starting a family. Secondly, as the sacrificial feast of Tabaski approaches, it falls to him to buy the sheep and the festive clothing for all the relations in his uncle's house. That these duties are given equal weight by Mour shows that his life is marked both by African tradition and by the European-influenced demands of modern city life. But fulfilling both duties is beyond Mour's financial means. The consequences of failure are described in drastic terms, especially when it comes to the second duty:

> L'homme de Médina qui ne respectait pas cette tabaski en abattant le mouton de sacrifice et en « habillant » les siens, se démarquait, se marginalisait par rapport à tous les autres Médinois; c'était un quasi-suicide (Diop, 1984, p. 39)[22]

This reflection foreshadows the end of the novel. Parallel to the story of Mour, we also hear the story of his neighbour Camara, who occupies a leading position in the city council.[23] Camara, as will become clear in the course of the novel, lives beyond his means like a typical postcolonial picaro, and does everything he can to create the illusion of wealth, even filling his dustbin with goods discarded by an American retailer. These are taken out by the local children and immediately

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[20] '[E]very human being will try to get ahead in the superficial game of material gain, but is likely to find out one day that one is not solely in control of one's own material success' (Hanaburgh, 2012, pp. 114–115).

[21] A 'story of Babacar's post-adolescence and adult life in Médina and the centre of the capital.'

[22] 'The man of Médina who did not respect Tabaski by slaughtering the sacrificial sheep and "fitting out" his family, set himself apart, marginalised himself from all the other people of Médina. It was virtual suicide'.

[23] 'Jeune cadre qui travaille au Building administratif, dans le centre moderne de la capitale, Dakar' (*Young employee who works in the administrative block, in the modern centre of the capital, Dakar*, Diop, 1984, pp. 30-31).

confiscated by their parents because with a bit of repair work they can still be used. Thus in Médina the dustbin comes to symbolise Camara's wealth. At the same time, it acts as a link with the global circulation of goods, whose waste products end up in Médina, where they cease to be rubbish and become desirable objects.

Despite the difference in social status, Mour begins to discover surprising parallels between him and his high-earning neighbour, who turns out to have financial problems of his own and resorts to illegal means of obtaining money. While Mour, with the help of his fiancée, eventually manages to honour both financial duties, Camara is unable to slaughter a sheep for the feast of Tabaski, and ends up losing his place in the community of Médina. In a spectacular final scene, his social fall is made palpable when Mour finds him living as a tramp on the city dump, a place he refers to as 'ma poubelle' (Diop, 1984, p. 199).

It is in Camara's story that Hanaburgh finds what she sees as the moral of the novel. As I see it, though, the crux of *La poubelle* is neither Camara's story nor Mour's, but the portrait Diop paints of Dakar—and especially of Médina. This district was built for the black population on dried swampland in 1914, and soon became the first port of call for migrants arriving in the city from the countryside.[24] The name comes from the Arabic word *medina* which translates roughly as 'slum'. In the 1980s, the population of Médina was socially mixed—this is explained in a passage detached from the plot, in which the narrator supplies information about the district. In the same passage, Médina is described first as a 'quartier populaire', a working-class district of Dakar (Diop, 1984, p. 34), and then, somewhat contradictorily, as 'le quartier de la classe moyenne' (*the middle-class district*, ibid., p. 35). The 'paysan déclassé du champ' *(peasant who has been relegated from the fields)* makes his living there just as much as the upper-middle-class employed by European firms.[25] The narrator does not neglect to point out the dumping prices of the global agricultural market are to blame for rural exodus;[26] both rural migrants and the wealthy middle class owe their presence in the district to globalisation.

A careful study of the text reveals that, in quantitative terms alone, more space is given to describing life in Médina than to telling Mour and Camara's stories. The novel, which spans about a year, focuses on deeply traditional and community-forging rituals, especially the daily evening ritual of tea and the preparation and

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[24] See Dresch (1950, pp. 622–626) and, for a more detailed account, Faye (2000).

[25] 'Mais elle peut aussi abriter les fonctionnaires et les cols blancs les plus élevés, ou peu s'en faut, de la fonction publique ou d'une entreprise privée réelle, c'est-à-dire européenne' (*But it also offers a home to officials and top—or nearly top—white-collar workers in the public service, or in a proper—which is to say, European—private company,* Diop, 1984, p. 35).

[26] 'On y rencontrera effectivement le paysan déclassé du champ, déclassé à cause de la matière première qui se vend mal sur le marché mondial, donc sur le marché du pays occidental' (*And there, true enough, you will come across peasants who have been relegated from the fields—relegated because the raw materials sell so badly on the global market, which is to say the Western market,* Diop, 1984, p. 35.

celebration of the feast of Tabaski held annually in Médina. Embedded in this rhythm with its pattern of daily routines and annual events is the story of Mour and Camara, which is punctuated by two trips up and down Avenue Blaise-Diagne. One night at the beginning of the story, Mour follows Camara to the city centre, where Camara collects the discarded products of the American retailer. On the night before the feast of Tabaski, the American retailer and his wife pay a visit on Camara, but because Camara is out, the neighbours invite the couple to have tea and dinner while they wait. The meeting is described in great detail, and before the Americans leave, the provenance of the dustbin has been revealed. This and Camara's disappearance are discussed at length over tea when Tabaski is over. The novel ends with Mour's second trip to the city centre about a year later—this time he strolls the streets as a flâneur. Various *footprint effects* add a historical dimension to this part of the novel—until Mour's walk comes to an end at the enormous city dump where he finds Camara.

The analysis that follows in the next part of this paper will look at the construction of social community within the framework of daily rhythms, marked in particular by the ritual of tea. After that, the focus will be on the aspects of transitivity and *footprint effects,* and finally a last dimension of temporal entanglement will be examined—the circulation of goods.

Temps naturel versus *heure européenne*: everyday rhythms in Dakar

Diop's description of Médina begins with the following words: 'Entre dix-huit heures et le crépuscule, l'éclat du soleil est à peine jauni dans les rues de Médina, quartier mi-bourgeois mi-populaire de Dakar' (Diop, 1984, p. 9).[27] It is in this period of time, marked not by the calendar, but only by the clock, that a large part of the action unfolds. It is the evening ritual of tea, when people meet up on the streets to drink tea and chat. This daily ritual has a community-forging function; as I will demonstrate below, it also serves as a marker of social position.[28]

The reference to time, 'entre dix-huit heures et le crepuscule', points to two different ways of measuring time. The chronometric reference, 'dix-huit heures', follows the Western way of measuring time and marks the end of work—an

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[27] 'Between six o'clock in the evening and dusk, the light of the sun is barely yellow in the streets of Médina, the half bourgeois half working-class district of Dakar.'
[28] The ritual can be defined as a '(social, political and religious) practice, institutionalised and regulated to a greater or lesser degree [...], in which a social group (or an individual acting as a member of a social group or society) agrees on or assures itself of its common values and beliefs.' (Braungart, 1996, p. 63).

area which is almost entirely absent in the novel.[29] The mention of dusk, on the other hand, refers to the course of the sun; there are also frequent references to the position of the sun in the sky and the strength of its rays as ways of measuring the passing of time.[30] The period of time referred to can, then, be said to be situated on the border between chronometrically measured time and solar time—or, as it is called in the novel, 'temps naturel' (Diop, 1984, p. 47).

The ritual as a social practice is characterised by repetition and rhythm.[31] But repetition also invariably contains the possibility of variation, and it soon becomes clear that the ritual of tea is performed by a group of people who are open to change and modernisation. The narrator makes a point of stressing that the first glass of tea, which was previously reserved for the adults, is now also offered to uncircumcised boys and unmarried girls.[32] The modernisation of society can also be seen in the mixture of people who meet for tea outside Camara's house. As well as public servant Camara and the illiterate Mour, who gives careful thought to the way he dresses so as to assert himself socially, the group also includes students. They, too, represent a form of modernity within society and discuss social mobility, change, and movement: 'Vous avez balayé la vieille garde pour la remplacer, mais on vous aura à votre tour! (…) C'est la loi des générations' (Diop, 1984, pp. 17-18).[33]

Camara, whose possessions Mour often admiringly describes as 'modern', has a special status in the circle of tea drinkers: 'pour chacun des Médinois, les autres savaient d'où il venait, et où il en était avec son problème; les autres pressentaient même où il allait avec son problème. Mais sur Camara, rien!' (Diop, 1984, p. 30).[34]

Teatime, like the children's game of football, ends at dusk, when evening prayers are said: 'il faut arrêter le thé, car c'est le crépuscule. Il faut aller prier' (iDiop, 1984, p. 25).[35] Natural time and religious time form a unity for the social community of Médina.[36] Once again, though, Camara is an exception. While all the

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[29] Elsewhere, we are told that Mour works from nine to six with half an hour's lunch break: 'Entre 9 heures et 18 heures tous les jours, avec une demi-heure pour manger du riz au poisson!' (*Between 9 and 6 every day, with a half-hour break to eat rice and fish!* Diop, 1984, p. 18).

[30] At first: 'l'éclat du soleil est à peine jauni dans les rues de Médina' (*The light of the sun is barely yellow in the streets of Médina*, Diop, 1984, p. 9); later on: 'La pénombre crépusculaire, insensiblement, s'épaississait et s'étendait le long de la rue' (*The dark of dusk thickened and spread along the street, imperceptibly*, ibid., p. 25). The behaviour of the birds is also a part of this gradual nightfall.

[31] See Braungart (1996, p. 76).

[32] Diop (1984, p. 10)

[33] 'You've swept away the old guard to take its place, but the same will happen to you! […] It's the law of generations.'

[34] 'With all the other people from Médina, everyone knew where they came from and where they were at with their troubles—even guessed where they were headed with their troubles. But with Camara, nobody knew a thing!'

[35] 'Tea is over because it's getting dark. We have to go and pray.'

[36] Elsewhere, the voice of the muezzin is compared to *temps naturel*: 'C'était cela que, de sa voix aussi lancinante que ce temps naturel lui-même, le muezzin de cette Médina criait' (*That was what the muezzin of this Médina was crying, in a voice as haunting as natural time itself,* Diop, 1984, p. 47).

others return home when the muezzin calls, Camara goes out: 'Il fait tout à l'envers,' Mour thinks, 'il sort quand les autres rentrent' (Diop, 1984, p. 47).[37] Or, as it says elsewhere: 'Les Camara, eux, vivent à l'heure européenne' (Diop, 1984, p. 117).[38]

What does it mean to 'live by the European clock'? A look at the city centre shows that the natural and religious rhythms do not apply there. The end of the day is marked not by the *muezzin,* but by the streetlamps: 'Ces lampes ressemblent à des muezzins de villes qui, en guise de voix, nomment le crépuscule, parlent en signaux lumineux du haut de leurs miradors' (Diop, 1984, p. 54).[39]

The lighting guarantees that public life continues at night. When owners close their stores, night traders begin to sell their wares: 'Les marchands du soir, de cette heure crépusculaire, veilleront jusqu'à l'aube, du moins jusqu'à la sortie des salles de cinéma, en fait au petit matin' (Diop, 1984, p. 53).[40]

European time stands in clear opposition to the daily rhythm of Médina, which is determined by the sun and by religion. This creates a marked temporal difference between Médina and the city centre—a difference which is also made explicit: 'La grande ville semblait avoir des conditions de rythme de vie qui lui sont particulières là où Médina et le pays intérieur, surtout, respectent la course du soleil et le temps de la prière' (Diop, 1984, p. 53).[41]

Transitivity: Avenue Blaise-Diagne

Although Diop repeatedly points out marked differences between Médina and the city centre, there are also passages where he insists, with equal vehemence, on the connections and transitivity between the two districts. In a passage introducing Dakar, in which he addresses his readers in the style of a sociologist or urbanist, he explicitly highlights the difficulty of drawing boundaries between the districts:

> On peut naître, vivre et mourir à Dakar sans savoir en réalité où finit la ville et où commencent les quartiers populaires du pays. Certes, dans le centre de la ville, l'on sait bien que l'on n'est plus dans un quartier comme Médina, ou Minzat, ou Colobane. Mais que l'on s'éloigne un peu du quartier européen, sur le plateau, au-dessus de l'océan atlantique, que l'on se dirige vers l'intérieur,

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[37] 'He does everything back-to-front, he goes out when the others are coming home.'
[38] 'The Camaras live by the European clock.'
[39] 'Those lamps are like city muezzins announcing dusk in light signals from the tops of their towers .'
[40] 'the night traders will be up from dusk until dawn—or at least until people come out of the cinemas in the small hours of the morning.'
[41] 'The city seemed to have rhythms of life all its own, whereas Médina and the countryside respect the course of the sun and prayer times.'

> lentement, et l'on aura du mal à établir les limites réelles de la ville réelle de la capitale de Dakar, avec les commencements des quartiers populaires médinois (Diop, 1984, p. 36)[42]

The difficulty arises because there are areas of transition which do not permit the gradually moving observer to discern a clear-cut boundary. A similar transitivity applies to social mobility in the city: 'la même imprécision des limites entre le petit bourgeois médinois et le pauvre du pays qui, après avoir quitté les champs, est venu à Dakar tenter sa chance' (Diop, 1984, p. 36).[43]

The most impressive example of transitivity is the description of Avenue Blaise-Diagne, which is linked with Mour's already-mentioned pursuit of Camara in such a way that the narrative perspective is automatically connected to Mour's spatial movement. At the same time, though, the narrative voice is independent of Mour, occasionally providing additional information. When first mentioned, the avenue is referred to as the backbone of Médina, but also as the umbilical cord connecting Médina to the city centre:

> Cette avenue Blaise-Diagne est l'épine dorsale de Médina. Mais c'est aussi elle qui relie cette pauvre et vaste Médina à la ville de la capitale, à la ville centrale; par conséquent, elle est également un cordon ombilical qui rappelle la consanguinité de Médina et de la grande et moderne ville de Dakar. (Diop, 1984, p. 48)[44]

Although he focuses on the differences *(pauvre et vaste Médina* vs. *la grande et moderne ville de Dakar)*, Diop also highlights the connecting element by employing the image of the umbilical cord, with its associations of circulation. Later in the passage, too, the narrator's description of the avenue focuses on spatial movement and change, attributing both to the street itself, and thus anthropomorphising it to a certain extent:

> Cette avenue Blaise-Diagne, si on la prend ainsi depuis Médina et qu'on suit le cours en direction de la grande ville, on la voit à chaque étape, à chaque jalon de son voyage, se *muter* et *devenir* de plus en plus centrale, moderne, nette et moins populeuse [...]
>
> *Cette avenue court*, s'enjolivant d'autres commerces, vers le centre-ville, marquant également sa *course* en se dévêtant de sa substance

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[42] 'You can be born and live and die in Dakar without really knowing where the city ends and where the working-class districts begin. To be sure, in the city centre you know you're no longer in a district like Médina, or Minzat, or Colobane. But when you begin to move away from the European district, "le plateau", above the Atlantic Ocean, and head slowly for the interior, you have trouble making out the true limits of the true city of Dakar's capital and the beginnings of the working-class districts of Médina'.

[43] 'The same fuzziness of boundaries between the petit bourgeois of Médina and the country poor who have left the fields to try their luck in Dakar'.

[44] 'This road, Avenue Blaise-Diagne, is the backbone of Médina, but it also links that poor, vast Médina to the capital, the city centre, so that it is, at the same time, an umbilical cord which reminds us of the blood shared by Médina and the big modern city of Dakar.'

> humaine médinoise, en particulier dans la frange populeuse. [...]
>
> *Toujours en s'enjolivant*, par des boutiques d'habits de mode et de tissus à coudre, souvent lamés et brodés, et par d'autres boutiques de prêt-à-porter toutes, ou presque, tenues par les communautés libano-syriennes, *cette avenue Blaise-Diagne quitte Médina* (Diop, 1984, pp. 48-49, my emphasis, SG)[45]

Here the active verbs of changing and moving are attributed to the street so that the course it takes seems to involve active spatial movement.

In this description of the avenue—unlike in the previously quoted passage—there is mention of a clear divide between Médina and the centre. The cut-off point is a bend described as an elbow, where a market is situated:

> elle [l'avenue Blaise-Diagne] fait un coude au niveau du marché Sandaga, pareil à une foire internationale où peuvent, par hasard, se rencontrer le Médinois comme le vrai citadin du centre. Mais ce coude est là : il est interdit aux cars rapides de prendre ce coude pour descendre, avec leurs passagers non vraiment citadins, vers ce centre de la ville capitale (Diop, 1984, p. 49)[46]

On the one hand, this market is a place where the inhabitants of Médina and the city dwellers from the centre can meet. On the other hand, the bend marks a point of separation, and this is emphasised once again when Mour makes his last trip to the centre: 'le coude magique, par lequel Médina et ses oripeaux se séparaient brusquement de la grande ville moderne et européenne de Dakar, Dakar-Plateau' *(*Diop, 1984, p. 182*)*.[47] At the bend, Avenue Blaise-Diagne becomes Avenue William Ponty (today Avenue Pompidou). As the narrator follows the street, he remarks on the clothes of the passers-by, which look more and more European, the further he advances. Special attention is given to the 'secrétaires-citadines grâcieuses et ampoulées dans leurs pas déhanchés', who are described in sociological terms as being 'marque du sous-développement' (Diop, 1984, p. 50).[48] The young ladies work in the city, but allow themselves to be kept by men at the same time, so that they have plenty of money to spend on Western clothes and jewellery, before going on to marry and change their way of life. In Médina and the countryside, they will give everything up for their children. The narrator compares

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[45] 'If we follow Avenue Blaise-Diagne from Médina into the city, we see it *change* at every step of the way, every stage of its journey—we see it *become* more central, modern, clean, less populated [...] The avenue *runs* into town, smartening itself up as it approaches the city centre, with different kinds of shops, and marking its *course*, too, by stripping itself of its Médinian human substance, particularly in the highly populated outskirts [...] Still continuing to smarten itself up, with fashion boutiques, other prêt-à-porter boutiques and shops selling shiny, embroidered dress fabric—all, or almost all run by the Syrian-Lebanese communities—the Avenue Blaise-Diagne leaves Médina.'
[46] '[...] the Avenue Blaise-Diagne bends like an elbow round about Sandaga Market, a kind of international fair where you are as likely to meet a man from Médina as a proper city dweller. But the elbow is there—the express buses, with their non-city-dwelling passengers, are banned from driving down it towards the city centre.'
[47] 'The magic elbow, abruptly separating Médina and its rags from the great modern European city of Dakar, Dakar-Plateau.'
[48] 'urban secretaries, graceful and pompous with their swaying steps'; 'a brand of underdevelopment'.

these urban secretaries with the avenues that flow into one another, but this time, the point of view is changed: the street is seen as beginning at the harbour of Dakar-Plateau and described in terms of the life of a woman, each section of the avenue representing a different stage in her life:

> Celle-ci [la double-avenue], en effet, quitte le port aussi graduellement que l'on quitte l'enfance, ou l'adolescence. Elle forme, au centre de Dakar, le temps du célibat doré, entre les hauts buildings et les maisons européennes les plus cossues de la ville [...]
>
> Soudain, cette chic avenue William-Ponty fait un coude brutal et devient nommément l'avenue Blaise-Diagne, de Médina, comme si, par un coup de foudre survenu au milieu de son célibat doré, elle allait aimer et se marier à Médina (...) ; elle prend le chemin qui se revêt de prisunics et de boutiques de plus en plus populaires, d'hommes et de femmes de plus en plus habillés à l'africaine (Diop, 1984, pp. 51-52)[49]

By equating the different stages of life with the sections of the street, the chronology of life is, as it were, spatialised. At the same time, this process further anthropomorphises the avenue, thus translating the course of the street into temporal categories. Lastly, the transitivity between the city centre and Médina is highlighted once again, because the two areas are described not as distinct and independent, but as flowing into one another and subject to change.

Footprint Effects

A historical dimension is introduced very early in the novel, in the narrator's sociology-style description of Médina: 'Si Médina l'a été [un bidonville très marginalisé, SG], Médina ne l'est plus qu'en partie' (Diop, 1984, pp. 34-35).[50] Later, too, there are moments when the past 'shows through' to produce *footprint effects*. The most obvious effects are related to the colonial past, but the historic dimension also covers pre-colonial history and the post-colonial period, even affording occasional glimpses into the future. This shows that the present cannot be imagined without the past and the future, but must be thought of as an

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[49] 'And indeed, this [double avenue] leaves the harbour as gradually as we leave childhood or adolescence. In the centre of Dakar, between the high-rise blocks and the city's most opulent European houses, it forms the golden age of the single life. [...] Then suddenly, the elegant Avenue William-Ponty bends abruptly, entering Médina and becoming Avenue Blaise-Diagne, as if, in the middle of the golden age of singledom, it had fallen in love and married and settled in Médina [...] ; it goes on its way—a way which is decked out with bargain chains and increasingly working-class shops, and with men and women in increasingly African dress [...]'

[50] 'If Médina was once [a very marginalised shantytown], it is now only partly so'.

'emboîtement de présents, de passés et de futurs qui tiennent toujours leurs propres profondeurs d'autres présents, passés et futurs' (Mbembe, 2005, p. 36).[51]

The colonial period is evoked right at the beginning of the novel, when the children take over the streets to play football and their appropriation of public space is described as a form of colonisation: 'Ceux-ci [les petits Médinois footballeurs] colonisent le bitume médinois dès qu'ils ont un moment de libre' (Diop, 1984, p. 33).[52] But the colonial past is particularly in evidence in the encounters between black people and 'toubabs', as the white people are called. The first such encounter takes place when Mour buys himself a ticket to the cinema in the city centre. He is not really afraid of the European lady in the box office, but he feels uncomfortable, because the toubabs are always in a position of power and economic superiority: 'pour acheter comme pour vendre, le toubab, toujours, pouvait plus, pouvait mieux' (Diop, 1984, p. 58).[53]

The second encounter takes place when the Americans who provide Camara with the discarded goods he puts in his dustbin, come to Médina to bring him a message. Camara is not at home, and so his neighbours take it upon themselves to welcome and feed the couple. When the Americans first arrive, though, the people of Médina are afraid: 'Les conditions de l'époque coloniale, à commencer par cette peur, n'avaient pas tout à fait disparu' (Diop, 1984, p. 90).[54] The reason given for this fear is that almost all the people of Médina are scared of the bailiffs and the legal system—a legacy of the colonial rulers, standing for immutability and rigidity. The Wolof word for this system is *Yôn-wi. Yôn,* the narrator tells us, means law, but in common parlance it also means path and street. Thus the abstract principle is projected onto space and also—since a path is connected to whoever walks on it—onto time. In a country where the paths follow the rhythm of the seasons, adapting themselves to people's movements and to changes in nature,[55] only the streets of the whites are not subject to change: 'les yôn tracés par le toubab colon étaient, eux, faits d'une seule pièce, rigides, immuables, comme des routes de fer, des chemins de fer' (Diop, 1984, p. 88).[56] This colonial form of justice stands in opposition to the traditional form of 'taranga', which is based on rules of politeness and reciprocal duty. Furthermore, taranga constitutes a basic principle for peaceful community life—a principle that suffered some damage in the colonial period, but has nevertheless survived:

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[51] 'an interlocking of presents, pasts, and futures that retain their depths of other presents, pasts, and futures' (Mbembe, 2001, p. 16).
[52] '[The little footballers of Médina] colonise the local bitumen as soon as they have a moment to spare'.
[53] 'whether buying or selling, the toubabs could always do more and better'.
[54] 'Colonial conditions, starting with this fear, had not disappeared entirely.
[55] Diop (1984, p. 87).
[56] 'these yôn set down by the colonial toubab were all of a piece, rigid, immutable, like iron roads, like railways'.

> Cette taranga, ce sens de l'hospitalité et de la sociabilité, ici, existait bien avant les toubabs et certainement leur survivra, quand bien même elle porterait les flétrissures de leur passage, de leur colonie, de leur monde, ce monde où celui qui a plus d'or méprise celui qui n'en a pas assez (Diop, 1984, p. 109)[57]

The encounter between toubabs and the residents of Médina is accordingly described as a confrontation between yôn and taranga. Just as inexorable as yôn, the approaching toubabs continue along their path—an approach that appears in the text in a kind of slow motion, thanks to frequent reiterations of phrases such as 'Et les deux toubabs avançaient dans la rue médinoise' (Diop, 1984, p. 89).[58]

Despite the initial linguistic obstacles and a constant underlying mistrust, the visit nevertheless turns out well; the encounter is successful. In compliance with the rules of taranga, the toubabs are invited to tea and later to dinner. They accept both offers, conform by eating with their hands and, when they leave, are able to say: 'Les Camara, eux, vivent à l'heure européenne, tandis que nous, nous avons vécu aujourd'hui la taranga traditionnelle africaine' (Diop, 1984, p. 117).[59] Thus social and cultural difference are represented as at least partly surmountable.

In several places in the novel, reference is made not only to the colonial period, but also to a pre-colonial African history. This is clearest in the conversation with the toubabs, where talk about the origins of a surname leads to a discussion of the beginnings of Wolof culture—beginnings which are traced back through the peaceful Islamisation of the Wolofs all the way to the culture's Egyptian roots. This creates an identity-forging historicity, independent of colonisation.

Footprint effects, which add dimensions of historicity and futurity to the text, can also be found at the end of the novel. Almost a year after the feast of Tabaski, between knocking-off time and dusk, Mour makes a second trip to the city centre. This time he adopts the role of a flâneur: 'Mour marchait, flânait' (Diop, 1984, p. 182).[60] Once again the narrator follows Mour along Avenue Blaise-Diagne, although this time the description only sets in on the other side of the *coude magique*, where the city centre begins, and focuses mainly on the various ethnic groups and goods that are to be found there.

The first part of Avenue William-Ponty is dominated by the Laobés, who offer their handicrafts to tourists. Their language reveals the close ties between the history of Dakar and global history, because the English which the Laobés learnt from the American soldiers based in Dakar in the Second World War has been

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[57] 'This taranga, this sense of hospitality and sociability existed here long before the toubabs and is sure to outlive them, although it will be marked by their passage, their colony, their world—this world where those with more gold despise those who do not have enough'.
[58] 'And the two toubabs continued down the street of Médina'.
[59] 'The Camaras live by the European clock, but today we lived by the traditional African taranga'.
[60] 'Mour walked, he strolled along like a flâneur'.

developed into an argot that has spread all along the west coast of Africa. Thanks to this process of appropriation, something that started off as foreign has ended up becoming part of the Laobés' own culture: 'Et depuis, ces laobés se sont transmis verbalement, phonétiquement, l'américain, de la même manière qu'ils se sont transmis leur propre histoire africaine' (Diop, 1984, p. 184).[61]

After crossing the market, Mour passes the windows of the Syrian-Lebanese shops, moving deeper and deeper into the city centre, and eventually arriving at the symbolically and historically laden Place de l'Indépendance, formerly Place Protet, after the founder of Dakar. Here, the colonial past is present, if only implicitly and negatively. Diop, however, emphasises the modern side of Dakar: Hotel Taranga with its associations of Senegalese hospitality, the election posters which demonstrate the country's democratisation and give hope for the future, and the planes in the sky, which act as reminders of global interconnectedness. In this context, the discourse surrounding the paradigm of underdevelopment is subjected to critical revision: 'le pays sous-développé, ça n'existe pas: il n'existe que le pays trans-développé, développé de loin et pour les besoins propres de ce « loin »' (Diop, 1984, p. 190).[62]

In this place full of memories, Mour feels himself to be a resident not only of Médina, but of all Dakar: 'D'ici, de cette Place de l'Indépendance, Mour est fier de sa capitale' (Diop, 1984, p. 191).[63] He also feels an awareness of historical development and of the present moment, and imagines the future:

> Car ici, avant, il n'y avait rien: les cases ont cédé aux baraques, les baraques ont cédé aux maisons de pierres, et ces maisons ont cédé la place à ces si hautes maisons de la Place de l'Indépendance. Mour pense qu'un jour, que peut-être il ne verra pas, des maisons plus grandes encore surgiront de la terre, que son petit quartier de Médina sera aussi beau, qu'il y aura des maisons identiques dans sa campagne natale (Diop, 1984, p. 191)[64]

This passing vision of progressive optimism, however, is immediately thwarted: 'Il voit mal sa bonne campagne et ses habitants se mouvoir dans un pareil désordre de circulation et de précipitation!' (Diop, 1984 p. 191)[65]. Only a moment before, the city, with its high-rise buildings, was associated with modernity and progress; now it is described negatively as *désordre de circulation et de*

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[61] 'And since then, the laobés have handed down the American language orally and phonetically, in the same way they handed down their own African history'.
[62] 'the underdeveloped country doesn't exist: all that exists is the transdeveloped country, developed far away and for the specific needs of that faraway'.
[63] 'Standing here, on Place de l'Indépendance, Mour is proud of his city.'
[64] 'Because in the past there was nothing here: the huts have been replaced by shacks, the shacks by stone houses, and those houses by the tall, tall houses on Place de l'Indépendance. Mour thinks to himself that one day, which he may not live to see, even taller houses will rise from the earth, and his little district of Médina will be as beautiful as this—there will be identical houses to these in his native countryside.'
[65] 'He can't imagine his lovely countryside and its inhabitants rushing around in such chaos and such traffic!'.

précipitation, and once again critically contrasted with the natural, slower rhythms of the countryside.

Circulation, however, means not only traffic, but also all the ways people or objects circulate in the city, creating movements and encounters. In the words of Amin and Thrift: 'cities exist as means of movement, as means to engineer encounters through collection, transport and collation' (Amin & Thrift, 2002, p. 81). Let us, then, turn in the final section of this paper, to the circulation of goods which, in *La poubelle*, is most notably symbolised by Camara's dustbin.

The Dustbin or the Circulation of Goods

The topic of throwing things away is first raised on Mour's stroll across the market: 'ils [les toubabs] achètent même des fleurs qui durent peut-être un jour, et que l'on jette ensuite' (Diop, 1984, p. 187).[66] The purchase of products that don't keep distinguishes the toubabs from the residents of Médina. While the former buy goods only to throw them away soon afterwards, the latter know how to put the waste products to use: 'Ici, les savetiers et cordonniers savent, comme tous les artisans locaux, récupérer, de mille et une carcasses (voitures, objets, maisons démolies…), leurs matières premières' (Diop, 1984, pp. 147–148).[67] The different rhythms of life in Médina and the city centre recur in the different ways of dealing with waste. While the wealthy Western world gets through things quickly, the people of Médina recycle even broken objects. From a temporal point of view, rubbish means the end of a product that is no longer useful. Accordingly, rubbish belongs to a different timeframe from the continuous cycle of reusing and recycling most common in Médina. It is in this context that Mour interprets the huge mountain of rubbish he sees on his evening walk to the harbour and the end of Avenue William-Ponty—a mountain that receives everything the city throws away:

> C'est une poubelle à la mesure d'une grande ville moderne, la poubelle de la capitale. Car la ville moderne est riche, elle est puissante et elle rejette vite les choses dès qu'elles commencent à s'user. Dakar, la capitale, et sa poubelle… (Diop, 1984, p. 198)[68]

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[66] 'they [the toubabs] even buy flowers that last perhaps a day, and are then thrown away'. Cf. Diop, 1984, p. 189: 'on vend et on achète des choses qui peuvent se détériorer le lendemain' (*people buy and sell things that go off the very next day*).
[67] 'Here, the cobblers and the shoemakers, like all the local craftsmen, know how to salvage their raw material from a thousand and one kinds of carcases (cars, odds and ends, demolished houses…)'.
[68] 'It's a dump on the scale of a big modern capital, the city dump. Because the modern city is rich, it's powerful and throws things out as soon as they start to wear. Dakar the capital, and its dump…'.

At this point, it is worth re-examining the role of the dustbin in the novel and asking what it symbolises. But let us first have a look at Frantz Fanon's description of the colonial city in *Les damnés de la terre,* a passage which even today continues to influence the way we think about the African city:

> La ville du colon est une ville en dur, toute de pierre et de fer. C'est une ville illuminée, asphaltée, où les poubelles regorgent toujours de restes inconnus, jamais vus, même pas rêvés. [...]
>
> La ville du colonisé, ou du moins la ville indigène, le village nègre, la médina, la réserve est un lieu mal famé, peuplé d'hommes mal famés. [...] Le regard que le colonisé jette sur la ville du colon est un regarde de luxure, un regard d'envie. Rêves de possession. Tous les modes de possession: s'asseoir à la table du colon, coucher dans le lit du colon, avec sa femme si possible. Le colonisé est un envieux. (Fanon, 2002, p. 42)[69]

When reading *La poubelle,* it is hard to resist the impression that the novel's basic structure was inspired by the above description. Two features of Fanon's *ville du colon* in particular seem to be taken up by Diop. The first is the city centre as *ville illuminée*; in *La poubelle*, where the centre of town is above all the scene of nocturnal activity, it is repeatedly described as *illuminé*: 'Facettes du monde moderne, du centre de la capitale, vitrines qui restent illuminées lors même que les boutiques sont fermées et que les rues sont désertes' (Diop, 1984, p. 192*)*.[70]

The second element common to both authors is the idea of a dustbin overflowing with luxury objects. In adopting this image from Fanon, however, Diop makes a crucial change: it isn't the city-centre dustbins, but Camara's dustbin in Médina which is overflowing with things that most people wouldn't dare dream of. Because of these luxury objects, the bin holds great appeal to the people of Médina—even if they do leave the scavenging to their children:

> Tous les habitants du quartier [...] auraient tous fouillé dans la poubelle des Camara, pour y trouver des choses intéressantes. Cependant, dans le quartier, on préfère laisser les enfants fouiller;

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[69] 'The settlers' town is a strongly built town, all made of stone and steel. It is a brightly lit town; the streets are covered with asphalt, and the garbage cans swallow all the leavings, unseen, unknown and hardly thought about. [...] The town belonging to the colonized people, or at least the native town, the Negro village, the medina, the reservation, is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute. [...] The look that the native turns on the settler's town is a look of lust, a look of envy; it expresses his dreams of possession—all manner of possession: to sit at the settler's table, to sleep in the settler's bed, with his wife if possible.' (Fanon, 1968, p. 38)

[70] 'Facets of the modern world, of the city centre, windows that remain illuminated even when the shops are closed and the streets deserted'. Cf.: 'tout au long de ces rues modernes, les vitrines et les enseignes illuminées, comme les réverbères, étalent graduellement la lueur pâle de leurs lampes' (*all along these modern streets, the windows and illuminated signs, and the streetlamps, too, gradually spread the pale glow of their lights*, Diop, 1984, p. 54).

ensuite les grandes personnes récupèrent (Diop, 1984, p. 26)[71]

A shift takes place: the white people's dustbin ends up, as it were, in Médina. And this shift brings another in its wake: the neighbours' envy is directed not at the white people, as in Fanon's description, but at Camara:

> On enviait sa place, sa villa moderne, son métier. Quel homme de Médina n'aurait pas aimé avoir une femme comme Marième! [...] Qui n'a pas cette envie d'avoir cette villa, cette femme ? Qui n'a pas envie d'avoir cette poubelle où finit la chasse au trésor des enfants, des familles de Médina? (Diop, 1984, p. 31)[72]

In *La poubelle,* it is Camara who tries to mark himself out from the others by his possessions, to all intents and purposes assuming the position of the *toubab.* He lives in the European rhythm, and his dustbin contains things that only take a little repair work to restore to working condition. At the same time, though, Camara contributes to the circulation of these objects in Dakar, by going to fetch them from the American retailer. This shows that things are put to use in Médina which, because of minor defects, would be deemed unusable in Western consumer society. The retailer who throws them out doesn't have time for the repair work like the people of Médina:

> Je suis négociant et il me reste sur les bras, à chaque déplacement des produits, des articles plus ou moins détériorés que je n'ai le plus souvent ni le temps de réparer, ni le temps de brader ou, même, de jeter à la poubelle. [...] Camara vient m'en débarrasser (Diop, 1984, p. 118)[73]

Thus, the residents of Médina avail themselves of the surplus goods of the West—a form of 'trade' in which Camara (who also owes his job to the American) is ultimately only a middleman. That Camara ends up on the city dump is, in three senses, a logical ending to the novel.

Firstly, the mountain of rubbish symbolises the extent of economic interdependence and the circulation of goods. The origins of the empty cigarette

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[71] 'All the inhabitants of the neighbourhood [...] would have rummaged through the Camaras' dustbin to find interesting things. In this district, however, people prefer to let their children scavenge; after that the grown-ups take what they want.'

[72] 'People envied his standing, his big modern house, his job. What man of Médina wouldn't have liked a wife like Marième! [...] Who didn't want that house, that wife of his? Who didn't want that dustbin where the children's treasure hunt came to an end—where the treasure hunt of all the families in Médina came to an end.'

[73] 'I'm a retailer and every time I shift products, I'm left with more or less damaged articles which I don't usually have the time to repair or sell off or even throw in the bin. [...] Camara takes them off my hands for me'.

packets and fag ends on the dump[74] are themselves revealing of the global flow of goods, already symbolised on a smaller scale by Camara's dustbin in Médina. Secondly, Diop carries to an extreme the theme, borrowed from Fanon, of the dustbin as an indicator of wealth: 'Mour [...] n'a jamais vu une poubelle aussi grande, aussi fournie que cette poubelle du centre-ville' (Diop, 1984, p. 198).[75] An in-depth analysis of the several-page-long list of objects on the urban waste pyramid would be beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice to say that everything is there, from empty packages to leftover food, to radios, refrigerators and furniture. Thirdly, the dump reveals itself as the reverse side of the modern city centre. Mour's futuristic vision on the architecturally modern Place de l'Indépendance is followed by a microcosm of decay, in which there is nevertheless still a form of life cycle. The dump has a whole host of inhabitants, from insects and worms to rats, birds and dogs attracted by the rotting leftovers and carcases, to Camara himself, whom Mour finds dressed in rags, with a bottle of wine in his hand, clearly living off the food people have thrown away. In a haunting scene, he declares all the rubbish of modern Dakar his property, employing the same method he had earlier used in his attempt to simulate wealth: 'Car, qui te dit que c'est sa poubelle, à la capitale? [...] Babacar, c'est ma poubelle ! Ma poubelle ! Ma poubelle !...' (Diop, 1984, p. 198).[76] At the same time, though, he is now an inhabitant of the dump, and far from displaying wealth, he is barely distinguishable from the rubbish he lives off.

Diop's portrait of Dakar shows the splendour and misery of a big and modern city, but above all, it demonstrates the social challenges to forming individuals and communities. This analysis has been able to make clear that the construction of cultural and social difference is to a considerable degree effected on a temporal level. Beside the dividing elements, phenomena of transitivity and entanglement also play a central role in describing life in the city. Finally, it has been shown that within the time and space of the city, other temporal dimensions and global actors and structures are invariably present too.

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[74] 'Il marche sur de vieilles boîtes d'allumettes, sur des pots de yaourt, des paquets vides, des mégots de cigarettes de tous les coins du monde: Viking, Gauloises, Lucky Strike, Safi, Camel, Peter Stuyvesant, tabacs bruns, blonds, mélanges, en vrac, feuilles de tabac roulées' (*He walks over old match boxes, yoghurt pots, empty packets, cigarette butts from all over the world: Viking, Gauloises, Lucky Strike, Safi, Peter Stuyvesant, dark tobacco, light tobacco, blended tobacco, loose tobacco, rolled tobacco leaves*, Diop, 1984, p. 194).
[75] 'Mour [...] has never seen a dump as large or as full as this city-centre dump.'
[76] 'Because who tells you it's the capital's dump? [...] It's *my* dump, Babacar! My dump! Mine!'

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The everyday life of cinema

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Abstract

This paper explores the *effects of cinema on everyday life*, starting from a reflection on the Brazilian film screenings of the 1950s and 1960s, through the experiences of a resident of the city of Laguna, Santa Catarina. For 18 years, Dona Betinha kept a diary where she recorded 805 times she went to the movie theater – in 69 of them she watched national productions in two of the city's cinemas: Cine Mussi and Cine Roma. This poses the problem of thinking the cinema that existed as part of everyday life in the context of modernity, which was extended as an event in the city, a sociability engine, which is present as memory.

Keywords

Introduction

*Things can only attain true poetic status by mediating human destinies*Lukács, 1965, p. 73

Between 1950 and 1968 Maria Bernadete Fernandes Pereira went to the movies 805 times. Nearly 50 years later, a research project carried out on the street cinemas of Santa Catarina led to her and her diary, the subject of analysis of this essay.[1] For 18 years Mrs Betinha took notes on all the films she watched in two movie theaters in the city of Laguna, Cine Mussi and Cine Roma. These annotations are endowed with great representativity to the historiography of Brazilian cinema, considering that a strict monitoring of film screenings in Brazil started only from the foundation of Embrafilme (Brazilian Film Company) in 1972. In the period reported in the diary, Betinha watched 69 national productions.

From the analysis of this source, the central objective of this paper is to investigate the presence of cinema in the sphere of social relations and, more specifically, urban sociability. According to Benjamin (2006, p.240): "The true method of making things present is to represent them in our space (not represent ourselves in their space). (…). We don't displace our being into theirs; they step into our life." The problem is to think cinema from the viewer's gaze, the cinema that existed as part of the daily life of the public. The cinema that extends as an event in the city, engine of sociability, and which is present as memory. For this reason, the analysis can be understood as an - urban - geography of cinema or as an analysis of its geography. Therefore, we work with the daily raw material, from Lefebvre's (1991: 35) perspective:

> In the case of everyday life, it is a matter of characterizing the society in which we live, which generates everyday life (and modernity). It is about defining it, defining its transformations, and its perspectives, retaining, among apparently insignificant facts, something essential, and ordering the facts. Not only the everyday life as a concept, but also,we can still take this concept as the guiding thread to know the 'society', situating daily life in the global: state, technique and technicity, culture (or the decomposition of culture), etc.

The background of this essay is a reflection on Brazilian cinema in the 1950s and 1960s, in its aspects of production, distribution and screenings, from these notes by Betinha, a true collector in the Benjaminian sense. The analysis is given to Betinha's narrative , and, through it, finds the historiography of Brazilian cinema, especially in the sphere of the screenings. This movement, from the particular

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[1] Research project "Cinema Space Body: a social cartography of old movie theaters in Santa Catarina," under development at the State University of Santa Catarina (2016/2 - 2018/1).

(Betinha's diary) to the general (film screenings), was theoretically based on the ideas of Western Marxists[2] Walter Benjamin, Georg Lukács and Henri Lefebvre, as well as their interlocutors, Agnes Heller and Marshall Berman.

In his writings collected in "Passages", Benjamin (2006, p.15) defined precisely this play between the general and the particular as the central problem of Marxism, thinking about "which way it would be possible to reconcile full visibility with application of the Marxist method ". Appropriately, the response found by Benjamin related historical research to the method of filmmaking:

> The first step would be to retake in history the principle of montage. Therefore, build the large constructions from minimal elements, made with sharpness and precision. That is, to discover in the analysis of the small singular moment, the crystal of the total event. (BENJAMIN, 2006, p.15).

In turn, Lukacs (1981) points out that a broad research cannot neglect the daily chain of events, having its unity as a horizon, but rather abstract from the particular facts the meaning that reveals a historical feature of society. For Lukacs (1965, p. 57), "the truth of the social process is also the truth of individual destinies."

In this sense, dismantling and reassembling Betinha's diary provides immersion in a fruitful past until the present (using Rampim's expression , 2014), at this time when the film industry grows more than other sectors in Brazil (Nunomura, Medeiros and Sanches, 2016), and progressive initiatives such as those promoted by Spcine (public company of cinema of the city of São Paulo) emerge. The diary assists in the study of film reception, so important for the contemporary historiography of Brazilian cinema that traditionally concentrated its analyzes in the sphere of production, neglecting distribution and screenings.

The relation between the spectator and the cinema integrates the field of reception theories or the filmic specter. Film theory has been concerned with this relationship since its origins, according to the publication of Hugo Munsterberg's book "The Film: a psychological study" in 1916 in the USA (Xavier, 2003). Especially since the 1970s, a greater concern with "the modes of reception, reading and interpretation, including the use and appropriation of films as textual objects or works in the social space" occupies the center of theoretical debates about cinema, especially through aesthetic, or textual, and psychoanalyzis, focused on the interpretations and reactions of the viewer regarding the filmic image (Bamba, 2013, p.9). A little later, social analyzes of reception arise, which anchor this interpretation in class and gender content, for example.

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[2] According to Anderson's demarcation (2004).

Although the reception of the public is part of the history of the cinema as much as the films and the filmmakers, in Brazil the interest for this sphere gains greater body only from the years 1980, notably from the publication of the anthology "The experience of the cinema" by Ismail Xavier in 1983, although some important texts dealing directly and indirectly with this question were already collected in 1969 in José Lino Grunewald's collection "The Idea of Cinema".

In these analyzes, the idea of *cinema* is usually restricted to the *film*. The spectator-cinema relationship investigated in the present essay considers the cinema as form and content, in other words, *a film being exhibited in a space*, the screenings room. According to Bamba (2013, p. 11), researches on the spectators reception can "raise issues related to the type of relationship they maintain with so-called institutional movie places (movie theaters, film clubs, cinematheques, etc.)." This is what Silva and Bonin (2013) call the situational context of reception. These analyzes, however, do not connect the so-called movie places to the historical movement of the city; have not shown the interest of finally reflecting on the geography of this special daily habit[3].

This lack of debate is possibly based on psychoanalysis of reception - predominant to the present day - in which, in the direct opposite of what is sought to be problematized in this work, it is common for the cinema situation to be presented as a voluntary escape from everyday reality, as Mauerhofer says in: "The Psychology of Film Experience", 1966[4]. The same tone of separation and isolation between everyday life and the practice of going to the movies appears in another seminal text of the psychoanalytic theories of reception. In "Cinema: ideological effects produced by the basic apparatus" of 1970, Jean-Louis Baudry states that: "Without a doubt, the dark room and the screen surrounded by black as a card of condolences already have privileged conditions of effectiveness. No circulation, no exchange, no transfusion with the outside. " (Baudry, 2003, p.395).

At the present time, analyzes that focus on the movies as the basis for a daily driving practice of urban sociability, as proposed in this essay, are carried out within the framework of the Center for Cinema and Media Studies of the University of Ghent, Belgium, coordinated by Daniel Biltereyst. This is the case of the project

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[3] The rare relations between cinema and everyday life usually appear in the sense of revealing the influence of filmic content on social life. Heller (2004, p. 27), for example, mentions how cinema influences and values certain social roles: "all meaningful work returns to everyday life and its effect survives in the everyday lives of others."

[4] However, his appreciation for the customary practice of going to the movies is interesting: "Every day it makes the lives of millions of people bearable. (...) Cinema [...] offers compensation for lives that have lost much of their substance. It is a modern necessity, not yet sung in verses. (...). It relieves the burden of daily life and serves as food for our impoverished imagination. "(MAUERHOFER, 2003, 380).

'The Enlightened' City, developed by Lies Van de Vijver[5].

Following these theoretical paths, the essay is organized in two parts. In the first part, he presents Betinha's diary as a work and as a source of research, starting from the ideas contained in "The Collector" and "The Narrator" by Benjamin (2006, 1983b), "Narrate or Describe?" By Lukács and thinkers of the field of history theory who reflected on the adoption of diaries and personal narratives as a research paper. At this moment, we also briefly analyze the national bonds attended by Betinha in the time period corresponding to the diary.

In the second moment, the problematic about the importance of the two movies theaters attended by Betinha, Cine Mussi and Cine Roma, is developed as nodal points of a network of urban sociability established in the center of the city in the two decades of notes. In this context, based on the spatial organization of the film industry, it is reflected on how the process of closing the movie theaters experienced in most small Brazilian cities impacts its traditional center in terms of urban sociability. At the same time, the closure of movie theaters is the result of a process of changing the social meaning of traditional Brazilian centers in the second half of the twentieth century. The sources of the information about the movie theatres are interviews with city dwellers, moviegoers of the past, compiled in the publication "Cinema in the city: a cartography of the old movie theaters of Laguna" (Pozzo, 2016).

The diary

Especially from the publication of "History of Private Life" in 1990 (a collection led by Phillippe Ariès and Georges Duby), this historiographic research has taken on new spaces and, consequently, new documents (Gomes, 2004), becoming worrying about the diaries and autobiographical letters, which were already an object of interest in literature theory.

Betinha's diary comprises annotations from the dates of December 17, 1950 and April 13, 1968. The desire to start the record shows that it appeared after the inauguration of Cine Mussi, because the first entry in the diary is the film that was shown on the opening night of this movie theatre (Figure 1).

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[5]Available at: <http://www.cims.ugent.be/research/past-research-projects/-enlightened-city>. Accessed on June 20, 2017.
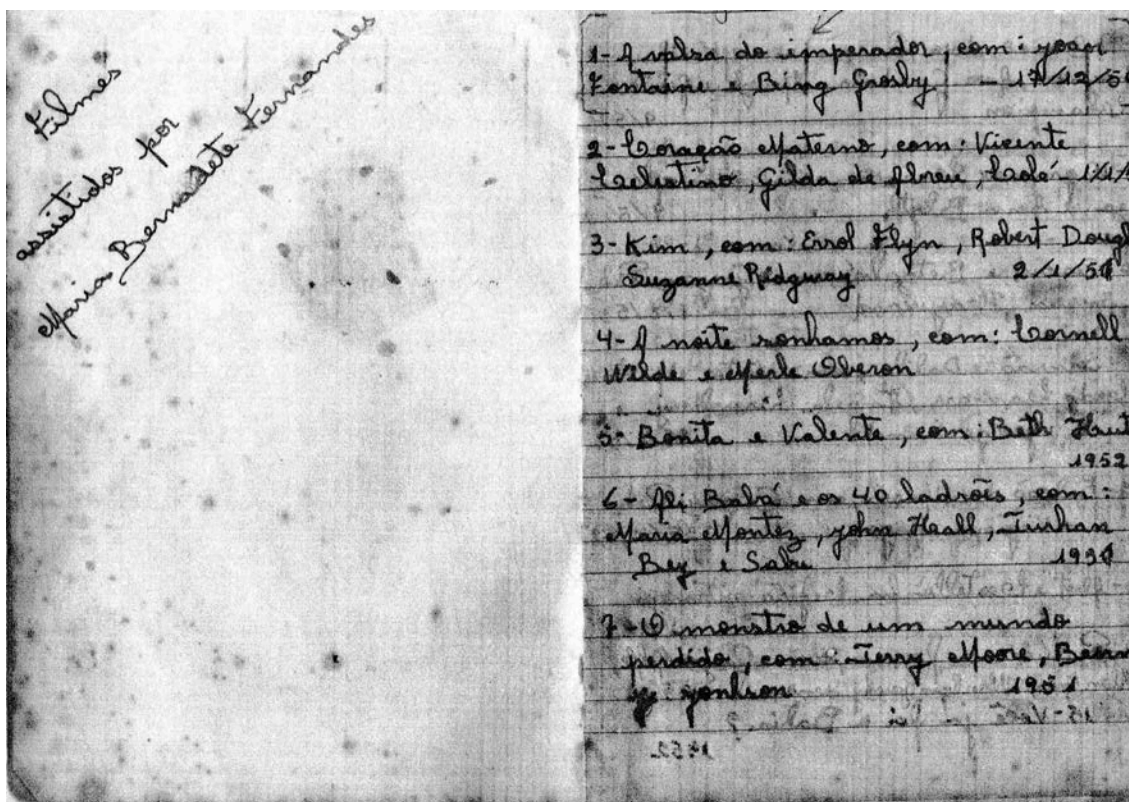
Figure 1 - Back cover and first page of Betinha's diary.
Source: Author's collection.

In the first two years, there is no precision in the date annotation; in some moments Betinha marks only the year, in others back in time. This indicates that during this period she was not used to note daily what she had seen, moments of remembrance taking place. After these initial lapses, the diary follows a rigid organizational pattern. Betinha creates a numerical sequence for the movies she watches (from numbers 1 to 805). After the number, writes down the name of the movie that, followed by the conjunction "with", is added by the main actors and actresses. Then, it comes with the date that the movie was seen by her in the movies.

Betinha captures these 805 works of his apparently independent existence and integrates them into a system that, from the historiographic point of view, can represent her salvation, or, redemption. Such an order identifies Betinha's figure to the Benjaminian collector. According to Benjamin (2006, p. 245) "The collector (…) gathers things that are related; in this way he can inform about things through their affinities or their succession in time. " In this way, in Betinha's collection, each film is something that through the diary finds another that is similar to it (BENJAMIN, 2006). It is as if, through her notes, she promoted the encounter between films that at first would have nothing in common. Going through his diary,

"The Price of Illusion" (Brazil, Nilton Nascimento, 1957) [6] and "Cinderella in Paris" (USA, Stanley Donen, 1957) becoming two films watched by Betinha at Cine Mussi in 1959.

At the same time, and also through the diary, Betinha, consciously or not, undertakes the "struggle against dispersion", a characteristic attitude of the Benjaminian collector[7]. This is because, in addition to providing the encounter between the films, it makes between these and us, anachronistic and remote observers of her trips to the movie theather. The diary, as narrated and written testimony, is an antidote to oblivion, which permeates the relationship between memory and history, according to Ricoeur (2003). According to Chartier and Hébrard (1998, p.42), "writing changes the relationship with time because the writing can be reread." Therefore, writing establishes a *relationship of duration, accumulates past.*

On the other hand, the impetus to register the films according to the date in which they watched them shows that Betinha does not collect the films she has seen, but, more properly, her trips to the movies. In this sense, the historical system to which Betinha integrates such departures is an apparently important part of her own personal history. The diary is itself a collection, but also a narrative. A collection of movements in space, from space reports (Certeau, 1994). Every note Betinha tells, in fact, that he went to the movies and that this act is an important part of his daily life.

The narrative content of the diary becomes even more evident in light of the way in which the research has had access to the document. Betinha did not use many words, and handed a copy of the two notebooks that integrate the work next to an essentially narrative letter of handwriting, written by hand with blue pen. Benjamin (1983b, p. 68) describes the narrative by the sensation, on the part of those who hear the story, of being in the company of the narrator and adds that "even those who read participate in this company." Lukács (1965 p. 94) adds: "... participating or observing (narrating or describing?) is a question connected with the position of the writer in the face of life."

There are also two types of narrators, according to Benjamin (1983b, p. 58):

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[6] "The price of illusion" is considered the first catarinense feature film. It was conceived by the Grupo Sul modernists, with a screenplay by Salim Miguel and Eglê Malheiros, and shot in Florianópolis. The movie disappointed the audience and the only existing copy mysteriously disappeared. Until the research had access to the diary, it was not possible to state that the film had been exhibited outside the capital.

[7] It is interesting to note that the identification of the cinema spectator as a collector, and his obstinacy, was pointed out by Federico Fellini about his own experience as such: "In my assiduity as a spectator of American films there was a stubbornness of collector, for whom all interpretations of an actor or an actress were like the seals of a series that I glued on the album of my memory, filling the gaps little by little "(FELLINI, 2004, p.16).

> When someone goes on a trip, then there is something to tell, says the people's voice and imagines the narrator as someone who comes from afar. But it is no less pleasant to hear one who, living honestly in his work, stayed at home and knows the stories and traditions of his land. If one wants to identify these two groups in their archaic representatives, then one is incarnated in the sedentary farmer and the other in the merchant seaman.

Movie stories bring together the two types of narrators: the movie theater turns the sedentary peasant into a merchant sailor. Certeau (1994, p. 199-200) supplements: "The reports … cross and organize places, they are selected and join then in an only set, from then, they make phrases and itineraries. They are spaces paths. Seeing things like this, narrative structures have the value of spatial syntaxes. (…). Every report is a travel - a practice of space. "

Taking a look at the letter:

> "Cine theater Mussi"
>
> How beautiful! How many dreams! How many graduations! How many wonderful movies! How many love stories, both in the movies and in real life. How many shows, dances theaters! How many lectures! All this and much more at "Cine Teatro Mussi".
> Inaugurated on December 17, 1950, with the film "The Waltz of the Emperor" with Joan Fontaine and Bing Crosby.
> On a sunny day, me and my sister Darci, were there, right up front, watching Mr. João Mussi cutting the ribbon. There were a lot of people, but I only remember Mr. João Mussi, my sister and me. When the doors opened, and the people entered, they were all so enchanted with so much beauty.
> The waiting room with armchairs and with bullet counter (unforgettable chocolate candy), side stairs to go upstairs to watch the movie from there.
> The women's toilet was in the waiting room on the right side of the entering and the men's room on the left.
> Next to the chairs were the tall ashtrays.
> We went up three steps and through the wine curtains we entered to the spectacle. And what a spectacle! With light sets on the sides and front. First it was in the gloom, then it darkened and until the light came again. The lights would turn on and the trendies of the signal (3 trendies) would start, to start the movie. Where there are people, there is voicing, and when the first signal was given, everyone was quiet and when the third signal was given, the silence was total and there began the film, which always ended with the famous kiss of the young lady and the good guy (Main stars) and finally: The end! End!
> The lights turned on and everyone went out through the three side doors or through the front door, the entrance.
> I have marked in two passbooks all the films I watched in the golden age of "Cine Teatro Mussi".
> Every Sunday at 2:00 p.m. there was matinee for the children, but there were also many young people and adults, as it was usually the same film that would happen in the session from 6:15 p.m. to 8:30 p.m.
> Sometimes the matinee movie was different.
> People had to go early to buy the tickets because the cinema was always crowded. Many times, the queue to buy the tickets, passed from the post office building.
> That movement was wonderful!

> It was a total joy, our class uses to go to the movies, we used to meet at home after lunch and then we all used to go together to the Cine Mussi Theater.
>
> Maria Bernadete Fernandes Pereira
> Laguna, October 6, 2014.

It is also noted that Betinha does not give signs on his taste in relation to the films. It is only noticeable her admiration for certain actors and actresses in the cases in which she quotes them as part of the cast with certain frequency, while ignores others. This is a timid trace of "unconscious intentionality," described by Le Goff (2003) when it comes to working with memory as a document. Because of rational, chronological, and summary organization, the few displays of predilection are intriguing. On page 28, for example, there is a marking at the top of the page and the name of Ronald Reagan - a Hollywood actor who became US president in 1981 - is underlined (Figure 2). On page 25 of the second notebook, there is a heart around in the number of the film 792 (Figure 3).
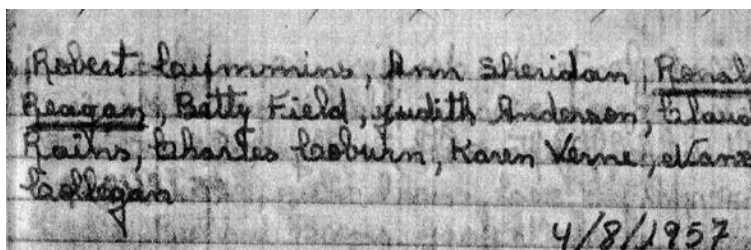

Figure 2 - Page 28 of the first notebook.
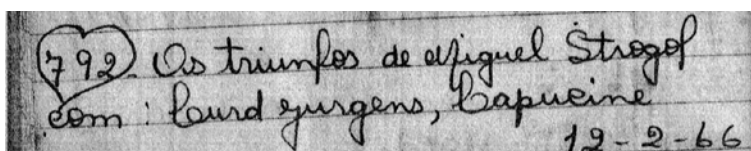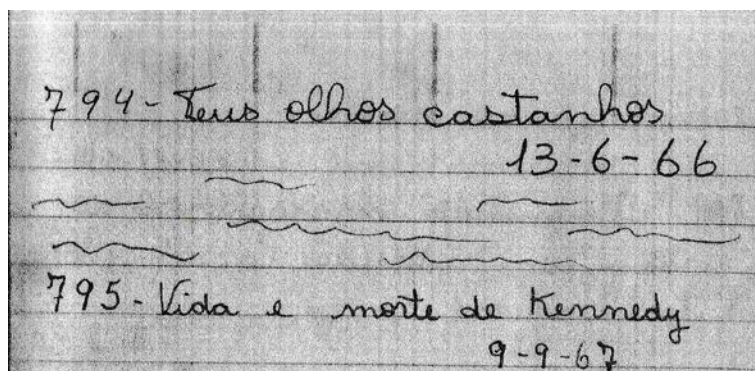Source: Author's collection.

Figure 3 - Page 25 of the second notebook.
Source: Author's collection.

The imprecision of the beginning of the diary reappears at its end. On page 26 of the second notebook, in a period between 13/6/66 and 9/9/67 there are no annotations (Figure 4). Soon after, she "gives up", and gives us a clue as to why: the movie theater was no longer the only window to watch a movie (Figure 5).
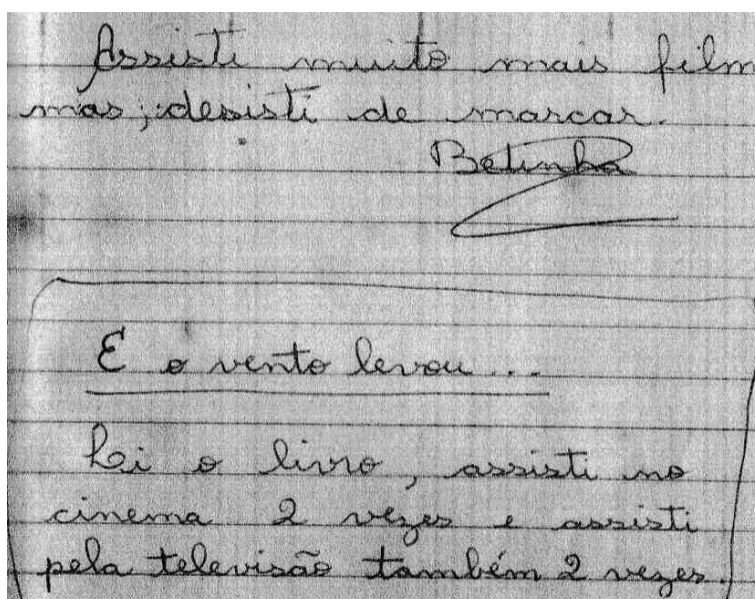
Figure 4 - Page 26 of the second notebook.
Source: Author's collection.

Figure 5 - Last page of the second notebook.
Source: Author's collection.

The diary, even without a great deal of apparent subjectivity, had a part censored at the time when she made the copy granted to the research (Figure 6). It is also noticed that there was a re-reading of the copy of the diary before delivery, as it was noticed some corrections to the pen on the photocopy. Contradictions aside, in fact, Betinha's diary is not intimate. It was written for your readers.
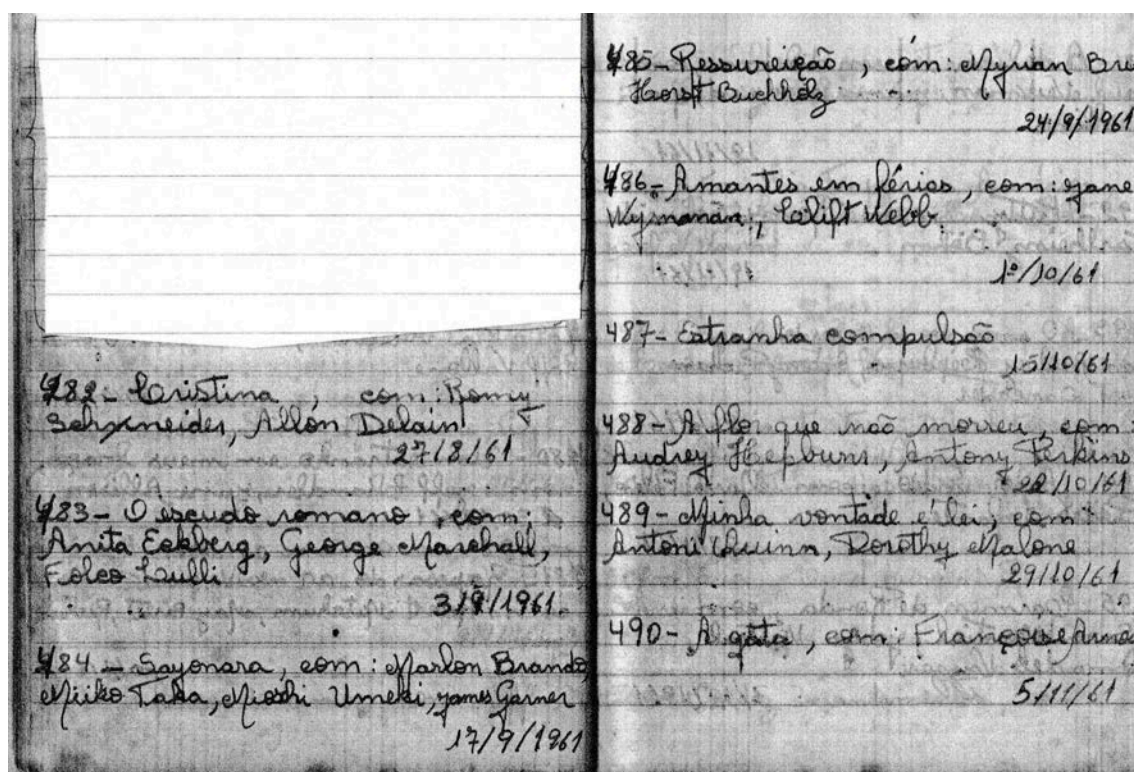
Figure 6 - Censorship in the daily photocopy.
Source: Author's collection.

The national cinema seen by Betinha

The closure of the movie theaters, the disappearance of these spaces in the small towns and their concentration in big city malls, was a process accompanied by the rareness of the national productions in the screens. The street room was the space for the Brazilian cinema, while the multiplex was created to be the place of projection of the great productions of the majors[8]. In the period included in the diary, the rooms formed the public for the boom of Brazilian cinema of the 1970s - also the apex of the number of theaters in the national territory.

In the two decades of Betinha's notes, several film strands coexisted in Brazil: the Cinema of Studios, the Popular Cinema of Atlantis and Mazzaropi, the Cinema of Boca do Lixo, Cinema Novo and Marginal Cinema (POZZO, 2015). Only the first two currents are present in her diary, that is, they have reached the city of Laguna.

VeraCruz (1949-1954) was founded with capital of paulista bourgeoisie entrepreneurs, according to a strategy that used to consist in a appropriation of the formula of major production, joining technology, studio and production in series, but without vertically integrated, it means, not granting the distribution and

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[8]Great media corporations.

display. Most of producer's films have been distributed by Columbia. From Vera Cruz, Betinha attended to "Ângela" (with Eliane Lage, Inezita Barroso and Ruth de Souza) in 1952; "The Cangaceiro" on 3/8/1953; "Sinhá Moça" (with Eliane Lage, Anselmo Duarte and Ruth de Souza) in 1953; "Floradas da Serra", the last film of the most important phase of the studio (NETO, 2002, p. 356), 3/7/1955; "Candinho" (third and last Mazzaropi film for the studio) on 1/1/1956 and; "Kissing is forbidden" on 10/12/1957, almost three years after its official launch.

Other production companies of the period were Maristela, Cinédia, Multifilmes and Cinedistri. Maristela was also founded by entrepreneurs and established its studio in Jaçanã, São Paulo, establishing distribution partnerships with Columbia, as well as Vera Cruz. Already the Cinédia was founded in 1930 by the carioca Adhemar Gonzaga, who maintained the magazine of cinematic criticism Cinearte. The first national film seen by D. Betinha at Cine Mussi was "Coração Materno", on 01/01/1952, produced by Cinédia and distributed by União Cinematográfica Brasileira (UCB), a distributor founded by Luiz Severiano Ribeiro from the purchase of some pre-existing companies. This was the third and last film directed by Gilda de Abreu and starring her husband, Vicente Celestino (NETO, 2002). The film was re-released 10 years later, on 24/7/1962, and watched again by Betinha. On 7/31/1955 Betinha attended a co-production of Cinédia-Matistela, "Carnaval em lá maior", the first carnival movie filmed in São Paulo (NETO, 2002). From Maristela, she also saw "Stella's pension", on 8/2/1959 and "Who killed Anabela" on 20/2/1960. On 07/12/1954 he watched "A Sogra", a production of Multifilmes starring Eva Wilma and Procópio Ferreira, and distributed by UCB. Produced by Multifilmes, she also saw "O craque", on 4/26/1957, and "A life for two", on 5/19/1957.

On 15/2/1959 attended "A certain Lucrécia", from Cinedistri, created in 1949 by Oswaldo Massaini, one of the largest independent producers and distributors in Brazil, with more than 70 titles in its catalog. From Cinedistri, Betinha also watched "Carnival on Mars" on 17/4/1955, a co-production with Watson Macedo distributed by Unida Filmes. The United appears as a distributor in other films seen by Betinha between 1955 and 1956: "O petróleo é nosso", the first film by Zezé Macedo, on March 6, 1955; "The cousin of the cangaceiro", on 10/30/55; and "A step of glory," on 17/1/56.

At the turn of the 1950s to the 1960s, Herbert Richers appeared in a production and distribution partnership with smaller companies such as Sino and Fama Filmes. Among them are "Madame Masseur", seen by Betinha on 3/8/1963 although it was released in 1959; "Vai que é Mole" (with Ankito and Great Othello) seen on 3/8/1963 and released in 1960; "Women, I Arrived", seen on 18/8/1963

and released in 1961; "Partner of Alcova" (with Norma Bengell and Tônia Carrero), first Brazilian color film, seen by Betinha on 22/8/1963; "Candango da Belacap" (with Ankito and Grande Otelo), seen on 9/28/1963 and; "Women at a Glance", assisted on 10/19/1963.

Unlike Vera Cruz, the carioca Atlantida had a small production structure. However, as Bernardet (2009) explain, it took its advantages through the sphere of distribution, from his association with Luiz Severiano Ribeiro. In the face of all the historical mishaps of the studio era, Bernardet (2009, p. 127) concludes in the 1970s that "it is indisputable that small business, the almost artisanal enterprise, is much more adapted to Brazilian film reality."

Atlantida found, in Bernardet's words (2009, p.127), "a business form adapted to the possibilities of the Brazilian market". It had no studios, no fixed cast and conquered the public through the "admired debauchery" of Hollywood and Italian comedies. Of the 69 national films watched by Betinha over the years recorded in the journal, 20 were produced by Atlantida. The first was "Tudo Azul", with Marlene and Dalva de Oliveira, directed by Moacyr Fenelon, on 12/4/1953. Then came "Aí vem o Barão", seen on 3/8/1953, with Oscarito and a cast of weight: Eliana Macedo, Adelaide Chiozzo, Ivon Curi, Cyll Farney and Jose Lewgoy. Also with Oscarito, Betinha watched the parody of Hollywood productions "Carnaval Atlântida", on 9/13/1953, this one also counting with Grande Otelo and Colé Santana in the cast. Another successful parody of Atlantis was "Neither Samson nor Delilah," with Oscarito, seen on 7/7/1954. With Oscarito and Grande Otelo, Betinha also saw "The Double of Noise" and "Barnabé, tu és meu", both distributed by UCB in 1953. The last film of the pair, "Killing or Running", was seen by Betinha in 25/12/1956. But the film considered fin de cycle of Atlantida is "Garotas e Samba", in which the great stars, like Eliana Macedo, no longer appear, seen by Betinha in 23/6/1957. Oscarito continued to feature productions of Atlantis, as in "Colégio de Brotos", seen on 1/9/1957, "Thirteen Chairs", seen on 17/12/1957, "De vento em popa", 7/27/1958, "This Million is Mine" on 9/20/1959 and "Two Stories", seen on 2/12/1962, although it was released in 1960.

In the early 1960s the first films of Mazzaropi's own production appeared: "Jeca Tatu", released in 1959 and seen by Betinha on 25/8/1962 and "Adventures of Pedro Malazartes", released in 1960 and seen by Betinha in 6 / 10/1962.

The movie teathers: screens for modernity

Everyday life is one of the spheres that form the heterogeneity of history, which for Agnes Heller (2004) is the substance of society: "Everyday life is not

'outside' history, but at the 'center' of historical events: is the true 'essence' of social substance. " (Heller, 2004, p.20). Historically, in small Brazilian cities, cinema has emerged as a vector for the insertion of modernity in daily life since the 1940s. In fact, as Ortiz (1995, 38) points out, "it is only in the 1940s that one can seriously consider the presence of a series of activities linked to a mass popular culture in Brazil, "the product of a modern society. At that moment, cinema becomes a symbolic consumption commodity, particularly through the presence of Hollywood cinema in the process of inflection of its export policy, which is now turning aggressively to the external market (Ortiz, 1995). At the same time, Atlântida and Vera Cruz have been created in this decade, putting a considerable number of national films in circulation. This market of symbolic goods formed in the 1940s stabilized between the 1960s and 1970s, accompanied by the consolidation of the habit of going to the movies daily in Brazilians.

In the city of Laguna, movie theaters emerge in the traditional center just as the city undergoes its great transition to modernity (from the nineteenth to the twentieth century), driven by commercial capital linked to the port function, and decay along with the decline of the driving forces of this process[9]. This moment is set in the center of the city. The tourism-real estate capital, which develops in the second half of the twentieth century, attracts the nocturnal movement to the city by the sea. According to Lucena (1998, p. 110), between the 1930s and 1960s, private spaces such as cinemas, ice cream parlors and cafes complemented the activities of public spaces such as gardens and squares, and the streets themselves, promoting the nocturnal movement of urban centrality of the city: "The leisure of the weekends was the 'footing', after the sessions of cinema, theater or mass."

Betinha recorded in her diary the frequency in two cinemas that worked simultaneously for some years in the city: Cine Mussi and Cine Roma. In addition to these, Laguna presented five other street halls, all located in the central region: Cine Poeirinha (operated between the decade of 1940 and 1960), Cine Central /

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[9] The city of Laguna, which had its foundation linked to the fact that it is a strategic point in the disputes of the Territory of the Silver, being a bay sheltered by the Lagoa de Santo Antônio dos Anjos, and being on the initial route of the cattle tracks (Lucena, 1998), lived its first great impulse if it grew in the eighteenth century by the Azorean immigration. However, the passage from the nineteenth to the twentieth century was the great economic moment for the city, when it became the main export port of production of the prosperous Atlantic valleys of the south of the state. This rise would be short-lived, since the low draft characteristic of the ports established in sheltered bays would soon cause the port of Laguna to stagnate, followed by the development of the port of Imbituba. In the 1960s and 1970s, summer tourism was raised by the public power as the great hope of overcoming the economic crisis that was abating on the city - a hope that, in fact, never came to fruition. In this context, however, begins the occupation of the neighborhood Mar Grosso, the neighborhood that today has the best urban infrastructure of the city, with a large number of buildings that are occupied by vacationers during the season.

Palace (between 1910 and 1970, having the building burned down in 1977), Cine Gloria / Arajé (between 1910 and 1950, when the building fell into a state of ruin in 1984), Cine Natal (active between 1910 and 1950), Cine Saturn (also active between 1910 and 1950) [10].

The story of the Laguna cinemas is confused with the life story of Mr. Epiphanio Joaquim Nunes Medeiros, born in Jaguaruna, southern Santa Catarina state, on August 20, 1886 and died in 1971. The first Epiphanio cinema was in the city of Tubarão, 30 km from Laguna, and was called Cine Azul. In this city also mounted the Cinema Yolanda. He moved to Laguna and leased the Cine Central and Arajé, built the Cine Poeirinha and later the great Cine Roma (Figure 7). There were also cinemas in Jaguaruna, Criciúma and Orleans.

Figure 7 - The Cine Roma.
Source: Pozzo, 2016.

Cine Roma was inaugurated on August 22, 1965 with the film "The Avenging Swordsman" (Italy, Luigi Capuano, 1961 - Figure 8). But it is Cine Mussi the most present room in the population's imagination, because of the imposing building, which is striking to this day. The building was designed by Swiss architect Wolfang Ludwig Rau, who designed other cinemas in the state, and began to be built on April 4, 1947. Opened on December 17, 1950, with the screening of "The Waltz of the Emperor" (USA, Billy Wilder, 1948), has become a major center of social activities for the city.

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[10] The building of Cine Roma currently houses a funeral home. In the place of the old Cine Natal runs a sporting goods store, and in the old Cine Saturn, a pharmacy.
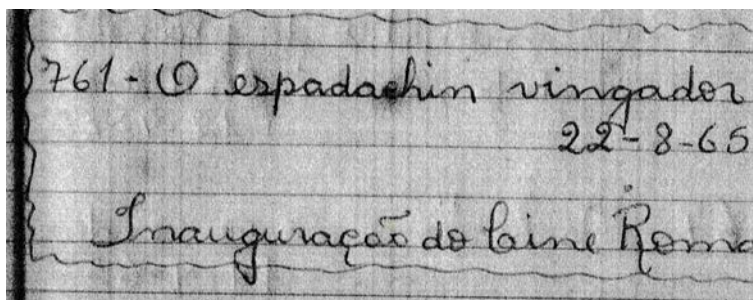
Figure 8 - Annotation of the inauguration of Cine Roma.

Source: Author's collection.

In addition to the film sessions, great national and international orchestras performed at Cine Mussi. The building has mixed use, characteristic of Rau's projects, and is composed of two modules: the showroom and the commercial rooms and apartments (Figure 9). After a great success of public in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, the film sessions were extinguished in the 1980s. Until the early 1990s, graduations and cultural presentations were still held in the building. After its temporary closure in 1992, it was reopened in 2001 as an evangelical church. After 2005, the part of the building corresponding to Cine Teatro was closed because the electrical installations are inadequate according to the current regulations, and only the commercial area is in operation. The building was then acquired by the National Historical and Artistic Heritage Institute (IPHAN), which began the rehabilitation process in 2011, and was completed in 2014. Currently, an irregular cinema program is maintained in the space that, after the renovation, acquired the of a cultural center. Still, Cine Music is the closest to what can be considered a movie theater in the city.

Figure 9 - Facade of Cine Mussi.
Source: Pozzo, 2016.

Theaters are focal points of the new urban landscape in which modern life takes place. According to Charney and Schwarz (2004, p.17) "cinema, as it developed at the end of the nineteenth century, became the most complete expression and combination of the attributes of modernity." If the film per se enables this modern experience, when it is projected into a display room properly built for it, using modern techniques and beautiful ornaments, the experience intensifies. After the modernization images brought by the railway and steamships that docked in its port, in a small town like Laguna, this art-technique[11], by its own characteristics, was responsible for offering to the inhabitants the first images of modernity, combining modernization (material production) and modernism (superstructure), according to the Berman (1986). The magic of universal

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[11] "Broadening the world of the objects of which we became aware, both in the visual and in the auditory sense, cinema brought, consequently, a deepening of perception. And it is as a result that their achievements can be analyzed much more accurately and with a greater number of perspectives than those offered by theater or painting. In relation to painting, the superiority of cinema is justified by what allows it to better analyze the content of the films and by the fact that it provides a survey of reality incomparably more precise. Concerning the theater, because it is able to isolate much larger number of constituent elements. This fact-and from which comes its capital importance-tends to favor the mutual interpenetration of art and science. In fact, when you consider a structure perfectly adjusted to the core of a given situation (such as the muscle in the body), it cannot be stipulated whether cohesion refers primarily to its artistic value, or to scientific exploitation that can be realized. Thanks to the cinema - and here is one of its revolutionary functions, we can now recognize the identity between the artistic aspect of photography and its scientific use, hitherto often divergent "(Benjamin 1983a, p. 22).

screenings, the discoveries of science, and the movement of large cities could be experienced in these buildings through their own materiality and, of course, the films exhibited therein. It can be said that many small cities participate in the phenomenon of modernity in its entirety through theaters.

It is remarkable, as Betinha's narrative-letter showed, that in the case of a movie theater like Cine Mussi, the interior spectator frequented the cinema not only to watch the film, but also to be in that building and to enjoy that architecture (Figure 10). Cinema and architecture, two great arts emancipated by the expansion of industry in the passage from the nineteenth century to the twentieth, gathered in one point of the city, radiate curiosity and movement. According to Benjamin (1997), in modern times, the architectural and urban constructions themselves are seen as pieces of art: the interior of the bourgeois house takes to the streets, is in the luxury of cinemas and coffees. The same combination of art and technique in the films is expressed in the building.
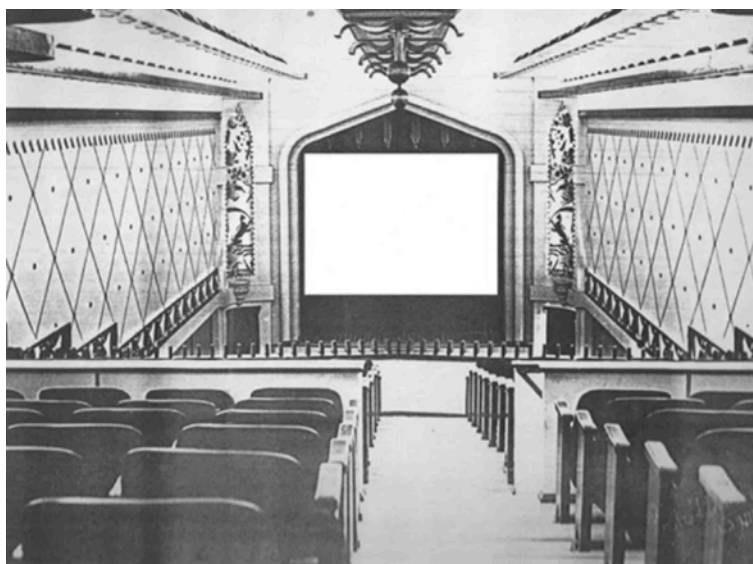

Figure 10 - Interior of the Cine Mussi, view from the mezzanine.
Source: Pozzo, 2016.

Returning to the contents of the letter, the sense of wonder[12] before the building of Cine Mussi can be seen.

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[12] This astonishment also appears in an account published in a local newspaper, dated between the 1950s and 1960s, written by the chronicler Antonio Sbissa, entitled "Grandiose enterprise: a cinema of enviable conceptions": We have been in Laguna for days. it was not two decades ago. The improvements of the ancient and heroic Republica Juliana are remarkable. The urban feature is entirely different from what we used to know. And among so many things we admire, we went to find, on the seafront street, a monumental cinema, bold reception and harmonious and modern architectural lines. Our curiosity has grown in size. We wanted to see well that wonderful work that both honors and exalts its creators. We wanted to feel the grandeur of that large projection room, worthy of Sao Paulo, Rio, and other great centers. Frankly, we do not believe that such a formidable endeavor was one day performed more successfully, with its modest upholstered armchairs, its sober luxury

> *When the doors opened, and the people entered, they were all so enchanted with so much beauty.*
> *The waiting room with armchairs and with bullet counter (unforgettable chocolate candy), side stairs to go upstairs to watch the movie from there.*
> *The women's toilet was in the waiting room on the right side of the entering and the men's room on the left.*
> *Next to the chairs were the tall ashtrays.*
> *We went up three steps and through the wine curtains we entered to the spectacle. And what a spectacle! With light sets on the sides and front. First it was in the gloom, then it darkened and until the light came again. The lights would turn on and the trendies of the signal (3 trendies) would start, to start the movie. Where there are people, there is voicing, and when the first signal was given, everyone was quiet and when the third signal was given, the silence was total and there began the film, which always ended with the famous kiss of the young lady and the good guy (Main stars) and finally: The end! End!*
> *The lights turned on and everyone went out through the three side doors or through the front door, the entrance.*

But cinema was not only a place of contemplation, it was also a place to be seen and to attend it meant to participate in some form of modernity. The large audiences, which reached 1000 seats, allowed the spectator to perceive himself in the crowd, an essentially modern feeling, even in a small city, and with certain anonymity guaranteed at least in moments of gloom. The urban movement generated by the halls, the box office ticket, the popcorn sale, the flirtation (Figure 11) also appear in Betinha's letter: "People had to go early to buy the tickets because the cinema was always full. Many times, the queue to buy the tickets, passed from the post office building. That movement was wonderful! "

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facilities and perfect lines, reversed by an artistic painting of admirable nuances. The stranger who enters the CINE TEATRO MUSSI, feels immediately invading his self, the security of well-being and the perfect satisfaction of the hours that will pass, together with the thousand other assistants, within that environment that transports us to the great capitals . […]. Laguna Territans! CINE TEATRO MUSSI is an honor for this heroic city, with its traditions of its own! You will see all the monumental productions of Hollywood and its screen, you will see the famous figures of the cinema and you will hear their voices, with the sonority of the modern equipment SIMPLEX. The enterprising genius of three strugglers, he created this marvelous jewel, that on the edge of the calm waters of the great lagoon, will perpetuate their names and excite the crowds and the true aficionados of the seventh art, as we thrilled. (Pozzo, 2016, pp. 72-73).
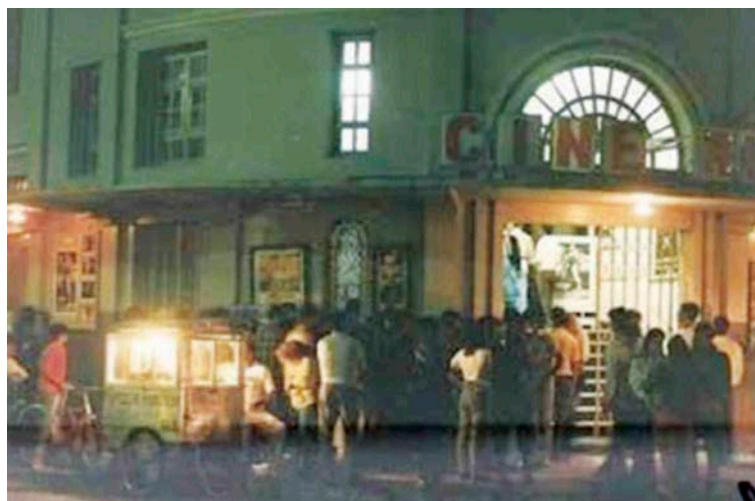
Figure 11 - Night movement in front of Cine Mussi.
Source: POZZO, 2016.

It should be noted, therefore, that Betinha reveals a "topographical memory" (BENJAMIN, 2006) about a moment in Laguna's urban history and points to movie theaters as sociability knots. The way of people between cinemas, coffees, squares, etc., made the center a space of intense sociability woven by "moments articulated in a network of social relations and understandings" (MASSEY, 2000, p.184).

It is important to emphasize that the presence of the cinemas made the transition between day and night in the traditional center. With its absence, the center again has the day-night demarcation characteristic of traditional cities, which Giddens refers to (1989, p.96 apud LEITE, 2007): "The division between day and night, in all societies, used to be perhaps the most fundamental demarcation of zones between the intensity of social life and its relaxation. " Leite (2007 p. 241) argues that "this temporal-space demarcation, however, is not completely dissipated. Instead, it remains in many places with the most effective way of creating routines and ordering public and everyday life. " The image currently crystallized from the center as an unsafe place (a fact that is not exclusive to Laguna) is precisely related to this character of noncontinuous time formed by a monofunctional framework. At dusk, the center of Laguna today houses the "remains" of everyday work: garbage, cardboard boxes, soapy water from the shops. After that, he just passes through the center, no longer enters it.

Social depletion of a model

Going through this history, it is inevitable to wonder about why a small city that has already had seven movie theaters on the street, now unavailable. How did

these rooms melt in the air? It is observed that the state of Santa Catarina, as a whole, suffered from the national movement to close cinemas in the early 1990s, so that nowadays most of the cities that have cinema as a traditional leisure, missed this everyday habit.

Since the 1970s, there has been a drop in the number of screenings rooms installed in our country[13]. This fall, in addition to being related to the expansion of television, is also associated with the emergence of new technological standards in the screenings and commercial organization, for which few Brazilian entrepreneurs were prepared to adapt. From the 1990s, large foreign companies entered the screenings segment in Brazil (Cinemark and UCI, for example). These introduce into our reality the concept of multiplex: "characterized by the meeting of several rooms under the same architectural unit, invariably associated with large commercial ventures (malls), and with a large supply of blockbusters." (ANCINE, 2011, p.34). Currently 90% of cinemas in Brazil are installed in malls, following the technical standards dictated by Hollywood.

This technological imposition inaugurated a process of increasing valorization of the technical apparatuses of the movie theaters, and made its modernization urgent. The concentration in the most lucrative points of the national territory is one of the main reasons that can be listed to explain the decrease in the number of cinemas in Brazil, and the disappearance of the cinemas of the city in question. In this process, the street movie theaters were the main victims. The great halls of the 1930s came to the 1970s technically obsolete, and their model of large halls and audiences of more than 1,000 seats did not withstand real estate speculation in urban centers, as they no longer profited enough. With the closing of the street halls, the traditional centers of the cities lost night movement and saw weaken their character of place of meeting and urban sociability.

However, the exhaustion of the model of street movie theathers has a social bias that goes beyond this technological issue. This model meets one of the great fantasies of the first phase of modernity: the street. Urban investments in Brazilian cities, especially in the second half of the twentieth century, were destined to motorways, closely linked to other structures such as shopping malls, where the movies migrated. From then on, in a few decades, the street, which had always served as the expression of modernity, came to symbolize "everything that was

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[13] According to the last detailed mapping of the sector exhibited by ANCINE (National Cinema Agency) in 2015, while 99.2% of Brazilian cities with more than 500 thousand inhabitants have movie theaters, as well as 77% of those with more than 100 thousand, in municipalities between 20 and 50 thousand this percentage drops to 16%, and in those with less than 20 thousand it is 0.2%. The 3005 commercial exhibition rooms we currently have in Brazil are concentrated, in fact, in 743 exhibition points, distributed among 388 cities. Half of the cinemas' exhibition rooms, tickets sold and ticket sales are concentrated in the states of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (ANCINE, 2015).

grimy, disorderly, apathetic, stagnant, worn and obsolete" (Berman, 1986, p. 301). The emptying of the streets resulted in the closure of the cinemas linked to them.

Final considerations

> *[…] men only acquire a truly human physiognomy when we accompany them in their actions, which can not be replaced either by a meticulous psychological description of their intimate life or by a vague 'sociological' description of general situations.*
>
> Lukács, 1965, p. 88

This essay sought to explore a field of study concerning the sphere of cinematic screenings, and related to reception theories, beyond the relation spectator-film (object). Cinema was considered in its social aspects, more specifically, the daily and urban practice of attending a street movie theater as a motor of sociability. This practice is more and more left to the past, since the rooms themselves are no longer present, and can only be understood from historical readings on spectators' experiences with cinema. These life histories are commonly obtained through orality, however, in this work we focus on a diary, written material, narrative, as a source of information.

In this sense, Betinha's diary reveals a geography of Brazilian cinema that is an urban geography, linked to the daily movement motivated by the street movie theaters, markedly present in the traditional centers of small, medium and large Brazilian cities until the 1980s. Betinha diary makes it possible to perceive and analyze the effects of cinema, which enclose lives and territories. The movie theater, the sphere of exhibit, makes cinema happen on the scale of human life and the historical movement of the city

Reading and interpreting this diary was, in a way, comparable to going to a movie theater and watching a movie. The diary took us far beyond the daily life of a resident of the city of Laguna. Agnes Heller (2004) expresses that nobody can get away from everyday life and not just live the daily life. Therefore, through the analysis of this daily practice we are led to perceive the reproduction in a small city of global movements from the dialectical interaction between scales involving a close order and a distant order:

> The great movements, the vast rhythms, the dense waves crash, interfere. The small movements interpenetrate; each social place can only be understood in a double determination: unleashed, carried, sometimes broken by the great movements … but in crossed opposition, penetrated by the small movements, those of networks and ramifications. (Lefebvre, 2000).

The existence of street cinemas makes sense in the social configuration of the modern Brazilian city typical of the first half of the twentieth century, when the streets were still present as meeting places. Leaving home, walking the streets, seeing and being seen, watching a movie, among other actions, everything was very modern. In such a way that it would be convenient to ask ourselves: who died first, the cinema or the street? The fact is that the model of urbanization that has prevailed since then does not privilege this kind of structure of modern-traditional sociability, based on public space, but rather new structures such as highways and shopping centers where meetings take place in corridors protected from chaos the city, the rain, the wind and, above all, the imaginary of urban violence.

However, as Heller (2004) points out, these transformations are characteristic of the dynamics of everyday life, which is heterogeneous and hierarchical as to the value and meaning of the various activities that make it up. The hierarchy of these practices varies over time depending on the different socio-economic structures.

We see that there are many other possibilities of analysis for film historiography from this source of research: the soundtracks by Radamés Gnatalli, the performances of Zezé Macedo or Cyll Farney, the photograph of the Turkish Ozen Sermet. Not to mention the foreign productions, notably US, Italian and Spanish that appear in the diary and were not analyzed in this essay. Another possible approach is that of gender, considering that cinema also had an important role of integrating women into social life.

Finally, it is necessary to point out that it is not intended, with this essay, to claim a nostalgic view of the cinema, but to reflect, from the urban memory linked to it, about its possibilities of existence in the contemporary world. In this sense, it is illuminating the experience of implementing the Spcine Circuit, a network of 20 public cinemas in São Paulo, between 2015 and 2016, as Manevy (2017) reports based on testimony from managers and spectators. These testimonies revealed "uses of the cinema as a space of qualification of social relations", spaces, these, so fundamental for the construction of the citizenship. "It is evidence that the movie theater not only has a future, but will also, for a long time, be able to change the world and people's lives" (Manevy, 2017).

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Another Measure of Space-Time In Mediatization

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Abstract

We describe the systemic-discursive construction of the calendar of the people of the Tiquié River, in the Amazonian northwest, through digital product analysis. For this, we discuss the multiterritorialisation, in the words of Rogério Haesbaert (2004), of the region of the Negro River and the measure of space-time (SANTOS, 2006) of the natives, which dates back to the pre-colonial period of the South America. Theorically, we are based on the Social Systems Theory (LUHMANN, 1995, 2005), the concept of mediatization of society (FAUSTO NETO, 2006; VERÓN, 1997) and the semiology proposed by Eliseo Verón (2004, 2013). The discursive productions point to complex binds that are constructed through the intersection of social systems and discourse worlds so distinct - indigenous, scientific and mediatized.

Keywords
Space-time; Mediatization; Semiology; the Amazon.

Initial Notes

The process of mediatization engages different measurements of space-time in modern times. In this article, we investigate the understanding of the indigenous peoples who live by the Tiquié River in the northwest Amazonian region between Brazil, Colombia and Venezuela, which is home to 31 peoples from four language families, remnants of pre-colonial South America. For this population, the year is divided into several stations, according to the passage of constellations in conjunction with the identification of ecosystem processes. Particularly, we analyze the digital product[1] developed through the couplings among indigenous researchers, *Instituto Socioambiental*[2] ("Socio-environmental Institute"), and the *InfoAmazonia*[3] platform, which resulted in a complex interactive infographic which contributes to debate about the indigenous space-time measurement.

Therefore, we investigate the production of systemic-discourse of the concept of space-time of the indigenous peoples of the Tiquié River, in northwestern Amazon. This work is part of a more comprehensive study (FLÔRES, 2017), whose aim was to understand the mediatized problems about the transnational Amazon, as reported in the *InfoAmazonia* database platform. The present research was developed as a case study, based on the proposition of communication as an evidential discipline (BRAGA, 2008). In addition, we had a conference call interview with the journalist Gustavo Faleiros, coordinator of *InfoAmazonia*, the platform responsible for creating the digital product.

As a theoretical-methodological framework, we use the semiology developed by Eliseo Verón (2004, 2013) to identify discursive conditions and grammars of production of the discursive objective. The systemic-discourse construction of the calendar of the peoples of the Tiquié River was analyzed in the light of concepts from the Social Systems Theory (LUHMANN, 1995, 2005), the theoretical perspective of mediatization (VERÓN, 1997; FAUSTO NETO, 2006; GOMES, 2006) and the space-time notions of geography (HARVEY, 1992; SANTOS, 2006; HAESBAERT, 2004).

Time, Space and multiterritorialities

The relationship between nature and society is structured on the notion of space as defined by Milton Santos (2006). Specifically, the sense of space takes

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[1] Website (in Portuguese): <https://ciclostiquie.socioambiental.org/pt/index.html>. Accessed on March 23, 2017.

[2] *ISA* is a Civil Society Organization of Public Interest, founded in 1994, with a focus on social and environmental issues. Website: www.socioambiental.org

[3] Database platform on the problems of the Amazon forest. Website: www.infoamazonia.org

into account human activity in the natural environment on different scales - cartographic, on a quantitative basis; and geographical, from local to global, on a qualitative approach. In this respect, the geographic space must be understood as hybrid (SANTOS, 2005) because it integrates material and symbolic processes, involving a set of social relations, foundations and temporalities.

The problem of space must also be apprehended together with the notion of time. After all, while the former determines where events occur, the latter defines when they occur. Therefore, events are the element that unifies both of them; they happen at a given moment, thus creating time, and geographically exist in one place, hence creating space. For this reason, space and time are inextricably linked: "The idea of time is inseparable from the idea of the objects and their value" (SANTOS, 2006: 103, our translation). However, the (moral and physical) duration of things cannot be known in advance, "only ex post".

At the beginning of everything, only physical events were universal. This holds true both for the formation of the universe with the *Big Bang*, as well as for the climate of our planet. As pointed out by Milton Santos (2006: 105), "the so-called continental, regional and local climates have a global behavior. Human facts had local incidence first. Their relevance expanded slowly" (our translation). As a result, from a historical point of view, it took thousands of years to record geographically large events which affect mankind, e.g., those witnessed in contemporary times. Therefore, only today "one can truly speak of global historical events" (our translation).

This problematization of the relation between space and time gained a new scale with David Harvey (1992), for whom the latest information, communication and transportation technologies have resulted in the compression of time-space in the contemporary world. This *post-modern condition* focuses mainly on cultural aspects, coupled the new forms of movement of capitalism. The characteristics of Fordism, e.g., economies of scale, monopolized capital, universalism, etc., would be linked to "modernity", while capitalism with flexible accumulation or in the post-Fordist era, with small-batch production, fictitious capital, individualism and the like, would be linked to "post-modernity" (HAESBAERT, 2002: 69).

In addition to the semantic link of these concepts, which are understood in a hybrid manner (SANTOS, 2005), this promiscuous relationship is highlighted in the unification present in the expression of time-space, in the view of Harvey (1992), thus refuting any tradition which dissociates time and space.

> I mean to signal by that term processes that so revolutionize the objective qualities of space and time that we are forced to alter, sometimes in quite radical ways, how we represent the world to ourselves. I use the word 'compression' because a strong case can be made that the history of capitalism has been characterized by speed-up in the pace of life, while so overcoming spatial barriers

that the world sometimes seems to collapse inwards upon us (Harvey, 1992: 240).

Among the "internal analytic categories" (SANTOS, 2006: 12) the concept of space, pressured in the new capitalist conditions (HARVEY, 1992), is territorial configuration, understood by a portion of the geographic space suitable and interspersed by relations of power. To put it another way, it is a spatial area bounded by the human domain. According to Santos (2005), the territory is not a concept *a priori*, but it becomes a concept through the movement of those who make use of it. In other words, "is the use of the territory, not the territory itself, which makes it the object of social analysis" (Santos, 2005: 255, our translation).

In the critical view of geographer Rogério Haesbaert (2004: 79), in order to take account of the hybrid dimensions of territory, understood through "imbrication of multiple relations of power, from the more material power from economic and political relations to the more symbolic power of the more strictly cultural order", these dimensions need to be linked with an integrative theoretical perspective. However, whether in geography or in related disciplines, approaches have historically sought to highlight chains which are commonly one-dimensional.

For Haesbaert (2004: 76-77), they are organized into two perspectives: (1) the materialistic perspectives, with naturalist conceptions (territoriality reduced to the biological character), which are economically-based (especially for Marxists, for whom production is the foundation for understanding territorial relations) and legally and politically-based (material foundations of the State); and (2) the idealist perspectives, a more traditional one (territory as area of power relations), another understanding of territory as a network (centered in both movement and connection) and, also of a multi-scale nature, (territory as a hybrid of the material and the ideal, in multiple spheres).

The author therefore stresses the concept of "territory based on the understanding of space as a hybrid - hybrid between society and nature, between politics, economy and culture, and between materiality and "ideality", in a complex interaction of space-time" (HAESBAERT, 2004: 79, our translation). In this sense, the notion of territory transcends the meaning of region, because it involves different forms of appropriation of spaces, on different scales of space and time. Thus, territoriality is seen as both setting and stability as "controlled mobility", an example of the "territory-network of large transnational corporations" (HAESBAERT, 2002: 135, our translation), where the connection of the points is the focus.

According to the geographer, there has been growing debate on these new frameworks for territory, in recent years, in different areas, as regards "the

destruction of territories, i.e., deterritorialization[4], without making it clear which conception of territory is behind this process" (HAESBAERT, 2002: 130, our translation). Some authors state that deterritorialization has led to the end of geography, as linked to the neoliberal project. For Haesbaert, the material geographical base shows the fragility of the discourse of pure deterritorialization. The movement itself that deterritorializes necessarily implies territorialization in other bases. In this sense, "the relationship between networks and territories is permanent and inseparable" (HAESBAERT, 2002: 133, our translation).

Arguments of the fragility of pure deterritorialization include ecological issues (deforestation, erosion, pollution, greenhouse effect), access to new natural resources (linked to biodiversity), demographic problems (spread of epidemics), issues of accessibility control and the new "territory-based national-regionalist struggles" (HAESBAERT, 2004: 23). In Haesbaert's view, the great dilemma nowadays is the multitude of territories, under continuous territorialization, as a network and as a rhizome. In his words,

> Multiterritoriality (or multiterritorialization if, in a more coherent manner, we wish to emphasize it as action or process) implies the possibility of accessing or connecting several territories, which can be either through "concrete mobility", in the sense of physical movement, or "virtual", in the sense of engaging different territorialities even without physical movement, as in new experiences of space and time, enabled through the cyberspace (HAESBAERT, 2004: 343, our translation).

Within the complex global scenario, there emerges "the combination of a multiplicity of territories or, for those who enjoy neologisms, contemporary glocalization" (HAESBAERT, 2004: 347, our translation). In addition to a set of local events that are subject to global interference, glocalization "indicates a combination of elements in a new dynamic where they can no longer be recognized strictly neither as global nor as local, but rather as an qualitatively different amalgam" (our translation). Therefore, this is one of the processes which makes multiterritorialization most evident.

In this scenario of social complexification, in which we assume a hybrid concept of space-time issue and the emergence of multiple material and symbolic territorialities, the issue of communication plays a key role in mediating all these processes. This means that social and technical instances in contemporary times are increasingly challenged by logics formerly confined to the domain of the media. Hence the concept of mediatization needs to be discussed in order to shed light on these complexities.

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[4] Deterritorialization emerged in studies of philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. In the realm of geography, the field which claims knowledge about territories only appeared at the beginning of this century, as stated by Haesbaert (2002).

Mediatization and discursive couplings

The increasing social and territorial complexity gradually stimulates the shift from an instrumental society to the immersion in a complex cross-influence of the media, as stated by Antonio Fausto Neto (2006, 2013). In this point of view, there is a shift from a functionalist scenario, where the media were considered to play a supporting role in the social dynamics, referred to as society of the media, to the confirmation of a perspective that identifies in social relations overlaps of communicational logics, practices and operations that affect other social systems[5] in distinct structural couplings. With these couplings, a system is able to use procedures of others to operationalize their communicative processes (LUHMANN, 1995: 223), as well as promote dialog with elements of its environment with other systems, whether social or mental (LUHMANN, 1997).

Within the theoretical angulation of the processes of mediatization of society, the social dimension is inseparable from technology in processualities of mutual influence which potentiate the manifestation of a new communicational structure in contemporary times. Therefore, it goes beyond the instrumental vision of a general multitude of technological devices; it emphasizes that it is also a social practice (GOMES, 2006), conveyed by non-linear mutual influence between institutions, media and individual actors (VERÓN, 1997) that foster the emergence of a new socio-technical-discursive scenario (FAUSTO NETO, 2010).

According to Pedro Gilberto Gomes (2006), this process is not just about a enhanced techno-interaction, but, particularly, a new way of being in the world. The very social need of realization through the phenomenon of the media sees mediatization as a "hermeneutic key to understanding realities. After all, in the contemporary world, "if one aspect or fact is not mediatized, it does not seem to exist" (GOMES, 2006: 121). For the author, these mediatization dynamics trigger the emergence of cultures that are independent of the territorial memory, thus expanding the exercise of citizenship. Glocalization and multiterritorialization (HAESBAERT, 2004) corroborate this argument.

As Fausto Neto (2006) explains, the potentiation of mediatization brings tension to the semantic processualities in contemporary society hence these dynamics occur in relational operationalities and, concomitantly, cross-sectionally. Said another way, subjects of different social systems take ownership of rules, logics and media techniques for use in their interactions.

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[5] According to German theorist Niklas Luhmann (1995, 1997), social systems are the functionally different manner whereby society is structured. Their main function is to reduce complexity that stems from the environment. This epistemologically complex option goes beyond the limits of functionalist thought through its "Operational constructivism" (Luhmann, 2005: 22).

In this way, these new sociotechnical relations which originate in mediatization eventually override the concept of social bond, especially the concept relative to the territorial dimension. Thus, we look particularly at mediatization as regards the operation of discursive operations stimulated by this context. In this perspective, semiology is an appropriate theoretical-methodological tool, because the object analyzed falls within the scope of the discursive materiality encouraged by this new social, technical and territorial environment.

To understand the complexity of discursive processes, it is important to briefly comment on the transition of the society of the media into the society in the process of mediatization (FAUSTO NETO, 2013). The former is marked by a functionalist formulation that was about the movement of senses as a "service-activity", avoiding the whole disagreement inherent in this process. Functionalism favored the "what for" the structure, in which the means of communication (as a mere "zone of transportation") and the receiver were mutually "contaminated", which limited the analysis in notions of cause and effect (FAUSTO NETO, 2013: 43). Therefore, for years, studies in communication found that the senses produced would be strictly linked with the intentions of the sender of the message, without any kind of symbolic negotiation between production operations and discourse recognition[6].

In the latter perspective, with the new communicational structure, the functionalist concept of 'zone of passage' is disregarded as there emerges the instability caused by circulation between production and recognition (VERÓN, 2004). For Fausto Neto (2013: 47), circulation becomes the "generator of couplings" and the "cause for discontinuities" in these instances. The interactional complexity in the scenario of mediatization is increased by shorter distances between production and recognition generated by the interrelation between techniques and social practices. These contacts set up "new sociotechnical relations", i.e., "new forms of couplings" between systems and environment, which transform practices and discursive organizations (FAUSTO NETO, 2013: 48).

The approach of theories of discourse is shifted from the point of view of the enunciator and their intentions to the problematization of the issue of the observer of the senses. The speaking subject ceases to be the focus in studies on production and starts to be recognized in a more complex environment, that of discursive circulation. As problematized by Verón (2013), production and recognition hubs are also crossing social discursivity. They are no longer circumscribed in distant relationships. The subject ceases to control their own speech, as well as the effects

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[6] It is worth noting that the "theories of complexity" approach (Fausto, 2013: 47) does not restrict the notion of discourse to the spectrum of language. "What is produced, what circulates and what produces effects within a society are always discourses" (VERÓN, 2004: 61). This explains why *discourse* and *text* are not treated as synonyms.

manifested in the interlocutor. "The functionalist conviction - whereby language would be at the service of a consciential project - is thus refuted" (FAUSTO NETO, 2013: 45, our translation).

In the transition from the 1970s to the 1980s, when researchers began to be interested by the processes of recognition, Verón (2013: 293) introduced a scheme which mapped the chain of *semiosis* into a specific product, which he referred to as the discursive object (*object-discourse- OD*). Such empirical materialization of signs would allow semiological analysis to be made. The properties were generated from a production grammar (PG), which reallocated the OD as "a member of a class", because PG, in principle, would be capable of generating an unspecified number of discursive objects.

Figure 1 - Diagram of the semiosis of a discourse object
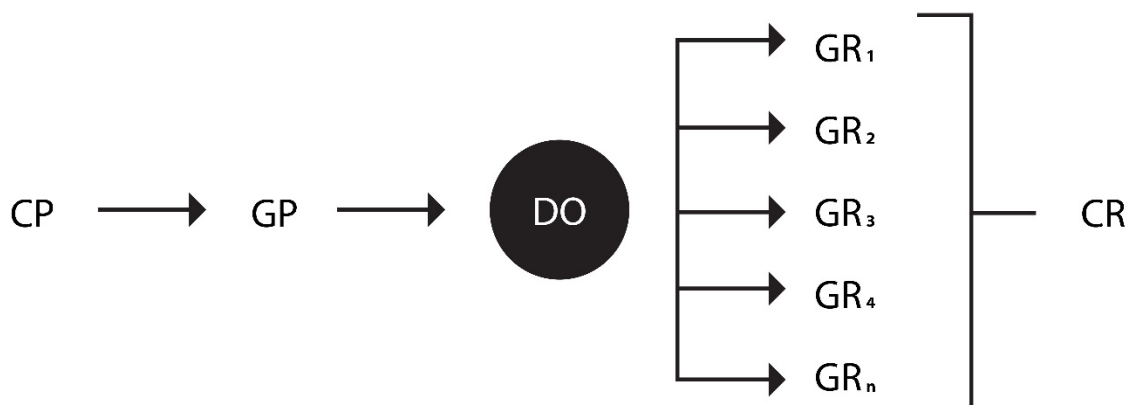
Source: (VERÓN, 2013: 293).

Therefore, ODs set rules and principles, organized into PGs. They operate as devices of enunciation, which awaken the senses of another, the receiver of this discourse, who uses their perceptions to determine other grammars - recognition grammars (RG). Thus, each enunciated product is comprised of PGs, which influence the production and permeate the product with marks that allow its reformulation. RGs produce other grammars which, by means of marks included in the recognition discourse, can also be rebuilt.

According to Verón (2013), PGs formalize operations that focus on features identified, but they do not explain the latter. In this sense, he postulates the

existence of conditions of production (CP), which would account for the presence of PGs of the *semiosis* under analysis. The process of mediatization encourages couplings with RGs, which schematize the plurality and the non-linearity of circulation which are made possible through conditions of recognition (CR). It is worth stressing that discourse is always indicative of production of sense in the space-time dimension.

The reduction of components of clauses-units - characteristic of linguistics - is what differentiates it from discourse analysis, which does not limit the approach and emphasizes the context introduced. Therefore, the analysis of discourse consists in the description of operacionalities. If a textual surface is composed of discursive marks, they will be traces of underlying discursive operations, which "should be rebuilt (or postulated) from the marks on the surface" (VERÓN, 2004: 65, our translation), present in a heterogeneous object immersed within the interdiscursive network of social production. Based on the discussion of the concepts relative to mediatization and semiology, we now move on to the analysis of the discursive object.

Multiterritorialization of the Amazon: another concept of space-time

The largest proportion of the indigenous population in Brazil lives in the region of the Upper Negro River, in the northwest Amazon, on the border between Colombia and Venezuela. Historically, the peoples of the Negro River had their first contact with the Portuguese in the mid-16th century in expeditions to capture slaves, a practice that lasted until the 19th century. However, even before that, a portion may have already been linked with Dutch settlers, particularly in the region of the Middle Negro River, also by means of slave trade expeditions. As a result of the invasions in this period, epidemics of smallpox and measles have devastated part of the population. According to Dominique Buchillet (2013), given the growth of attacks for forced labor, the Upper Negro River has served as an area of refuge for many indigenous people because it was a far-away region.

More recently, with the post-colonial demarcation of borders, the indigenous social system was subjected to several new types of reterritorializations, originating from militarization, schooling and industrialization in Brazil. According to Aloisio Cabalzar (2013), during the National Integration Plan of the military regime in the 20th century, construction works in two roads have changed even further the local territorial division as a result of the establishment of the military and the incentive

to trade. Many communities have also been weakened as members left to start working in mines and forests were cleared for pastureland for cattle, donated both by the army and Salesian priests who settled in the Upper Rio Negro.

The indigenous lands of the regions of the Middle and Upper Negro River received approval in 1997, in an area of 106,000 km2; they are currently the largest protected areas in Brazil. One consequence was the drastic reduction in deforestation to 0.61% per year between 2000 and 2014, a quite different percentage from the 16% increase recorded between 2014 and 2015 throughout the Amazon (INPE, 2016). On the other hand, the Upper Negro River is currently the third region in Brazil with the highest proportional incidence of mining activity: 38.9% of the territory is used for mining purposes, especially gold mining.

More than 26,000 people live in indigenous territories in the Upper Negro River, a number that corresponds to 40.3% of the entire population of the region. In 2003, there were approximately 15,600 inhabitants, an average increase of 6% per year (INSTITUTO SOCIOAMBIENTAL, 2015). In this way, we underline the multiterritoriality extracted in this space of land which integrates both a symbolic-cultural order of the various indigenous communities that date back to pre-colonial times and materialistic aspects such as naturalist, legal-political and economic conceptions, whoch are territorial features explored by Haesbaert (2004).

Figure 2 - Map of the Tiquié River, in northwest Amazon
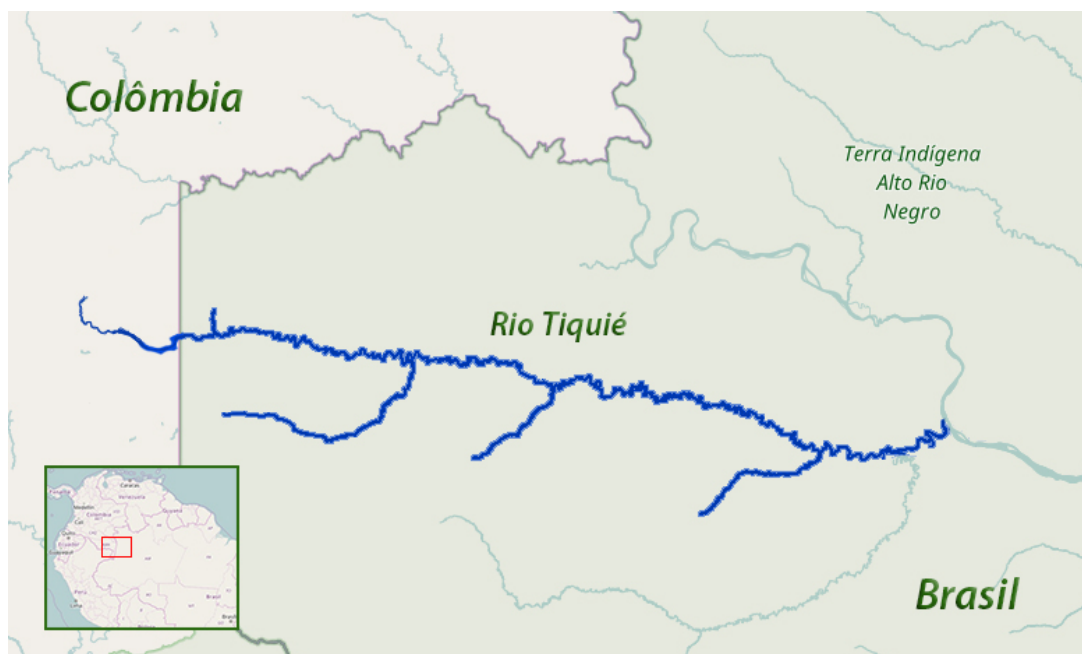
Source: Prepared by the authors, based on *OpenStreetMap*.

Inserted in the territories of the Upper Negro River, the Tiquié River flows across the region. It is 380 km long, and 84.5% of it is in the Brazilian territory. Its

drainage capacity is approximately 5,700 km². The source is located in Gran Reguardo del Vaupés, in Colombia, and flows into to the Uaupes river, one of the main tributaries of the Negro River. The languages of the people who inhabit the banks of the Tiquié belong to two families: the nadahup languages, of the Hupda and Yuhupda peoples who live by the tributaries on both sides; and the eastern tukano languages, of the Tukano, Desana, Tuyuka, Miriti-tapuya, Bará and Yebamasa peoples, established in the main course of the river (EPPS & SALANOVA, 2012).

The indigenous peoples of the Tiquié River have a different concept of space-time (SANTOS, 2005, 2006). According to Walmir Cardoso (2007), they note that, during the year, constellations (*ñokoa wametise*, in tukano) move from east to west, then they apparently disappear over the horizon, which determines the phenomenon referred to in astrology as *sunset*. For the indigenous culture of the Tiquié River, this is the reference that signals the beginning of winters, which bear the name of the constellations that disappear at a certain time. Their longhouses are built in reference to the movement of the stars.

The intervals between longer rainy periods and floods (*poero*), understood as summers (*kumã*), are named according to the cycles of fruit cultivation, as ingá (*mere kumã*), pupunha palm (*erus kuma*), umari (*wamu kuma*) and cucura (*kuma*); and edible insects, such as caterpillars (*home kuma*) and leaf-cutter ants (*mehkã kuma*), while short summers (intervals between rain showers) are named after the current constellation. Thus, the seasons expose a series of natural phenomena, linked with the performance of different activities. The integrated relationship between all cycles "is an astronomical, ecological, socio-economic calendar and a ritual" (AZEVEDO *et al.*, 2010: 58, our translation).

According to Ignacio Valencia (2010: 30), a makuna from igarape Machado, the indigenous people are connected with the animal world and vegetable world as they share the same space. Therefore, following the constellations is "the very method that we have to manage our territory" (our translation). In his words,

> We commonly follow the constellations to measure time and what is happening in every season of the year. That is why our ancestors looked at the constellations, and they said what time they were and what time they came, and according to that, they knew what was happening in the jungle, with animals, fish, man and river. When is there an abundance of wild fruit, edible and inedible species, in the forest? Or of edible and inedible animals? Or of edible and inedible fish? With his knowledge, man offers proper management to the territory, so that the whole forest works in balance (VALENCIA, 2010: 24).

The year for the indigenous peoples of the Tiquié River begins with the season *Aña* (brown-banded snake), mainly associated with floods, in the period corresponding to the months of October and November (possibly until December) in

the Gregorian calendar. These floods are accompanied by "lesser abundance of fish, the main source of protein in the diet of riparian dwellers. At that time, in light of the floods of the river, bothrops leave their dens to search for food" (CARDOSO, 2007: 157). The stellar body of *Aña* is equivalent to the area of the constellation of Sagittarius, in the Greco-Roman tradition.

After the season of pit viper, in mid-December, comes *pamō* (tatu), a region corresponding to the stars Tarazed, Altair and Alshain. This constellation is accompanied by heavy rain and thunderstorms. For the indigenous culture of the Tiquié River, the armadillo in the sky is also identified by a male tradition in which elderly men sit down and talk with other men at dusk about the *sacred flutes*. According to the myth, "the flutes were stolen of men by women, who then began to play them and to do everything that men did, for example, fishing, while men started to do women's chores, such as preparing food and harvesting cassava" (PIEDADE, 1999: 95, our translation).

With the constellation *pamō* setting in the west, *and mhuã darsia* (pike cichlids and shrimp) move close to the sunset. According to a study of Cardoso (2007: 170), stars of the constellation of Aquarius represent pike cichlids, and those of the Piscis Australis and Eridanus constellations represent shrimp. Both constellations have weak intensity, which is reflected in the minor importance and volume of floods in that period, between February and March. According to the myths, shrimp helped to hide the sacred flutes, which were subsequently recovered by men, while pike cichlids encouraged women to play them. As punishment, they were both thrown towards the sky for such acts of transgression (EPPS & OLIVEIRA, 2013).

With the departure of shrimp, the mustache of *yai* (jaguar) touches the horizon, thus announcing the arrival of a long flood. This period of rainfall is proportional to the size of the constellation which, as well as the pit viper, is divided into mustache, head (Cassiopeia constellation), body (Cassiopeia, Andromeda and Perseus) and tail (Perseus). Precisely, in native language, they are named *yai siokha poero* (flood of the brightness of the jaguar), *yai duhpoa poero* (flood of the moustache of the jaguar), *yai ohpu poero* (flood of the body of the jaguar) and *yai pihkoro poero* (flood of the tail of the jaguar). The jaguar disappears at the end of March, when *ñohkoatero* (set of stars, in tukano) becomes the reference.

Figure 3 - Cycles for the indigenous peoples of the Tiquié River

Tukano	Português	Área de referência do céu dos não índios	Mês do calendário juliano-gregoriano em que a constelação está se pondo no rio Tiquié (aproximado)
Mhⱨã	Jacundá	Estrelas do Aquário	Fevereiro: início a meados do mês.
Dahsiⱨ	Camarão	Estrelas do Aquário, principalmente	Fevereiro: início a meados do mês.
Yaí	Onça	Estrelas da Cassiopéia e Perseu, principalmente	Março: até primeira quinzena (barba e início da cabeça da onça); segunda quinzena de março (corpo da onça). Rabo da onça se põe até meados para final de abril, bem junto das plêiades.
Ñohkoatero	Conjunto de estrelas	Plêiades	Abril: meados para o final do mês.
Waikhasa	Jirau de peixes	Hyades	Abril/Maio: final do mês de abril até meados de maio.
Sioyahpu	Cabo de enxó	Órion	Maio: meados para final do mês.
Yhé	Garça	Cabeleira da Berenice	Agosto e setembro: se põe toda a constelação.
Aña	Jararaca	Escorpião/ Sagitário	Novembro: meados desse mês, eventualmente até dezembro.
Pamo	Tatu	Águia/ Golfinho	Dezembro.

Source: (AZEVEDO et. al., 2010: 60).

According to Cardoso (2007), this is the same classification of the stars of the Pleiades among non-indigenous people. Because of their close angular proximity, these seven stars visible to the naked eye and commonly found in other cultures around the world. In addition to this set of stars, another set identified is *Wai khasa* (fish jirau, a type of fishing trap), with stars of the constellation of Taurus, time of cold weather with long snow, winds and storms. The third set is *Sioyahpa* (cable curved wood of an instrument with a blade used to chop wood), located in a part of the constellation of Orion. The tukanos associated this constellation with a myth about cutting the head of the pit viper. This is an abundant season when fish migration occurs.

As a result, around August, we observe the constellation *yhé* (Heron), marked by a strong period of summer which makes it difficult to catch fish. In parallel with it, the constellation *Sipé Phairó* (large-anus pit viper) begins to set on the horizon, which also justifies the reduction of fish supply, because according to the tukano indians, they go into the anus of the pit viper and disappear from the rivers. At that moment, it is almost October, and the cycle of the Tiquié River restarts.

The systemic-discursive construction

Beginning in 2005, a research study with indigenous communities of the Tiquié River in Brazil and Colombia aimed to understand space-time in that region. The initiative was coordinated by anthropologist Aloisio Cabalzar, from *ISA*, an organization that has maintained a permanent team of researchers on site since 1998. After the first meetings across communities, a team of approximately 40 indigenous people was set up. They are called Environmental Management Indigenous Agents (AIMAs), with partial dedication to research. *ISA* has provided four houses, fitted with solar energy panels, computers and a meeting room. In addition, the researchers received scholarships, instruments of labor and fuel for driving around.

A total of eight indigenous peoples participated; they are linked to 26 communities of the Tiquié River and its tributaries. Each researcher wrote a diary about the phenomena that occurred at the time of sunset of each constellation, with seven variables of socioeconomic and environmental observations: (1) heavy rains; (2) river level, navigation conditions, extent of flood and ebb tides; (3) name of the station in the indigenous language; (4) plant phenology; (5) cycle of fish and animals; (6) reproduction, behavior and migration of mammals and birds; and (7) reproduction of insects and amphibians. Other records which were documented were the daily life of the community, labor activities of residents, community meals, rituals, festivals, diseases and hunting, fishing and planting activities (AZEVEDO *et al.*, 2010).

The indigenous diaries were handwritten. Subsequently, the data of the three biennia (2005-2006, 2006-2007 and 2007-2008) were screened, stored and processed in digital spreadsheets by the team of researchers from *ISA*. After tabulation was completed, the team of *InfoAmazonia* was contacted to create a digital product, because it had worked previously with ISA in the *Atlas Amazon Under Pressure*. According to Gustavo Faleiros, coordinator of *InfoAmazonia*, the transition of the diaries to spreadsheets took a long time to complete because of the complexity of the data, the last year of collection and the publication of the website, in mid-2011.

> *So, when they needed to make this calendar, Beto and Ricardo, founders of ISA, they thought of us and asked us if we could help the researchers who were in this project to create a digital product with the data that they had in the calendar. (...) One of the developers who were involved in the project got deeply involved: Hebert Valois, who was very interested. He began to make the calendar with a great deal of care. And then at the end he ended up being hired by ISA. He worked at ISA for one more year to finish the design and everything else. So it was good thing. But then we started to feel so excited about the project, we thought that the data were incredible, the story was incredible. We decided to make a video, and we even financed the production of the video to post it*

> *on the platform later, and Hebert, hired by ISA, created the whole website, and we collaborated with the visual design... So, I collaborated with a few hints and our developers, Vitor and Miguel, helped with the database and visualization components. It was a very nice project* [Gustavo Faleiros][7].

From the diaries to the spreadsheets; from the spreadsheets to the Internet. Inserted in the portal of *ISA*, the digital product of the calendar of the indigenous peoples of the Tiquié River brings together five layers of information in a circular shape, similar to the *volvelle* (BRASWELL-MEANS, 1991), an instrument that dates back to the 16th century used to illustrate astronomical calculations. In this work, the page brings together five explanatory sections: "Upper Negro River: Northwest Amazon", "Annual cycles", "Collaborative Research", "Management of the World" and "Indigenous Peoples of the Amazon and Climate Change". As reported by Faleiros, there are also two videos (one on the annual cycles and another on the management of fish in the Tiquié River) and a map of the communities in the region.

Figure 4 - Digital Product of the calendar of the Tiquié River
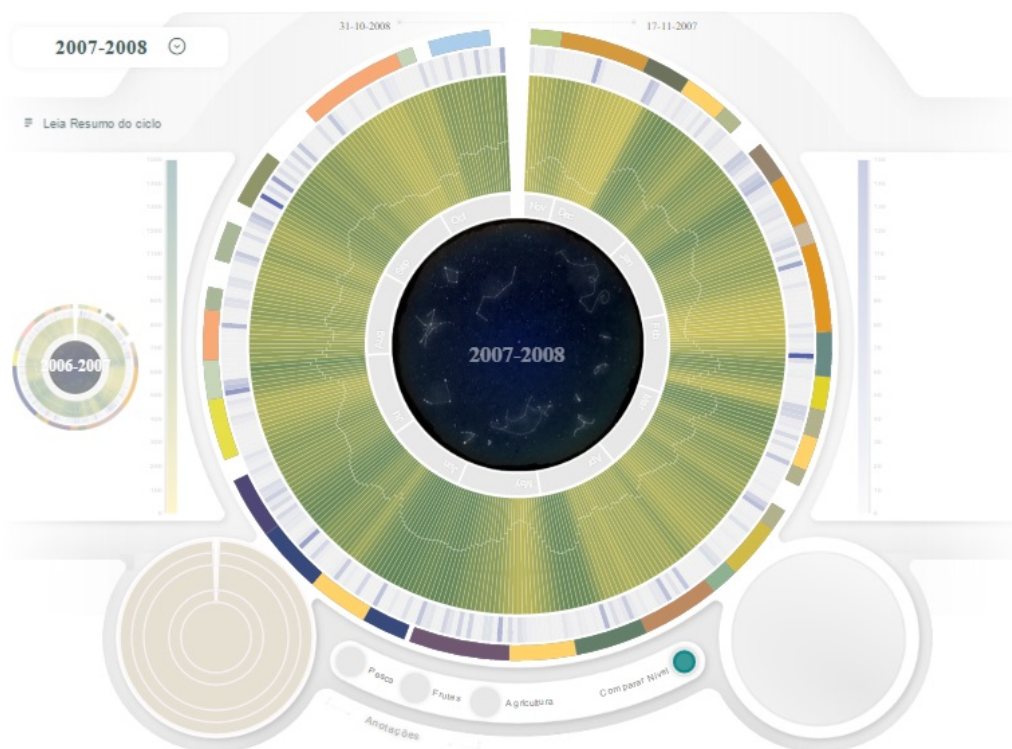
Source: Instituto Socioambiental. Cycles of the Tiquié River. Available at: <https://www3.socioambiental.org/teste/ciclostiquie/>. Accessed on March 25, 2017.

The constellations of the Tiquié River are arranged at the center. By pointing the cursor to a specific direction, the selected constellation appears in the bottom right circle, with the name in tukano and Portuguese. The second layer shows the

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[7] Interview made on October 14, 2016.

corresponding months in the Gregorian calendar, beginning in the second half of November and ending in October. The third layer shows the river level. Each track represents one day of the year. The dark green ones represent rainy periods, while the light green ones represent the dry seasons. On the left side, a rule is enabled with the centimeters on each date.

The fourth layer shows data on rainfall in the region. When this layer is selected, a ruler in millimeters is highlighted on the right. Just as in the previous layer, the shades (in this case, blue) represent the intensity of rainfall in each period. The fifth and last layer indicates the name of the seasons, according to the indigenous culture of the Tiquié River. Another relevant aspect is the biennia, which can be changed both in the miniature calendars on the sides and in the upper left corner. In the latter area, the tool provides a summary of the cycle for the sake of intelligibility by means of more straightforward and concise language, as an example of how the system of the media can reduce complexities, as problematized by Luhmann (2005).

One last mechanism, called "Notes", emerges from the calendar. It is located at the bottom of the digital product and offers four options: "Fishing", "Fruits", "Agriculture" and "Compare level". While the first three refer to notes, the last one reports a line that crosses out the timetable and illustrates the river levels. In the other options, after they are selected, layers with the corresponding colors appear in the cycle and indicate that, for a given topic, observations are available. For example, the color of "Agriculture" is brown. When we move the cursor to the color palette on December 22, 2006, the following note will appear on the top right corner: "cut down shrubland". In other words, at that time, the indigenous people were preparing the land for planting. The following figure shows these options in more detail:

Figure 5 - Indigenous notes about the cycle of the Tiquié River
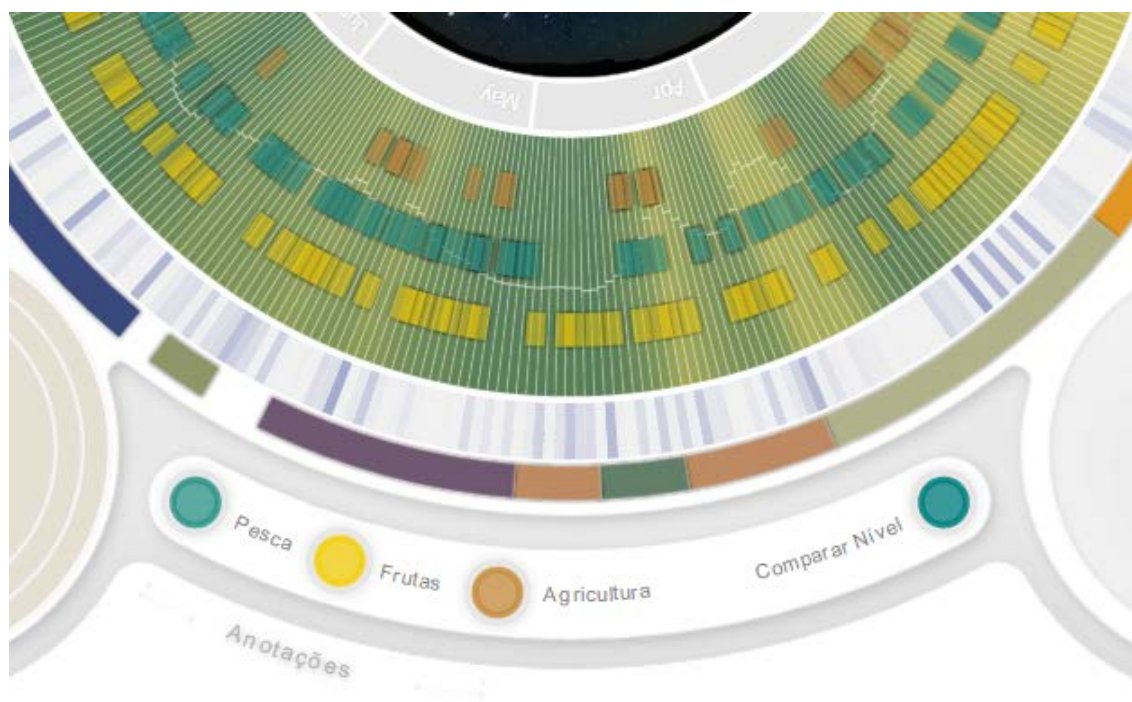
Source: Instituto Socioambiental. Cycles of the Tiquié River. Available at: <https://www3.socioambiental.org/teste/ciclostiquie/>. Accessed on March 25, 2017.

In this sense, at these levels there is great caution to explain what is said discursively, since the data are processed in multiple instances. These materialities seek to produce effects of senses that contrast with and, at the same time, complement each other. Precisely, semiologic intersections (VERÓN, 2004, 2013) can be found in the relations between the languages of digital product (Tukano and Portuguese) or the different interpretations of space-time (indigenous or Gregorian). Therefore, it involves the intersection of various complexities: logics of the natives (own language and space-time concept), the scientific logic of data (explored by researchers at *Isa*) and the logics of mediatization (the intelligibility sought by *InfoAmazonia* in the design of the calendar) These complexities connect systemically, hence generating more discursive complexities at the end of this flow.

For astronomer Walmir Cardoso[8], who has worked directly with indigenous people in the preparation of this research, the timing of the cycles of the Tiquié River goes beyond the mere observation of the phenomena observed in indigenous culture, because it is another measurement of space-time, different from the one we are accustomed to. "We have another story of space-time […]. It is a

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[8] INSTITUTO SOCIOAMBIENTAL. Annual cycles of Indigenous Peoples in the Tiquié River. Interview, Nov. 17, 2015. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z11qly8DW48>. Accessed on Nov. 25, 2016.

translation, but it is the creation of a third space of dialog where it is clear that we are building an area of conversation, an area of common growth" (our translation).

This singular space of dialog engages three different social systems (LUHMANN, 1995), the indigenous, the scientific and the mediatic ones, each with logics, characteristics and operationalities of their own. The first brings together what Enrique Leff (2011) refers to as traditional knowledge, with values that bypass technological rationality. The second includes what he calls modern knowledge, originating from dominant scientific paradigms[9]. In turn, the mediatic system procedurally affects the discursive dynamics of the other systems; it is a new way of being in the world (GOMES, 2006), thus highlighting the multiterritorialities this process (HAESBAERT, 2004).

This complex systemic-discourse construction can be represented in the following analysis flow chart:

Figure 6 - Flow diagram of the systemic-discursive construction of the calendar
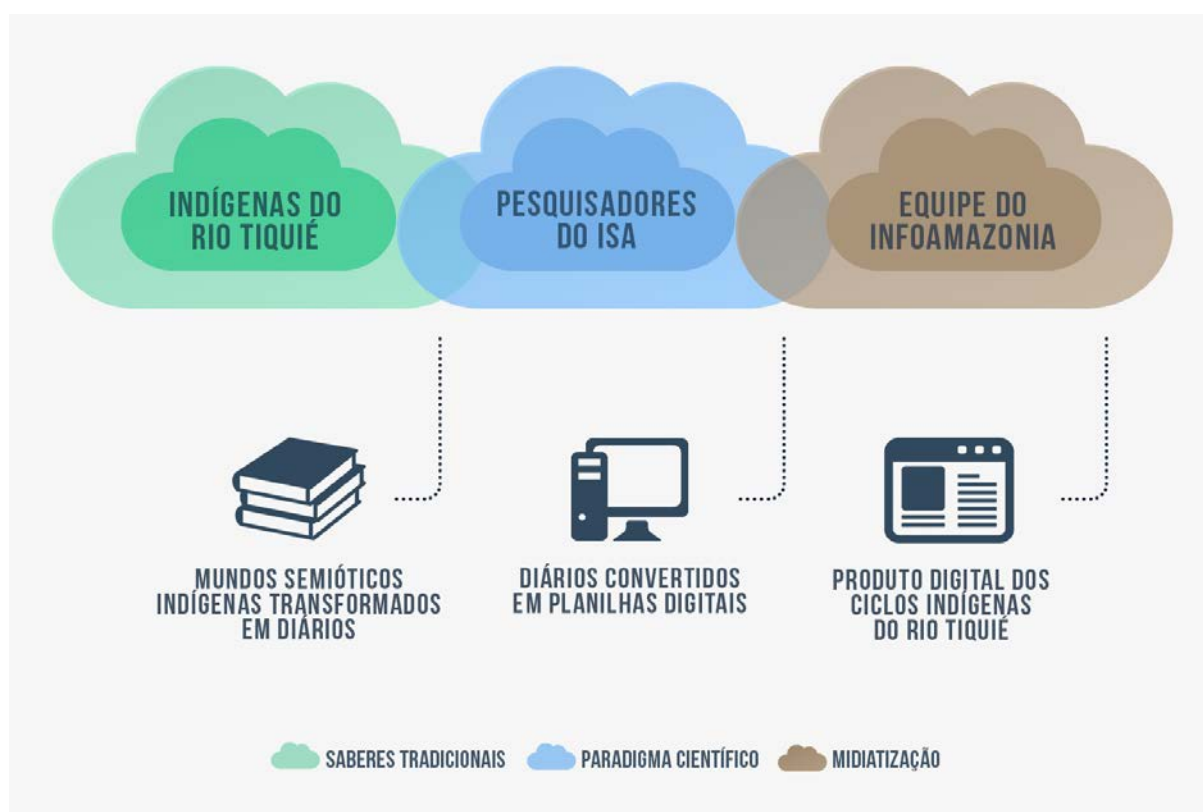
Source: Prepared by the authors.

The first movement of the flowchart illustrates how the indigenous system (activated, in that case, by the indigenous people of the Tiquié River), inserted and

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[9] Paradigms are "scientific universally recognized achievements that, for some time, provide model problems and solutions for a community of practitioners of a science" (Kuhn, 1998: 13, our translation).

interpenetrated systemically (LUHMANN, 1995) by the so-called traditional knowledge (LEFF, 2011), connects with the scientific system, where the researchers of *ISA* are immersed in a systemic matrix entitled scientific paradigm (KUHN, 1998). In these implications, the indigenous semiotic worlds are transformed into diaries, which contain the first production grammars for the discursive object (VERÓN, 2004, 2013).

In the second flow, these data are digitized and resignified scientifically in spreadsheets so that they can be used later for construction of mediatized discursive fragments. Again, these processualities leave marks of these paths. The last coupling occurs between the scientific system and the process of mediatization, designed analytically by the systemic prism. *InfoAmazonia* lies within this socio-technical-discursive scenario (FAUSTO NETO, 2010) The precedent discursive implications are converted into typically mediatic logics, techniques and operationalities which, at the end of the flowchart, paradoxically generate more complexities which are materialized into the discursive object.

Final Remarks

At first, the systemic-discourse analysis focused on the conditions of production of the concept of space-time in the Tiquié River, particularly on the territorial and socio-environmental history of the region. We approached the indigenous concept of space-time, which has been built and preserved over the centuries and, nowadays, immersed in mediatization processes and procedures. Based on such identification, we analyzed, through the prism of semiology of the social discourses, the calendar built systemically by three separate instances.

The multiterritorialization of the Amazon forest, according to the perspective of Haesbaert (2004), is taken as discursive support. This geographical information is resignified into a digital product by actors located in far-reaching spatial relations (MILTON SANTOS, 2006), which reterritorialize another concept of space-time in discursivities settled in couplings encouraged by movement in times of mediatization (FAUSTO NETO, 2013). The discursive marks identified in the meaningful materiality of the discursive object (VERÓN, 2004, 2013) which was analyzed resume the image appeal of the text-image relationship, activate different semioses and - with efforts to make these discursive universes intelligible - seek to reduce complexity (Luhmann (2005) by departing from the indigenous, scientific and mediatized worlds.

In this way, the calendar of the peoples of the Tiquié River engages multiple knowledge, articulates traditional knowledge with modern science and entwines different times - "cosmic, physical and biological" (LEFF, 2010: 211). We have

added media temporality. Based on a complexity that protects itself in otherness, these socio-discursive implications point to an interpretative unit which paves the ground for a new thinking about the forms of interaction in the world, interspersed by mediatization, which cross-sectionally articulates nature, technique and culture.

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Multiple Temporalities: cultural analysis of Figueroas' music videos and performance from the maps of cultural mediations and cultural mutations

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Abstract[1]

In this article we articulate the maps of cultural mediations and cultural mutations, as proposed by Martín-Barbero (2006; 2009a; 2009b; 2014), in the analysis of the duo Figueroas' performance and music videos. These methodological choices allow us to observe how this product is embedded in a context marked by a techno-communicative environment that challenges temporalities and spatialities, juxtaposing cultural matrices and music references, especially those coming from the North, Northeast and Southeast of Brazil. Figueroas uses mockery and the culture of memes, set in production and consumption strategies characteristics of the Internet, to connect different media genres, among them, *lambada*, *brega* and *guitarrada*.

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[1] A preliminary version of the discussions in this article was originally presented at the Historicity of Communication Processes - III Meeting of Brazilian Research Groups, held on 16 and 17 May 2016 in the School of Communication of UFRJ, Rio de Janeiro.

Introduction

A brief look at the Brazilian music scene, beyond the emergence of bands and genres, reveals an intense and pulsating process of transformation in technological and cultural scopes. In a contextual perspective, the contemporary scenario appears to be ideal to analyze ruptures regarding the production, circulation and consumption of music in the country. Although major labels and companies are still powerful on a global level, many alternative mechanisms of production and circulation enable new forms of consumption, especially when we observe the formation of "niche" markets (Trotta & Monteiro, 2008, p. 1). These markets are built from alternative commercial strategies that, through consumption, promote the consumer's identity values and stimulate the circulation of certain products in certain social groups.

In this context, the term "independent music" acquires aesthetic values, designating music genres that operate with more autonomy on the music industry or bands that try to break certain specific formulas of popular music production. Such autonomy is set in a limited distribution framework in local markets which enable "acclaim primarily from their peers" (Trotta & Monteiro, 2008, p. 5).

When we look at the technological and cultural transformations in the Brazilian independent music scene, the specific characteristics of certain media products that appropriate the circulation on social media to quickly spread songs, pictures, memes, and music videos, stand out. The identity reinforcement that these phenomena acquire in their relationship with the internet indicates an important position to observe these transformations, evidenced not only by new forms or formats, but also by other grammars of production and consumption.

Among the various hits that emerged from this scene in recent years, "Lambada Quente", created by Figueroas, stands out. The duo is formed by keyboardist Dinho Zampier and singer Givly Simons. Organs, keyboards and music programming provide Figueroas' arrangements a certain space-time displacement: in the two albums released by the duo[2], all tracks composed by them travel

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2 The albums "Lambada Quente" (2015) and "Swing Veneno" (2017) were released by the label Läjä Records. On its website, Läjä Records presents itself as an *underground* label "casting material by hardcore, punk, grind, crust, power violence and rotten rock bands in general". Retrieved from: <http://www.laja.com.br/>. Access on 24 Aug.. 2017.

through references of *"guitarrada paraense"*[3], *lambada*[4] songs from the 1980s and 1990s and brega[5] styles from Recife that use plenty of programmed keyboards.

Figueroas gained momentum from the consumption of their video and music from 2014, when they released their first music video, for the song "Lambada para Bangladesh", which went viral and surpassed 260 thousand views on YouTube[6]. Over time, the duo acquired recognition from the critics, being nominated for the Prize of the Association of Critics of Art of São Paulo (APCA) in the category Best New Artist and also for Multishow Award in the category New Hit, both in 2015. In their journey they went from an amateur band from Alagoas state to gaining status similar to *hype* groups from São Paulo. What calls attention in this transit of circulation are the temporalities and spatialities that juxtapose both global and local ways of doing and seeing.

In this article, we analyze how Figueroas' performance evokes characteristics of various genres within the context of pop culture. Such elements allow us to discuss temporalities in the framework of Latin America's specific cultural heterogeneity – especially in Brazil's case and its flows between Northeast and Southeast regions –, i.e., by delving into a geographic space marked by conflicts of time in a globalization context. Our gaze is directed towards the ways how certain cultural practices absorb various times in the consumption of a music product, and thus constitute the lived experience mediated by moments of dispute between media culture and folk culture .

Figueroas' strategy, by evoking elements not only from *lambada*, but also other genres specific to the Brazilian context in their performance, allow us to understand the historicities of communication processes. It means our interest is not only to identify references from the past that shape the construction of a communication phenomenon in a linear and chronological fashion. On the contrary, our effort is to understand the historicities from continued movements of transition, from disputes of meaning and confluence of various time stamps.

In our analytical and theoretical framework, we adopt performance and media genre as methodological concepts in an effort to articulate two analytical approaches formulated by Martín-Barbero (2006; 2009a; 2009b; 2014): the map of

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[3] *Guitarrada* is an instrumental Brazilian musical genre that originated in Pará, a state of Brazil, from the fusion of choro with carimbó, cúmbia, merengue, mambo, bolero, the iê-iê-iê movement, among others. The electric guitar is predominantly the soloist. Also called instrumental lambada.

[4] *Lambada* is a dance from Pará, Brazil, which became internationally popular in the 1980s, especially in Latin America and Caribbean countries.

[5] *Brega* is a genre of Brazilian popular music also originated from the North and Northeast regions of Brazil. The name is originally pejorative and discriminatory meaning "corny", "cheesy" or "tasteless". Two of its biggest icons historically were Reginaldo Rossi and Falcão, the latter following a part of a tradition of humorous *brega*.

[6] About 263 thousand views on 21 August 2017. See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FEzUgFeYn00>.

mediations and the map of cultural mutations. The map of mediations will be considered here based on the formulation proposed by Gomes (2011), which places media genre as a cultural category in the center of the map (see Figure 1), articulating relations between cultural matrices, industrial formats, logics of production, and reception/consumption competencies. Moreover, we use the second map by Martín-Barbero (see Figure 2) to analyze the transformations in contemporary society starting from migration and flows in their relation with time and space.

The two maps allow us to articulate historicities and contexts in the analysis of products and communication processes and enhances media genre, placed in the center of the map of mediations, as our main figure of historicity (Goulart *et al.*, 2017). In turn, performance is understood as restored behavior (Schechner, 2006). It allows access to elements of tradition, whereas it "draws attention to what is going on in that situation – and can even establish ruptures in those traditions which they belong" (Cardoso Filho, *et al.*, 2017, p. 2). Therefore, we observe which behaviors and which traditions are referenced by Figueroas and are subject to potential ruptures.

Theoretical and methodological articulations: maps of cultural mediations and cultural mutations

The cultural criticism we endeavor, in the framework of cultural studies, comprehends an audiovisual text as a material product in largely historical terms. Martín-Barbero is fundamental for this critique for his conception of media genre as a cultural category by considering the contingent and transitional character of genre and the different temporalities it evokes. The map of mediations that the author formulates in the *essay Pistas para entre-ver meios e mediações*[7] and consolidates in the book *Oficio de Cartógrafo* is established on two axes: a diachronic one, between the cultural matrices *(*CM) and the industrial formats (IF), and a synchronous one, between the logics of production (LP) and the reception or consumption competencies (RC).

The configuration of these two axes allows Martín-Barbero to incorporate a more consistent methodological proposal for he is concerned, from the start, about the heterogeneity of temporalities. For the author, it is essential to understand the historical relationship that marks the passage of cultural matrices to industrial formats. The relationship between matrices and formats shows the "multiplicity of

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[7]Preface written by the author for the fifth Spanish edition of his classic book Communication, *Culture and Hegemony: From the Media to Mediations.*

temporalities, [in] the multiplicity of stories, with their own rhythms and their own logics" (Martín-Barbero, 1995, p. 43). Supported in Williams (1979), Martín-Barbero intends to call attention to the heterogeneity of temporalities experienced by each society or, in other words, to the fact that "in every society there are archaic, residual and emergent cultural formations" (Martín-Barbero, 1995, p. 44).

What is fundamental in Williams' cultural analysis, and is captured by Martín-Barbero for the construction of his map of mediations, is the crucial importance of considering various temporalities in any analysis of culture. The map of mediations consolidates a line of investigation in the communications field, as Martín-Barbero's successful proposal to examine the processes in its entirety, i.e., not only from the point of view of determinations and structures, but also from the practices and everyday appropriations. And the proposal we formulate, that the relations between media, culture, politics and society, articulated in the center of the map, are empirically treated through the methodological concept of genre (GOMES, 2011), is a powerful one.

Figure 1 - Map of Cultural Mediations updated by Gomes (2011)[8]
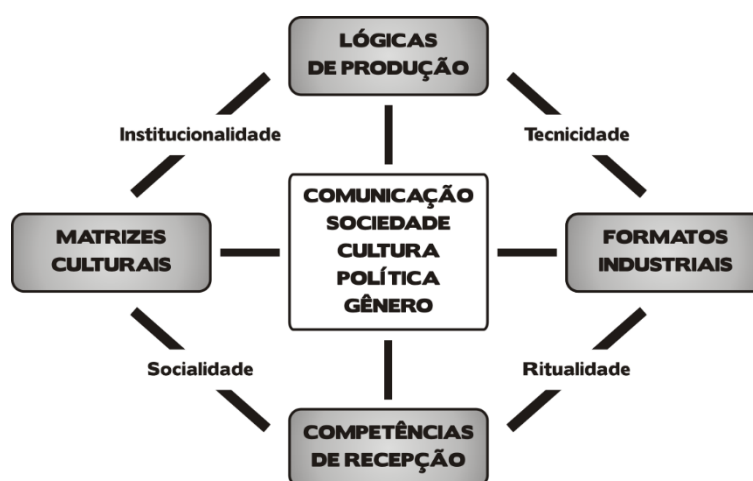
The four mediations formulated by the author – institutionality, sociability, rituality and technicity – reveal the strength of the notion of communication process, that is complete in this circulation. In our view, genre is a way of understanding the communication process, avoiding "the trap of context analysis that discredit the centrality of products" (Gutmann, 2013, p. 220).

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[8] Translation of the map. Box in the middle: Communication, society, culture, politics, gender; From box on the top, clockwise: Logics of production; Technicity; Industrial Formats; Ritualities; Reception Competencies; Sociality; Cultural Matrices; Institutionality.

Gomes et al. (2016) argue that we should not consider cultural matrices merely as something that shapes our gaze from the present in relation to a very distant past. If our cultural experience is marked by the processes of mass communication, Gomes et al. (2016) propose considering media matrices for these contemporary products. That means to consider that, in the case of Figueroas, the way *lambada* and *brega*, whose heyday occurred in the 1980s and 1990s, shape our way of recognizing certain distinctive features of these musical genres, mainly in an experience mediated by Brazilian television.

Among the spheres that shape the diachronic and synchronic axes, are the mediations established around the Matrices, the Formats, the Logics of Production and the Competencies of Reception. The institutionality is a type of mediation imbued of conflicting interests and powers: on one end, the regulation of speeches by the State and, on the other, the continuing efforts of reconstitution of the social by citizens (Martín-Barbero, 2006, p. 18).

With the mediation of sociability, Martín-Barbero (2006) highlights the uses of collective communication established at the moment the matrices are articulated to the forms as the reception handles them. Sociality demonstrates the everyday relationships that people establish with the media, with the media genres and media formats. Here, cultural matrices activate and forge social practices that shape the various reception competencies.

Rituality is the mediation that connects the industrial formats to reception competencies and refers to the symbolic link that underlies all communication: "at the same time repetition and innovation, anchor in memory and open horizon" (Martín-Barbero, 2004, p. 231). In the relationship with reception competencies, rituality requires looking at the different social uses of media and the multiple trajectories of readings, which are always linked to social conditions of taste, family habits of cultural and media consumption, and knowledges built in ethnic, class and gender memories.

Finally, technicity mediates the relationship between the LP and the IF highlighting the innovation capacity of the companies' formats to convene new perceptions and discourses. "Because technicity is rather a matter of perceptive operators and discursive skills than a matter of devices" (Martín-Barbero, 2006, p. 18).

For Martín-Barbero, there is a reinvention of media and genres in the television's interface with the internet, producing what he calls "cross-cultural forms of communication" (Martín-Barbero, 2009b, p. 2). These forms act "transversely" through all media. To question technological transformations in the contemporary context allow us to analyze mediations in the articulations with time and space, and

that's where cultural mutations are inserted. To account for these transformations, Martín-Barbero (2009b) formulates a new map:

Figure 2: Map of cultural mutations[9]
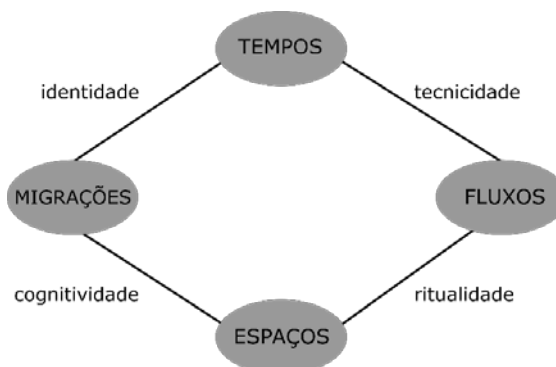
(Martín-Barbero, 2009b, p. 11.)

Martín-Barbero proposes that mediations should be seen as transformations of times and spaces, from two major movements: population migration and flows of images. From the clues left by the author himself, we believe that these migrations should be understood also as displacements that happen in contact with the internet, for example, through communication with people in other parts of the world and the use of avatars, when people assume new identities. The virtual flows (of images and information) must be considered along with migration. The author calls attention to the immersion of subjects in nature and in media institutions, and, in this sense, as we build visibility for us, as subjects, and for others. Martín-Barbero reinforces the sense of an ecosystem, an environment where these flows of images and information transit in a direct relationship with demographic directions.

Besides considering flows and migration, Martín-Barbero brings together two mediations that were already present in his map (2006) – rituality and technicity – in order to give an account of the compression of time and space. In this new map, technicity is associated to identities:

> We abandon the instrumental view of the technique and the ideologist view of technology. Technicity is on the same level of identity, collectivity [...]. I connect technicity to what is moving in the direction of identity. For example, the amount of teenagers who invent a character for themselves is impressive (Martín-Barbero, 2009b, p. 9).

In this map, the cultural mediations that Martín-Barbero considers more "traditional" – institutionality and sociability – disappear in order to account for the

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[9] Translation of the map. From top circle, clockwise: Times; Technicity; Flows; Rituality; Spaces; Cognitivity; Migrations; Identity.

transformation. Identity is placed, in the map of mutations, between migration and times, strengthening our understanding of migration not only as displacements in the physical space. Our identities are built today, on the one hand, in the relationship we have with other forms of organisation and arrangement of time, in this sharing that forms a niche, convened in products like the Figueroas, and, on the other hand, in the displacements we make while participating in the collectives, online communities and the construction of avatars.

Technicity – the ways of doing and seeing – is then placed in the map of mediations between times and flows, leading us to allocate the products analysed in the *industrial formats* section, but articulated – being permeated and constituted – by the *flows* of the map of mutations. Understanding, as Martín-Barbero, we live in a techno-communicative environment (2009b, p. 10), we should not perceive the products solely as industrial formats linked to specific media – they extrapolate these media, constituting mixed forms.

Rituality begins to account for the flows between spaces, leading to question the very idea of space – considered not only physical but a result from the articulation with the virtual, including the presence of the flows of images and information. We consume these new products without being attached to television programming, for example, but, still, we see them operate some of the same logics of television.

Finally, cognitiveness is the mutation that highlights that our productions of meaning in this new context come from hypertextual relations that shift the place of the book in the production of knowledge and learning process. A cultural transformation that connects the new ways of knowledge with new ways of feeling, both articulated "with new ways of being together, i.e., the new figures of sociability" (Martín-Barbero, 2014, p.57-58).

In order to understand a product like Figueroas, it is necessary to operate with various references and cultural matrices, considering several contexts established from the production/ reception/ analysis of this cultural product, using a hypertextual cognitive process. Articulating the two maps, therefore, allows us to observe how the media genres and products, permeated by this techno-communicative environment, articulate different temporalities and spatialities – on both global and local references and cultural matrices – and ways of doing and seeing that change based on cognitive, sensitive and identity transformations.

Performance, temporalities and spatialities in Figueroas

We consider performance as a key methodological concept to articulate Martín-Barbero's maps. We use performance for looking at the body in relation to the scene, considering the rituals that shape the body uses and how it evokes historical contextual marks. We share Schechner's view (2006) of performance as a negotiation of culturally constructed characteristics materialized on the bodies exposed in games of sharing between the one who performs and the one who consumes that performance. For the author, performance is determined by the historical and social context, the conventions, the uses and traditions.

Schechner (2006) claims that these performative realities allow new combinations and rearrangements. Thus, they are restored behaviors, units that integrate the one who performs, who executes the action and, when exposed in sociability, aggregate various other selves, because "I" is inserted in a collective environment. Schechner believes that these arrangements carry meanings that should be decoded by those who have knowledge to consume certain acts in context.

For Schechner, everyday actions are built "from known bits of behavior rearranged and shaped in order to suit specific circumstances" (Schechner, 2006, p. 29). In this sense, we understand cultural matrices also as known parts of other behaviors that are important in the analysis of media products such as Figueroas' music videos. Therefore, based on the performance, we observe how the bodies in the scenes articulate contexts and media matrices.

Givly Simons is a thin man, with a big thick moustache, 1970s rock style long hair, wearing sunglasses and tattoos. The duo uses visual elements from brega: short sleeve button-front shirt or folded long sleeve, with two or more buttons open, the same sunglasses characteristic of brega singers such as Reginaldo Rossi and Sidney Magal, and also golden rings, tight pants and sandals.

Figure 3 - Givly Simons and Dinho Zampier, the Figueroas duo

Source: Läjä Records[10]

[10]These and other images can be seen on the duo's Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/figueroaslambadaquente/>. Access on 28 Aug.. 2017.

We see other examples in the five music videos analyzed[11]. In one of them, "Fofinha", Givly Simons is on the back of a motorbike, climbing a favela in Rio de Janeiro. We see what happens around him and soon we are surprised by a street show. A singer dressed up with visual elements of brega singers shows up: black vinyl pants, red jacket, rings, mirrored yellow sunglasses. Seconds later, another reference: a woman holding a pink skirt, dancing *lambada* alone. The whole movement of the streets is registered by Simons, who uses plenty of spontaneous framing, always in the tone of an unpretentious and funny record. From the point of view of spacialities, there is an attempt, in the video, to show the urban contrasts of Rio de Janeiro, between the famous buildings of Ipanema beach and the favelas on the hills. The singer is in the center of frames that display the favelas without explicitly exploiting them as signs of social exclusion; they are rather there to mark its musical matrices and the brega as an important popular music genre.

"Melô do Jonas", the most viewed music video by Figueroas, is the excerpt of a television show, and in it the marks of television, of the show and the duo are mixed. The brega, the television regionalism and the musical performances characteristic of Brazilian TV form explicit cultural matrices. The duo performs on the show *Só No Vinil Na TV*, on TV Cinec[12]. The scene on the show builds the context that allows Figueroas' mocking improvisation. The scenarios and the presenter's performance are strongly connected to the characteristics of local programmes that give visibility to music groups of the region. There are vinyl records on the wall and the host wears trousers and a yellow button-front shirt with the first buttons open showing a thick chain on his neck; he wears a black hat tied behind the head with a leopard print scarf, carrying a hoop in his left ear.

The profusion of references and convening of different elements led the Figueroas to be considered *kitsch*[13]. Their performance is charactrized by exaggerated elements taken from different media genres. This overlaping gives the

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[11]We analyzed in this article the following music videos: Melô do Jonas (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2sM3iEZp1Vo>), Lambada para Bangladesh (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?_v=FEzUgFeYn00>), Fofinha (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ewKqcDEtun8>) and Lomba da Massa (<https://www.youtube.com/watch? v=bl-WuG3TnY4>), all from their first album "Lambada Quente" (2015), and "Boneca Selvagem" (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ld3iF3JmZBk>), from the album "Swing Veneno", recorded at Red Bull Studios and released by Läjä Records in 2017. Access on 21 Aug. 2017.

[12]TV Cinec is a web TV channel founded by journalist Rodolfo Estevam. With studios located in the neighborhood of Jabaquara, São Paulo, the web TV channel produces live shows and recorded performances. Further information can be retrieved from: <http://tvcinec.com.br> Access on 21 Aug. 2017.

[13]*O Globo* newspaper published an interview with Givly Simons in which the headline addresses Figueroas' "hot kitsch". Retrieved from: <http://oglobo.globo.com/cultura/musica/o-kitsch-quente-do-figueroas-16088418>. Access on 20 Aug. 2017.

music videos humorous features like those present in *Hermes e Renato*[14] TV show – Simons' costumes recall the characterization of the *nonsense* comedy show of the late 1990s Brazilian MTV. Humor is the possible responsible for the viralization of the music video "Melô do Jonas". The video had an increase of hits after being published in humorous websites, such as *Não Salvo*[15] and *Kibeloco*[16], confirming the relationship with specific characteristics of production and consumption of the current communication context.

When we aproximate technicity and identity, two cultural mutations formulated by Martín-Barbero (2009b), to the discussions concerning the diachronic axis of his map of mediations, we notice that the viralization of memes, videos and excerpts of interviews, is an important cultural form of this new context marked by the internet. Of how we produce and consume products such as Figueroas. Formulating technicity in those terms allows us to observe that the use of the *kitsch* and humor is an important strategy of differentiation in social networks and insertion in a communication environment through references to TV shows, characters and styles shared with television, a very important means of communication in Brazilian culture.

Another noteworthy element to understanding Figueroas is their relationship with the Brazilian *underground* scene. An *underground* product is generally defined as an "authentic work", "non-commercial product", and the proximity between conditions of production and of consumption "implies a process of circulation that favours segmented consumption" (Janotti Jr. & Cardoso Filho, 2006, p.12),which leads the audience to dispute values around the authenticity of this type of music.

The disputes surrounding the *underground* in Figueroas' performance are present, for example, in Simon's trajectory in this music scene, the fact that other musicians from the indie scene participate in his albums[17] and the fact they have been released by a label of this niche. It is possible to perceive them still in the duo's association with the so-called "alternative cultural circuit" in some Brazilian

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[14]*Hermes e Renato* was a TV show aired on MTV Brazil between 1999 and 2009. It became known for dirty humor, reproducing scenes from soap operas, music videos, and everyday life, with low cost resources, creating a humor atmosphere especially using plenty of name-calling that normally were not used on broadcast TV stations. Former hosts of Hermes e Renato now have a Youtube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/user/hermeserenatoficial>. Access on 22 Aug. 2017.

[15]The music video for "Melô do Jonas" was published by *Não Salvo*, blog by Mauricio Cid, known for doing a series of lists with unusual and funny situations on the internet, on 27 March 2015. Retrieved from: <http://www.naosalvo.com.br/lambada-quente-givly-simons/>. Access on 04 May 2016.

[16]*Kibeloco*, one of the most visited humor websites, created by Antonio Tabet who is also one of the co-founders of *Porta dos Fundos*, published the above-mentioned music video on 24 March 2015. Retrieved from: <http://www.kibeloco.com.br/2015/03/24/vergonha-alheia-records-parte-163/>. Access on 04 May 2016.

[17]The duo's first album was recorded in Costella studios, in São Paulo, and features the song "Gatinha Gatinha", by Fábio Mozine, from the groups Merda and Mukeka di Rato; co-production by Chuck Hipolitho, former MTV VJ and member of the band Vespas Mandarinas; and special appearance by singer Wado, singer from Santa Catarina who lives in Maceió. Mozine also participates on the second album.

cities. In 2016, Figueroas performed along with Strobo band (from Pará state)[18] at Sesc Pompeia, in São Paulo. The band from Pará also makes references to *guitarrada* by performing an experimental sound, merging the technological resources, synthetic and acoustic tones with the funk carioca. Sesc Pompeia established itself as an important core of dissemination of Brazilian alternative music. During the month of August 2017, Figueroas participated in the City Culture Circuit [19] with presentations in three culture centers of the capital.

The indie scene seems to be Figueroas' place of circulation. In the example above, we observe that even when performing in a location that dominates the country's cultural production – São Paulo –, Figueroas does so in relationship with the alternative scene. Although *lambada* and *guitarrada* are among the duo's musical reference, their performances are commonly associated with alternative rock parties and cultural circuits throughout Brazil. The denial and the lack of articulation wih the *mainstream* market creates an association with the type of consumption of these cultural spaces. It seems that in such places Figueroas' humorous performance gains meaning by restoring the references of the Brazilian *lambada* and building a relationship with a niche market.

Figueroas carries elements which explicit the relationship with rock music, such as the visual references that refer to the years 1960s and 1970s. The name, Figueroas, is another reference to the genre: Simons met Jesus Figueroa, Uruguayan musician who, according to him, "released a few very obscure rock and blues records in the 1970s" (Araújo, 2014). In addition, Simons began his singing career in *indie rock*, with references to the 1960s' rock music:

> I formed the rock band to do a 1960s type of sound, but people did not understand the 1960s sound. [...] I used to say that the band was indie rock, but as the songs were all mine the only influence was 1960s music. We took photos with leather jackets but it was only mise-en-scène because I saw it would sell (Araújo, 2014).
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The reference to rock is also present on the cover of Figueroas' first album, "Lambada Quente", alluding to Raul Seixas'[20] album "Krig-ha Bandolo". The

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[18]Retrieved from: <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/saopaulo/2016/02/1738925-mostra-prata-da-casa-2016-leva-shows-de-ze-pi-e-figueroas-ao-sesc-pompeia.shtml>. Access on 22 Aug. 2017.

[19]Information retrieved from: <http:/spcultura.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/evento/32118/>. Access on 22 Aug. 2017.

[20]On the cover of the album "Krig-ha Bandolo"(1973), Raul Seixas appears in a black background, shirtless and with arms open and raised, showing his tattoos. The cover was designed by Aldo Luiz, Raul Seixas, Paulo Coelho, Edith Wisner and Adalgisa Rios. On the cover of "Lambada Quente", instead of the black background, we see a red background, with Givly Simons explicitly reproducing the same pose as Raul Seixas. The cover of Raul Seixas' album can be seen at: <http://bit.ly/2wC7SzI> and Figueroas' one at: <http://bit.ly/2wlp1xG>. Access on 22 Aug. 2017.

associations caused in our imagery memory with the rock of Seixas appear in the psychedelic music video for "Lomba da Massa", recorded using *chroma-key*, in reference to the music videos made by the rocker from Bahia on Fantástico TV show[21].
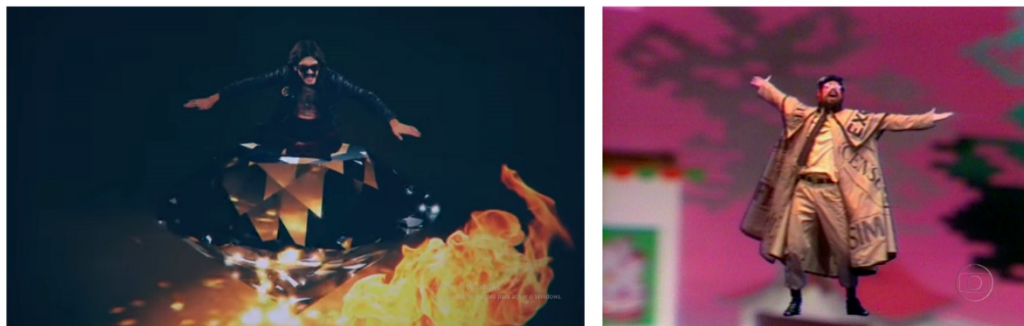

Figure 4 - Images captured from the videos "Lomba da Massa", by Figueroas, and "O Carimbador Maluco", by Raul Seixas, first presented on Fantástico on 17th July 1983.

There are also references to the film industry, such as the famous scene from the movie *American Beauty* (2000), in which the character Angela Hayes, played by actress Mena Suvari, lies in a bed covered in rose petals. In "Fofinha", the video starts with Simons lying, in a "sweet" pose, on a bed covered with a red blanket that refers to that scene. When we combine the two scenes (see Figure 5 [22]), it seems Simons mocks the mainstream industry: using exaggerated imitation and the display of the thin body that challanges the body patterns constructed as beauty reference on the movie.
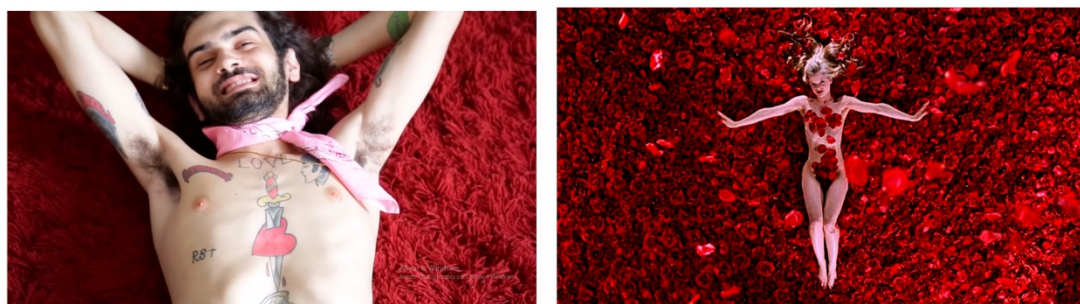
Figure 5 - "Fofinha", by Figueroas, alongside the classic scene from American Beauty.

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[21]The music video for "Carimbador Maluco" was produced for the children's special *Pluct! Plact*! Zum! (1983), on Globo TV channel. It aired on July of the same year on Fantástico TV show. The music video is available on the network's website at: <http://globotv.globo.com/rede-globo/plunct-plact-zum/v/raul-seixas-canta-o-carimbador-maluco-em-plunct-plact-zum/1132329/>. Access on 22 Aug. 2017.
[22]Screenshot from "Fofinha" captured from the music video at minute 01:44. Screenshot from American Beauty is available at: <http://obviousmag.org/cinema_pensante/2016/04/beleza-americana-e-a-nossa-sociedade-do-nada-e-o-que-aparenta-ser.html>. Access on 22 Aug. 2017.

The various aesthetic references appearing in Figueroas' music videos seem to point to one more mockery, this time, in the form of the making of music videos. The language of the music video, whose narrative is constructed by the combination of sound and video, is broken by the amateur style of the scenes. The intention of creating a clumsy and funny scene has a strong presence in these products and shows how the duo attempts to articulate strategies of viralization, in a way that disputes hegemonic aesthetic values of production and consumption of music videos, evoking various temporalities, from the chroma keys of Raul Seixas time to the memes of nowadays.

Another source for analyzing the performance of the group is the television programmes where Figueroas performs. We see that Simon seems to dispute conventions and rituals of the body on television while there is plenty of mockery in his music videos[23]. We observe the way he approaches the camera, the fact that he does not follow patterns of movement on stage, at the same time he references other matrices, especially of the acts that used to be presented on variety shows like Chacrinha – such as Sidney Magal[24] and Beto Barbosa[25]. In his performances, Simons makes a point of not following the *playback* and simulating a live musical performance[26].

In the group's performance there is still a reinforcement of sensuality, but a sensual gesture that seems to move away from those present in performances like those of Magal or Beto Barbosa, who explored the body through dance and rhythm. Unlike that sexy body that explores the rhythmic possibilities of lambada, Simons' body reinforces a non conventional dance. The lambada of the 1980s and 1990s works as a cultural matrix, and appears in the Figueroas' performance through humor.

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[23]We antecipated above some of the appropriations that Figueroas makes of cultural marks from television and music programmes to analyse the excerpt of their participation in the *Só No Vinil Na TV, TV* Cinec, São Paulo. This excerpt was transformed into the music video "Melô do Jonas".

[24]Sidney Magal is a Brazilian singer and actor who was a hit between the 1970s and 1990s, with romantic and sexy music and mixed elements from latin music, gypsy music, disco and *lambada*. The singer was frequently seen on music TV shows such as Chacrinha and Silvio Santos and his songs became theme songs of many Globo TV soap operas. Some of his videos can be seen on YouTube. One of the classic versions of "Meu Sangue Ferve por Você"can be accessed on: <https://www.youtube.com/watch? v=ER1IJqZBigw> For "Sandra Rosa Madalena", a classic reference, see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vbezB-fiFYo>. And for a milestone of Brazilian *lambada*, song "Me Chama Que Eu Vou", theme song of soap opera Rainha da Sucata, Globo TV, 1990, see: <https:/www.youtube.com/watch?v=wyi9XfeplvI>. The vintage photos we found on his official website give a good dimension of the performance, gestures and the imaginary incorporated by the Figueroas, available at: <http:/www.sidneymagal.com.br/>. See also his page on Facebook at: <https://www.facebook.com/magalsidney>.

[25]Beto Barbosa is a Brazilian singer-songwriter who became known as *King of Lambada* during the 1980s and 1990s. He is author of various *lambada* hits such as "Adocica", song from the album with the same name which sold three million copies, besides other hits like "Preta" and "Beijinho na Boca". He also participated on game shows such as Chacrinha, Clube do Bolinha and Sabadão Sertanejo. For performances of "Adocica" at the Brazilian Golden Globes, see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch? v=l5x0IsT_5kg>. The version of "Preta", also from the Golden Globes, can be seen at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch? v=_M64XpIpB5k>.

[26]We use as example Figueroas' performance on Programa do Ratinho TV show, where, on 16 April 2015, the duo explicit presented some of these characteristics.

Regarding the sound, unlike the lambada of the 1980s and 1990s that explored the voice of singers along with melodic bases created on electronics keyboards, we see that Figueroas gives more room for instrumental experiments and more importance to *solos* as main part of the song. In the song "Lambada para Bangladesh", the use of keyboards, played by Zampier, leads us to the emphasis which the instrument had in songs from brega style, such as in Amado Batista, Gilliard, and Wando. The guitar also gains importance, bringing the reference to the *guitarrada*, emphasized in interviews. On one hand, the predominance of keyboards and guitars in "Lambada para Bangladesh", in particular, paves the way to the sensual body performance, the gestures, the steps, the swing and the dance as a playful expression of the latin sensuality incorporated by Brazilian *brega* singers like Sidney Magal; on the other hand, it is a caricature of the song, in which the relationship between the verse and the sound looses any ambition of complexity and it is focused on the chorus.

Figueroas is part of a context marked by the movement of musicians located outside the axis of circulation Rio-São Paulo, who stand out in the independent market from the reconfiguration, in their songs, of familiar elements of other popular genres. We refer to names like Felipe Cordeiro (from Pará state)[27] and Bonde do Rolê (from Paraná state)[28]. The first one carries a experimental tone, appropriating the traditional music from Pará to consolidate the novelty character. While Bonde do Rolê evokes *funk carioca*[29] to operate the dirty humor in completely *nonsense* songs. The group appeared on MySpace and became very popular among youngsters. It explores an unpretentious and dirty tone, touching subjects like homoafectivity of famous characters ("arriba, arriba, James Bond is a diva") or using scatological themes in their songs. Bonde do Rolê, considered an indie band, makes a saire in relation with the *funk carioca*'s *proibidão* (meaning prohibited), songs of the genre that explore explicit content. This disengagement between sounds and performances challenges hegemonic characteristics of the *funk carioca*

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[27]Felipe Cordeiro is a musician from Pará who became famous as of 2011. His songs are well known by the public of the indie scene, and seek a rereading of *guitarrada*. In his performances, he uses colorful visuals, both in music videos and his printed shirts similar to those used by Givly Simons. Unlike Simons, his performance is more contained and focused on the music composition, as we see in the music video for "Problema Seu", available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z0V5kQXt_Ac>. Felipe Cordeiro is son of Manoel Cordeiro, also a musician, music researcher and cultural producer from the Amazon region, responsible for various records in the region during the 1970s and 1990s, such as Beto Barbosa. Considered one of the masters of *guitarrada*, Manoel plays guitar on Figueroas' album "Swing Veneno" for the song "Boneca Selvagem", whose music video is analyzed in this article.

[28]Bonde do Rolê is a musical trio from Paraná state that mix rock *samples* with funk carioca beats. Characterized as *an indie* band, the group started mixing internacional rock hits such as "Rock You Like a Hurricane", by The Scorpions, with funk beats. On the album "With Lasers", released in 2007, the group explored lyrics with scatological and curse words content. To see "Marina Gasolina" on YouTube, access: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2QHt3WCHUGc>.

[29]

sound as well as of the bodies of its interpreters and its audience, as does Figueroas with *brega* and lambada.

Final considerations

When aproximating the two maps created by Martín-Barbero, taking the Figueroas' performance as object of investigation, we observed how this cultural product articulates temporalities and contexts, reinforcing our methodological choice for the analysis of communication products and processes. The media genres, then, placed in the center of the map, are our main figures of historicities. It is from the genres that we can grasp what Martín-Barbero calls cultural matrices. In that case, we can observe the operation of broader matrices of the *brega*, the latinity, the Northeast region identity and rock, in the construction of Figueroas' performance.

However, for us, the notion of cultural matrices seems to be, in Martín-Barbero's work, matrices of a culture that operates "before" or "outside" the media culture, at the same time it constitutes the diachronic axis of the map of mediations as a relationship between Cultural Matrices and Industrial Formats that translates the relationship between media culture and folk culture (in Martín-Barbero's terms, as matrices of folk culture that are present in the configuration of media culture products)[30].

On the framework of the investigations developed by the Centre of Research in Cultural Studies and Transformations in Communication (TRACC) [31], we explore the hypothesis of considering cultural matrices are already mediatic as they are built in the historical process of consolidation of media culture or what Martín-Barbero, in his most recent work, calls techno-communicative environment. That justifies considering media cultural matrices: the configuration of media products (or industrial formats) today takes into account cultural matrices forged in the very relationship with media culture (with television, cinema, popular music, popular culture, etc) as analysed by Gomes *et.al.* (2016). In Figueroas case, there is the

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[30] In his argument about the diachronic axis of the Map of Mediations (the relationship between Cultural Matrices and Industrial Formats), Jesús Martín-Barbero develops a fundamental hypothesis that media culture is necessarily produced from an articulation with values from folk culture. In that sense, a given media product – say, a soap opera – is produced based on recovering, evoking and resignifying values and practices that have their origin in the melodrama. According to the author, the relationship between Cultural Matrices and Industrial Formats, refers to the story of how melodrama came from theater to feuilleton, then to the novel, to the radio drama, and finally to the soap opera, articulating folk memory to the bourgeois imaginary and demonstrating the ambiguities and complexities in the relation between folk culture and media culture.

[31]Part of the Graduate Program in Communication and Contemporary Culture of the Federal University of Bahia. See more at: <http://tracc-ufba.com.br/>

use of media culture matrices from different temporalities and spatialities – local, regional, global, "glocal", past and present, past-present, present-present –, in their production of "Lambada Quente".

Concerning the context, we highlight an important methodological operation. Our analysis does not seek to draw in advance a political, economic, social or cultural context in which Figueroas would be inserted. In analyzing the diachronic axis of the map, we avoided any ambition for a chronological review of all the media / television / music history that could be imposed on our research object.

Our context is an analytic operation: it is a result of our look at the object, at what the products evoke. Context, for us, in this scenario, is precisely what allows us to understand Figueroas' characteristic mockery – what it evokes as cultural and historical matrices, in their relationship with the *brega* (in terms of performance, sound, and creation of their audiovisual proposals in the mockery of the very form of the music video). It is our gaze to Figueroas that "triggers" the context. By looking at Figueroas, Sidney Magal emerges as a cultural matrix and the romantic, sensual, and dancing lambada appears as a historical context. By looking at Figueroas we recognize that we too, analysts, are inserted in the possible sharing of times and spaces.

Sidney Magal, among other matrices referenced by Figueroas, in this case, articulates the symbolic link that underlies all their communication: as stated by Martín-Barbero, "at the same time repetition and innovation, anchor in memory and open horizon" (Martín-Barbero, 2006, p. 231). Our relationship with Figueroas, therefore, is anchored in memory and their rhythms and forms, their scenarios of interaction and repetition. The multiple reading trajectories that they evoke are always linked to social conditions of taste, habits of cultural and media consumption, and knowledges built – and shared – in ethnic, class or gender memory.

Following Martín-Barbero's claim that we should look at the cultural mutations and pay attention to mediations such as migration and flows, the effort here is to understand the transformations of time and space. And, in the Figueroas case, migrations represent more than demographic displacements. Displacements, in this context, require to expand its geographical meaning to validate information movements that circulate and are consumed by the subjects in relation with the world of the internet. The new map, which articulates time, space, migration and flows is, for Martín-Barbero, a clue to investigate the transformations of time and space. A clue that we glimpse in approaching Figueroas as the connection of technicity effectively as a reorganizer of our social experience, and technology as an element of articulation of the North and Northeast migration towards South,

reversing the direction of flow of images from Rio and São Paulo to the other states. Besides effectively showing that the mockery takes advantage of a scenario marked by flows of memes and the constitution of a specific niche, in relationship with the underground scene, which consumes and identifies with products like Figueroas.

The approach to "Lambada Quente" through the map of mutations made us realize the relations with technicity, which moves in the direction of identities. It seems that Givly Simons is an example for dealing with the invention of characters for themselves, one of the mechanisms that articulates identities in the online scenario.

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The Time of Teaching in the Global South: Networking Pedagogy and the Teaching of Caribbean poetry (with an example from Derek Walcott).

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Abstract

This article asks about the time(-space) of teaching as a creative process. In order to address this issue, it turns to the teaching of a particular poetic form, that of the sonnet, which it reads as an exemplification of creative constraint as an apprenticeship in enabling networks. In order to exemplify that process of spatial constraint revealing itself as enabling creative networking, it turns to a sonnet by the Caribbean poet Derek Walcott in which the natural environment as a network of sites of distributed agency is foregrounded as the instantiation of creative networking. In all three instances (teaching the sonnet as genre via a specific example from Walcott's oeuvre), what counts is the network, in which agency is distributed/dispersed, and creativity consists of connectivity with other nodes on the network so as to interact with them.

In a remarkable example of ground-breaking Global South pedagogical cooperation, the newly founded University of Nairobi literature department, which had just emerges from the ashes of 'English' (Ngũgĩ 1972: 145-50; see also Amoko 2010), invited scholars from elsewhere in the South to enrich its syllabus. The first such visiting fellow was the Caribbean poet and scholar Edward (later Kamau) Brathwaite. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1994: 677), one of the authors of the Nairobi manifesto and initiator of the invitation, recalls that '[a]s a lecturer, [Brathwaite] proved a great teacher. He saw no barriers between geography, history, and literature. What formed the African and Caribbean sensibility could not be divorced from the landscape and the historical experience'. Ngũgĩ (ibid: 678) continues by remarking that Brathwaite

> is a connecting spirit. Europe, Africa, the Caribbean, and now America, all important landmarks in his life and thought, find expression in his work in their impact on one another. ... In his work, taken as a whole, the physical cannot be divorced from the metaphysi-cal or the material from the religious. In his capacity to move freely from geography to history to litera-ture to cultural criticism, Brathwaite exemplifies a great tradition of the Caribbean intellectual, the tra-dition of C. L. R. James, Frantz Fanon, Walter Rodney, Aime Cesaire, George Lamming, to mention just a few who readily come to mind.

Ngũgĩ's comments segue seamlessly from connectivity in the realm of the physical and/or metaphysical, to various genres of intellectual enquiry, to a network of Global South thinkers of the mid-to-late twentieth century. This insistence on the networked quality of Brathwaite's thought and creative output segues into an emphasis upon the *networking* agency of that thought. The ongoing character of that networking becomes a connective force in its own right:

> He explores the African presence in Africa, the Caribbean, and the world, not in its staticness but in its movement, in its changingness, in its interactions. In these interactions the African presence is not a passive element. Whether across the Sahara deserts, through the savannas and tropical forests, across the Atlantic, say, in all its continental and diasporic dimensions, it is a resisting spirit, refusing to succumb, ready to rebuild anew from the ashes of natural disasters and human degradation. (ibid: 678).

In Ngũgĩ's analysis, the dynamic inherent in Brathwaite's work ('its movement, in its changingness, in its interactions') spills back over (at the level of the critical narrating) into the geographies of the Global South; in turn, that geography, in the narrated fabric of the South, becomes the locus of a genius loci that itself is generative of renewal, whether material, spiritual, or political. This remarkably interdisciplinary approach to teaching is interesting not merely because

it oversteps the habitual boundaries of academic 'subjects', but because it breaks open the boundaries of the classroom itself. To that extent, it makes the classroom a space of participation in history and geography; it makes the classroom part of the landscape and its material (geographic, demographic, economic) transformations.

Ngũgĩ's text exemplifies the ceaseless dynamic of connective circulation of intellectual, social and political energies across the Global South that, he claims, are embodied in the pedagogic persona of Brathwaite himself: 'Brathwaite exemplifies a great tradition of the Caribbean intellectual... These islands have given so much to twentieth-century Africa and the world, and our students in Nairobi could now see that for themselves in the presence of the lecturer before them' (ibid: 678). Brathwaite's teaching is a performance event not merely in the sense of its closeness to a poetry reading (Hitchcock 2003: 71), but to the extent that performativity instantiates the constant fluctuation of being, whether in the illocutionary speech act or the creative 'swarming' of the material 'chaosmos' (Gleick 1988; Guattari 1992; Rovelli 2016: 149-50). In the context of the nation, Bhabha (1994: 149) famously opposes the state-sponsored 'pedagogical' mode to the unruly 'performative' mode; in the context of Global South 'ways of being-becoming', these two modes may work together, with performativity proving a significant common modality across genres, species and spaces. The autopetic self-generativity of being inhabits, across borders, transnational cultural spaces, interlinked natural elements and environments, and the worlds of work and its propadeutikum, the classroom. Autopoeisis as a temporal process of increasing complexity (Smolin 2013) goes hand in hand with border-crossing, because autopoeisis by definition occurs via an interaction with the environment. The classroom is no different: what happens there, if pedagogy is allowed to fulfil its inherent potential, is a creative process that engages both the classroom's participants and its material environment, including the world outside the classroom. Every actant (the teacher, the students, the text, the classroom itself) in that environment is a node on the network of creative unfolding.

This article asks about the time(-space) of teaching as a creative process. In order to address this issue, it turns to the teaching of a particular poetic form, that of the sonnet, which it reads as an exemplification of creative constraint as an apprenticeship in enabling networks. In order to exemplify that process of spatial constraint revealing itself as enabling creative networking, it turns to a sonnet by the Caribbean poet Derek Walcott in which the natural environment as a network of sites of distributed agency is foregrounded as the instantiation of creative networking.

In all three instances (*teaching* the *sonnet as genre* via a *specific example from Walcott's oeuvre*), what counts is the network, in which agency is distributed/dispersed, and creativity consists of connectivity with other nodes on the network so as to interact with them. But the relationship between the three is not one of mere isomorphism; they themselves must be understood as nodes on a flat network, where each constrains/enables the other, thereby instantiating time as embedded/embodied generativity. Such an idea is currently gaining traction in the literary humanities after its emergence in the natural sciences (Massumi 2002: 8). At the very smallest scale of quantum gravity physics, 'Physical space is the fabric resulting from the ceaseless swarming of this web of relations. … Space is created by the interaction of individual quanta of gravity. … Time emerges, like space, from the quantum gravitational field. … The passing of time is intrinsic to the world, is born in the world itself, out of the relations between quantum events which *are* the world and which themselves generate their own time' (Rovelli 2016: 150, 152, 154). Thus, 'all being is 'a continuous stream of occurrence' (Whitehead 1920: 172), an 'uncaused causality that ceaselessly generates new forms' (Bennett 2010: 117). As I have written elsewhere (West-Pavlov 2013: 176), such immanent and embodied/embedded temporalities 'are specific to the processes whose energy they are identical with, and to the particular site they inhabit. These temporalities are not abstracted from place, but provide the infinitely heterogeneous manifestations of what modern physics calls "spacetime".'

The sonnet and creative constraint

In what follows, I shall discuss briefly a notion of teaching which sees the pedagogic process as a locational one, in which the teaching/learning subject recognizes its place as a node on a network of interacting actants; and as a temporal one, in which this recognition segues into a creative process of working-with those other actants which in turn becomes a creative process—for instance, the discovery/recognition/unleashing of the plethora of meanings latent within a literary text. This temporality is not one that sees time as a container or a measurement (the bounded space of class-time, the time of learning and examination), but rather, that understands time as the texture of processes of creative translation embedded in materiality itself. The literary work is one of the manifold out-foldings of the creativity of being; to read and interpret is to unfold the creative potential inherent in that particular pleat of generative space-time (Deleuze 1992).

This notion of literary creation and re-creation is distinctly different from the one that, despite half a century of structuralist and post-structuralist theory, still reigns undisputed in most school and many university classrooms. There, the triad of author-character plot continue to determine most literary analysis. According to this conception of literary analysis, literature is an entity that reflects the writing self, its projections into fictional characters, their actions and the ensuing causalities. This reflection can then be re-reflected in various forms of commentary (Foucault 1988: xii-xiii).

By contrast, in the conception of literary (inter)action I propose here, literature consists of language moulded (indeed, folded and re-folded) by form. There are a number of answers to the central question of the place of form, which is at the core of interrogations about the literary humanities in today's university. A first answer might see form as an ornamentation or embellishment of an authorial message. A second would place such intentions within a wider social context: Eagleton (2007: 8-16) points out that poetic form is systematized by rhetoric, whose purpose was originally socio-discursive, serving the goal of political persuasion. In a third approach, the formalists severed form from both authorial intent and social issues, make form the site of literariness itself: form is where language advertises its autotelic difference as literature (Shklovsky 1999). The latter approach gave a huge boost to the analytical power of literary studies, but was also symptomatic of literature's alienation from the mainstream of political discourse (Sartre 1967.)

The approach to form I wish to propose here in the context of a Global South pedagogy draws on several of these approaches. It sees form as the way in which, within a broader environmental (and not merely social) context, material advertises and performs its own positive power of differentiation (Braidotti 2013: 158, 166), its inherent creative dynamic, its intrinsic tendency towards trans-form-ation. Language is material, as Saussure and poststucturalist critics recognized (Fonagy 1983; Goux 1968; Saussure 1974: 66), failing, however, to explore the full conceptual potential of that materiality. Form is neither an ornamentation, nor an instrument, nor an end in itself: form is that which integrates literature and all other structures into the fabric of all cosmic dynamism, because the essence of form is to be both materially structured and materially fungible. This is what constitutes, in common with all material, its difference-with-itself-as-temporality. Literature's materiality is interactive and agential (Stengers 2001), each type of material (including conceptual material) within and without the work (rhyme, metre, sonorities and phonetics, stanza structure, rhetorical devices, semantics, intertextuality, readerly frames of reference, extant interpretations, performative

strategies) interacting with others in ways that are reciprocally transformative. Morphogenesis (Thom 1975) describes the infinite self-production of all material as it changes its formal structures in response to outside influences ('strange attractors').

In the case of literature, form is the site of conceptual and linguistic novelty resulting from its interactive and transformative capacity. Mimetic reflection as an aesthetic agenda is impoverishing and reifying, not merely in its erasure of linguistic pasts, but also in its 'impeding' of aesthetic futures (Bloch 1977: 33). By extension, even notions of (secondary) modelling (Lotman 1977: 35), or of discourse analysis or analysis of 'representations' (which takes realist 'first-order' observation to a meta-level of 'second-order observation'; Luhmann 1996) are overhauled, if not entirely superseded, by a notion of generative aesthetic interaction (Thrift 2008). In poetry, this interactive cooperation between literary creator, literary reader and formed literary language and their respective materially-embodied temporalities are evinced in their most intensely productive manner. The poem is one particularly pregnant site of a material creativity in the world in which humans and other actants all share. To write a poem is to participate in that creativity; to read a poem with an eye to formal interaction and transformation is to participate in it again, and to engage thereby in a temporality of transformation.

In this context, the sonnet appears to be the ideal vehicle for exploring such ideas. The sonnet is remarkable for the manner in which an extremely rigid set of rules (14 lines; two basic stanza models—the Italian and the English—with the *volta* in one of a limited number of positions; a few fairly invariant rhyme schemes; and for much of its history in English, a single metrical pattern, that of iambic pentameter) have generated a hugely inventive range of creative possibilities. Over the more than 500 years since the sonnet emerged in Italy, these extremely rigid constraints appear to have unleashed creativity rather than hampered it. The generativity of the genre seems to be in almost exact inverse proportion to the restrictive parameters of its form.

The core of the sonnet's astounding longevity, its sheer temporal durability, is formal constraint. Constraint, far from hampering creativity, is that which drives creativity by furnishing the de-limited spaces and thus the concrete materials for generating novelty. The paucity of rhymes in English produces shorter stanzas propels the *volta* towards its penultimate position before the closing rhyming couplet in the Shakespearean sonnet, thereby generating a different poetic temporality: the accelerated, even staccato or syncopated rhythm of the English

sonnet, and its frequently acidic or mordant conclusion—and the generic temporality of the 'afterlife' of the erstwhile Petrarchan form.

The sonnet would appear to be a European form par excellence, intimately connected to the core European traditions from Petrarch via du Bellay and Shakespeare through to Wordsworth, Rilke, Hopkins, and so on. Yet it has been appropriated by poets all over the world—not merely in a gesture of postcolonial rewriting or 'cannibalism' (de Campos 1986; Curtius 2016) but, as I will suggest below, perhaps because its underlying principles are very close to some philosophies or cosmologies of the Global South itself. After all, the sonnet emerges in Europe in a pre-modern courtly context before the full-blooded onset of modernity and individual humanity as the epitome of untrammelled emancipation from nature. The postcolonial appropriation of the sonnet might appear, at first glance, to instantiate a rejection of the prior formal constraints. Brathwaite (1984: 10, 12) declares, 'The hurricane does not roar in pentameters. And that's the problem: how do you get a rhythm that approximates the *natural* experience, the *environmental* experience? … we have been trying to break out of the entire pentametric model in the Caribbean and to move into a system that more closely and intimately approaches our own experience.' But contrary to appearances, the discrepancy between the received sonnet form and the rhythms and resonances of the postcolonial environment, does not lead to the disappearences of formal constraints. Rather, as I will show in my analysis of a sonnet by Derek Walcott below, an interactive form emerges in which constraint continues to underpin creativity. To anticipate on my argument below: the postcolonial sonnet indexes a broader system of constraints, those of the global environment, that complement and continue those of the poetic form itself.

Constraint, then, is not merely negative, nor is it simply a site that marks out possibilities for action (Bonhoeffer 1988: 247-9)—'the power that each and every one of us exercises in the everyday network of social relations, at both the micro- and macro-levels' (Braidotti 2013: 12). From the point of view of Actor Network Theory (Latour 2005), constraints describe objectively our co-actants, our material companions, the ground under feet, the co-actantial conditions of our life. Constraint, however much it appears to hamper our agency, is actually its collaborative basis. From this perspective, a poetic form such as the sonnet may offer a paradigmatic model of creative constraint. The sonnet's constraining rules are the conditions of possibility of distributed co-agency, and the guarantors of collaborative creative generativity.

In broader terms, in fact, the sonnet may give us a model for a radically different way of thinking about our place in the world—as one part of a network of

distributed embodied agencies, but emphatically not as its centre. The sonnet thus models and performatively instantiates an important posthuman pedagogical lesson: human centrality (anthropocentrism) has bought about the destruction of the world (anthropocene) (Chakrabarty 2009), and if alternatives to the grim future scenarios with which we are currently confronted are to be found, they must include a radical decentring of the human and a re-acceptance of a curtailed autonomy imposed by our environment. This also entails the acceptance of temporalities in which life goes on regardless of our own death and even that of 'man' itself (Braidotti 2013: 121; Foucault 2002: 422).

A first step on the way to drawing the consequences of this lesson is to recognize our place in the classroom with regard to the sonnet. The sonnet does not model something from which we have freed or distanced ourselves ('reality' or 'nature'); it is not separate from the world, a reduced schematic figure of the world that models our own separation. This is a central recognition of quantum theory for which the observer and its conceptual scheme are part of the experiment (Barad 2007). The environment constrains the knowing subject, abolishing a spuriously 'objectifying' objectivity but thereby co-producing knowledge. The same goes for time: time is an embedded process of creativity in which we are implicated, not a hypostatized measuring rod for linear processes of production. The separation of time and space as one of the central epistemological drivers of modernity (Giddens 1990: 18-19) and the concomitant purification of multiple and complex 'knots' of time (Rose 2010) were central tenets of the streamlining and optimization of processes of capitalist production (Thompson 1967). Conversely, the mending or at least palliation of anthropocen(tric) damage, to the extent that it is possible, must go hand in hand with the re-embedding of the human subject in complex networks of generativity and the emergence of embedded temporalities of material creativity.

What does this mean in the context of poetry? Henceforth, the sonnet, and we as readers, might be more truly understood as respective nodes on a network of interlinked and cooperating co-actants, co-producing and co-produced by temporalities of creative transformation. An anthropo-ex-centric approach to the entanglement of various co-actors and co-agencies can begin anywhere on the cosmic network, no site is an origin or a centre. The poem is not an especially privileged place to begin (contrary to claims made by self-legitimizing theories of culture), but as we are students of literature it is no worse than anywhere else.

Such a paradigm shift in the reading of a literary text demands, however, a radical dismantling of the most common classroom approaches to literary analysis. This approach to literary pedagogy seeks to strategically displace the hegemony of textual analysis in schools and universities anchored in the tired triad of author-

character-plot. It is half a century since Barthes (1977) put the author to death. A couple of decades before, Sarraute (1956: 69-94) had put a nail in the coffin of the character by announcing the 'era of suspicion' in post-war France. Even earlier, Russian formalism had demolished both plot and character as the surface manifestations of narrative structures, whose function was autotelic rather than mimetic (Shklovksy 1990: 170). Poststructuralism recognized that to summarize or paraphrase a plot was to replicate the superficialities of the 'phenotext' while ignoring the productive character of the 'genotext' (Kristeva 1972). Each of these approaches is isolating and reifying, cutting the text out of its place in multiple generative networks and multiple generative genealogies. The author- and character-functions snare the reader in the perilous 'lure of identification' (Lacan 2006: 75-81) while obfuscating their historico-epistemic functioning within modernity (Foucault 1988; Baucom 2005). Author- and character-functions merely amplify hegemonic consumer culture's hypostatization of the individual as the lynchpin of surplus-value generation (Harvey 2006, 2010; Streeck 2014, 2017). It is not enough to reinstate the reader as a site of productivity (Barthes 1977), important though this act may be as a step towards creative reading; the reader (as teacher or student) must be inserted within a constraining/enabling network of other productive and creative actants beyond the purview of consumption. Finally, plot summary as a method hails back to simple comprehension and reformulation exercises, and merely teaches students reproductive textual skills rather than creative adaptation. It signals that narrative is little more than sequential causality, which suppresses the entirety panoply of narratological inventivity investigated by numerous theorists (e.g. Bal 1997; Genette 1980).

All of these strategies of literary analysis suppress the creative interactions out of which literary productivity in fact springs. They reduce the participation of the student in the text's own agential work to that of a 'spectator' (at the very most an narcissistically self-mirroring one) that does little more than 'consume' a docile and bland cultural commodity (Friere 1972: 49). The artistic text becomes entirely subsumed to the subject-objet polarization that sets in, according to Descola (2005: 92-5) from the emergence of geometrical linear perspective; they elide the multi-species perspectivalism, in which all co-agents possess personhood and interact with other co-agents and co-persons (Vivieros de Castro 2014, 2016). By the same token, they entrap the literary work within a temporal linearity of tradition and respectful reception (Bourdieu 1990: 114-6), rather than allowing a cascading process of creative interactions to emerge as part of a field of co-actantial becoming. Within the pedagogical context where these strategies are implemented massively at a global level, they are part and parcel of a reifying and

stupidifying educational system that demands reproduction of pre-packaged skills rather than a critical and creative engagement with society and its terrifying contemporary trajectories (Illich 1971). All these strategies close down the interconnectivity intrinsic to the literary text as an 'open work' (Eco 1989) and curtail its effectiveness as a generator of creativity within the educational institution.

How may one best combat these stultifying interpretative strategies? One possible—and apparently paradoxical—route of action is to suggest to students that they submit themselves to a set of creative constraints that, by way of a sort of pedagogical thought-experiment, forbid absolutely any recourse to the above-mentioned triad of author-character-plot interpretative keys. In return, however, the students are asked to create their own catalogue of formal devices to aid them to detect and discern the text's own resources for actively generating meanings. The experiences of formal constraint (which will register initially as a perplexing restriction and limitation) will transpire, after a very short while, to release a rich field of linguistically creative strategies that the text, in collaboration with the appropriately-equipped reader can unfold in a surge of almost unlimited creativity. What this 'lesson' in reading should reveal is the creativity that arises out of the co-agency of texts, readers and their world. In order to exemplify how this might look in a concrete context, I turn now to a reading of Derek Walcott's sonnet 'The Morning Moon' (1986: 338; hereafter line numbers only).

Walcott's sonnet 'The Morning Moon'

In this sonnet, the enunciating instance focalizes upon the moon, still visible in the early morning, and then upon a number of other natural features of the Caribbean: 'the crouched whale's back of Morne Coco Mountain' (l.3), 'the skin of this earth, | the goose skin of water' (l. 6-7), the 'blue plunge | of shadows down Morne Coco Mountain' (l.8-9), 'this bright foreday morning' (l.13). The sonnet propagates a sense 'that the earth is still changing' (l.11); this ongoing transformation includes the enunciating instance itself, that acknowledges that 'fine springs of white are springing from my beard' (l.14). How to make sense of this sonnet in a postcolonial landscape tradition?

One can make a strong case for a postcolonial revisionism, in which the erstwhile colony writes back to the empire and its literary traditions, to pirate Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin's famous topos. Thus, the poet is '[s]till haunted' by the 'cycle of the moon' (l. 1)—a reference to any number of sonnet cycles reposing on seasonal cycles of rise and fall, birth and death, in which the moon, like the

seasons, or the hours of the day, is press-ganged into a linear narrative of origin and telos. Stephen Burt (2010) makes a convincing case for the way in which Walcott mobilizes the different seasons of the Caribbean in order to disable and recalibrate such a set of Northern European tropes of linearity and teleological demise in more productive forms. Valid as it may be, this reading locks Global South poetic production into a North-South axis of colonial action and postcolonial reaction. The South is subsidiary, and its time, however strongly asserted against the imported and exogamic temporalities of the North, remains a belated and derivative, 'second-hand time' (Alexievich 2016), confirming what Walcott, in his Nobel lecture (1992), describes as 'our shattered histories, our shards of vocabulary'. Burt's argument is compelling, but its very self-evidence is proof of the gravitational pull of the North in all North-South aesthetic tussles, and thus provides an equally compelling counter-argument for the necessity of a fundamental conceptual recalibration—one that would, in the words of Elleke Boehmer (2002: 1), shift the analytical focus from 'the relationship of European self and other; of colonizer and colonized' so as to 'swivel this conventional axis of interaction laterally'. What would emerge out of such a re-reading, I would suggest, would be a radical re-envisioning of the natural world and its temporalities in the Global South. If the 'cyclical' mode of natural temporality is always a binary marker of the primitive world as opposed to the linearity of Modernity (Fabian 1983: 30; see for instance Ricoeur, ed. 1975), then the shadowy 'haunting' by Northern time, in which the moon would stand for a melancholic, nocturnal benightedness, would be overhauled by something radically new: an elemental velocity, a vector of tempestuous 'racing full sail' (l. 2) that stresses the 'sane brightness' of the moon (l. 4): an elemental presence and agency of intellection that exceeds all stale binaries of primitive and modern, night and day, South and North.

The 'sane brightness' of the moon presides over a relentless intertwining of nature and culture: the earth and the water have a skin, the speaker's beard is vegetal. Nature and nature are equally intertwined: the mountain is a whale, the water is, after a fashion, a goose, and the mountain-island complex appear to merge with the sea, into which the blue shadows 'plunge'. Internal embracing rhymes (morne/moon, l.1, 3; December/water, l.5, 7; changing/morning, l.8, 10; forehead/beard, l.12, 14) straddle separated lines and overdetermine the more prominent trans-elemental connections. Run-over lines tend to blur the borders between the mainly three-line stanza units. What we are confronted with is a merging of various elements and components of the natural landscape in a way that confounds the separatist principle of Western reason. Everything segues into everything else, according to what Descola (2005: 19-57) calls 'figures of the

continuous'. Various African philosophies describe this phenomenon via the principle of 'compositionality', meaning com-position-ality or contiguity: 'the other is not outside myself (Membe 2013: 13); in Achebe's (1999: 68) eminently metonymic expression, 'Wherever Something stands, Something else will stand beside it. Nothing is absolute.' The Tongan anthropologist Epeli Hau'ofa (1994) sought to escape the isolating Western gaze that picked out lonely Pacific islands in an oceanic void by referring to a 'sea of islands', thereby binding islands and sea into a ecological network, an interfolded continuum of complementary elements. Walcott's sonnet undertakes much the same task in its work of intertwining the manifold elements of a Caribbean island, viewed from out at sea.

By the same token, the interrelationships are not separate from their own temporal dynamic. In the sonnet, time is not separated from that which it putatively measures: the mountain itself is 'December's sundial', indistinguishable physically from the 'shadows' that mark the passage of time (l. 9-10). The 'earth is still changing' so that temporalities here are immanent and embedded in natural processes. Walcott's immanent poetics is akin to Brathwaite's notion of 'tidalectics' (qtd in Hitchcock 2003: 68) in its sensitivity to the immanence of change and transformation in the physical world. The human observer, manifest here as the written trace of a voice, is caught up in this process, not separated from the natural phenomena it records: 'I gasp as [the moon's] sane brightness' (l. 4) registers an intake of breath that draws 'the breeze' (l. 6) into the self. The observer's gaze, that marker of post-Enlightenment perspectival separation (Panofsky 1991: 67) is lost: 'the full moon can blind me' (l. 12); what ensues is a process of natural growth, instantiated by alliterative repletion, of which the subject is now an intrinsic part: 'fine sprigs of white are springing from my beard' (l. 14). The sonnet's own specific historicity and internal dynamic is one of creativity under conditions of constraint—or of enabling interrelationship. The poet and the poem are rigorously constrained by the natural world, excrudescences generated by it and thus part of its creativity. The last line may look like a confirmation of the sonnet's enunciating instance (in the tradition of the Shakespearean final couplet); or it may announce the demise of that subject, now transformed by organic growth into a part of the world; or, finally, it may mark a return to that which, more radically even than language itself, has from the outset constrained/enabled that subject in its brief appearance in the world: an entangled and creative space that is the immanence of time as creativity.

Landscape and teaching

In this way, Walcott's poem, I suggest, also tells us how to teach it in the spirit of this temporality of immanent creativity. This is not merely a poem 'about' landscape that can, subsequently, be in turn taught in a classroom. Rather, it is a poem that emerges out of a landscape which is intrinsically a dynamic process of ongoing interconnection, both spatial, and inevitably, temporal. Walcott's poem does not merely report this: it instantiates the processes out of which it emerges. Thus the poem-landscape carries its temporality with it, so to speak, transforming the classroom into an out-folding of that Caribbean spacetime—just as an Australian Indigenous pedagogue transforms the classroom into Indigenous 'country', the embodied presence of the ancestors, to which one owes respect, and which one can only enter after uttering the appropriate protocols (Muecke 2004: 69). According to the landscape-based principles of interconnectivity that the poem performs at the moment of its encounter with a reader, the classroom itself becomes 'part of the landscape', and part of a dynamic process of ongoing creativity. A Caribbean theory of the landscape thus can be read, catachrestically, as a theory of teaching as interconnective performativity or performative interconnectivity.

Caribbean theories of space (here I reference, alongside Anglophone Brathwaite, already mentioned above, Hispanophone Antonio Benítez-Rojo, Francophone Édouard Glissant and Anglophone Wilson Harris) are always already theories of time. Speaking in terms of economic history, Benítez-Rojo (1992: 5) posits that 'without deliveries from the Caribbean womb Western capital accumulation would not have been sufficient to effect a move, within a little more than two centuries, from the so-called Mercantilist Revolution to the Industrial Revolution.' Glissant (1989: 106) posits that '[t]he individual, the community, the land are inextricable in the process of creating history. Landscape is a character in this process. Its meanings need to be understood'. This is a history of the imposition of a 'linear' time of slavery-driven productivity, initially plantationist but seguing gradually into industrialist time (Atkins 1988; Johnson 2000), which simultaneously erases the prior temporalities of the Caribbean region and its indigenous inhabitants, producing 'the void of an imposed nonhistory' (ibid: 65). Thus, for instance, the doubled 'morne … mountain' of Walcott's sonnet (l. 3, 9) is 'is a locus of entanglements where social cataclysms, ecological disturbances, land dispossession, political awareness, and cultural agency are constantly interrogated' (Curtius 2016: 523); the doubling of the terms gestures towards the 'multiple *durées* made up of discontinuities, reversals, inertias, and swings that overlay one another, interpenetrate one another, and envelope one another: an *entanglement*' that is inscribed in the landscape while being resolutely erased (Mbembe 2001: 14).

The Caribbean, like so many other once-colonized regions of the Global South, has been subjected to what Deborah Bird Rose (2012: 128), referring to the Australian Indigenous context, terms 'aeonicide', the annihilation of temporal diversity. For Glissant (1989: 65), the task of the writer is to 'contribute to reconstituting its tormented chronology: that is, to reveal the creative energy of a dialectic reestablished between nature and culture in the Caribbean'. Glissant (ibid: 145) continues, 'To confront time is, therefore, for us to deny its linear structure'; "[o]ur quest for the dimension of time [which] will therefore be neither harmonious or linear. Its advance will be marked by a polyphony of dramatic shocks, at the level of the conscious as well as the unconscious, between incongruous phenomena or episodes so disparate that no link can be discerned' (ibid: 106-7). At one level, this historical disparity is the result of the dislocation of historical trajectories and the erasure of memory. Yet there is another level: this is why, for instance, Walcott's 'morne … mountain' (l. 3, 9) is doubly doubled: the mountain is also symptomatic of an extraordinary project of cultural montage, collage or bricolage: the culturally-driven re-connection of the human and the natural, via a 'poetics of relation' (Glissant 1998) so as to restore 'duration' (Glissant 1989: 144), a spatio-temporal continuity of the human-natural world.

This Caribbean world, a producer of a Euro-American modernity subjected to the violently coercive streamlining of a single history (what Harris [1983: 12] calls 'ego-historical bias'), never ceases, despite the massive collective amnesia lamented by so many Caribbean critics, to be a matrix of autochtonous temporalities as well. Thus for Harris (ibid: 29) the Caribbean is a 'womb of evolutionary space'; for him, the restorative 'work of the imagination is not so much prophetic as an intuitive capacity to secrete parallels into infinity, backward and forward, outward and inward, as it were, in the womb of space' (1983: 116). Harris' Caribbean 'womb of space', which is also a cultural bridge or arc, a sort of geophysical pelvic cavity, encompassing and persisting within the Amerindian zone (ibid: 6, 24), exactly describes the nexus of synchronic interconnection and diachronic generativity performed in Walcott's sonnet. Similarly, Glisssant (1989: 145) notes that as a general rule that 'the inescapable shaping force in our production of literature is what I would call the language of landscape.' Speaking more personally, Glissant (ibid: 146) states that 'the language of my landscape is primarily that of the forest, which unceasingly bursts with life'. The forest is a synecdoche of a 'Chaos-monde', a 'Chaos-world' (Glissant 1997: 114-5) redolent of Guattari's 'chaosmos', a natural generator of orderly-disorderly plenitude. For Benítez-Rojo (1992: 5), by contrast, it is the sea that epitomizes the Caribbean space:

the culture of the Caribbean, at least in its most distinctive aspects, is not terrestrial but aquatic, a sinuous culture where time unfolds irregularly and resists being captures by the cycles of clock and calendar. The Caribbean is the natural and indispensable realm of marine currents, of waves, of folds and double-folds, of fluidity and sinuosity. It is, in the final analysis, a culture of the meta-archipelago: a chaos that returns, a detour without purpose, a continual flow of paradoxes; it is a feedback-machine with asymmetrical workings, like the sea, the wind, the clouds, the uncanny novel, the food chain, the music of Malaya, Gödel's theorem and fractal mathematics. (11)

Sea and land and mountain, the *morne* of Suzanee and Aimé Césaire's poetics (Curtius 2016) and the duplicated 'Morne … Mountain' of Walcott's poem (l. 3, 9) are also interlinked facets of the 'folds and double-folds' of a single productive Caribbean world that recalls Brathwaite's (1999: 34) idea of a 'tidalectics' constituted by 'a ripple and a two tide movement'. The Caribbean world is not a totality, however, because it is not closed: 'as a meta-archipelago it has the virtue of having neither a boundary nor a centre. Thus the Caribbean flows outward past the limits of its own sea with a vengeance' (Benítez-Rojo 1992: 4).

This decentered and boundary-less space of productivity displays precisely that fluid topography because its origin, so to speak, is everywhere. At every site where a productive interaction between several entities takes place, transformation occurs: 'The balanced artifice of nature—stalemate sun, sail as pinned butterfly, butterfly as photogenic mask upon flesh-and-blood—may suddenly unfreeze into miraculous beauty within contrasting stillnesses that unsettle each other' (Harris 1983: 134). The Caribbean is an endless realm of productivity and recursive, chaos-oriented, non-linear generativity—generativity both synchronic (via limitless connectivity) and diachronic (via the proliferating connectivities of strange attractors). What Glissant (1989: 146) calls 'the mobile structures of one's own landscape' are topographically mobile because they are everywhere, and everywhere interconnected, and morphogenetically mobile because they are in themselves mutable, transformative by their very nature.

Because the space of the Caribbean is so hyperbolic—'its *ultima Thule* may be found on the outskirts of Bombay, near the low and murmuring shores of Gambia, in a Cantonese tavern of circa 1850, at a Balinese temple, in an old Bristol pub, in a commercial warehouse in Bordeaux at the time of Colbert, in a windmill beside the Zuider Zee, at a café in a barrio of Manhattan, in the existential *saudade* of an old Portuguese lyric' says Benítez-Rojo (1992: 5)—it also encompasses any classroom anywhere, where a sonnet arising out of its sea-forest-mountain topographies is being read. Because this space is extensive, its productivity recursive, Chaos-oriented and non-linear, generativity will also resurge in the space

of teaching. The space of the classroom no-longer functions according to the 'additive' temporal logic of linear historicism (Benjamin 1999: 254) that underpins the 'accumulative' 'banking' model of education (Friere 1972). Rather, it functions according to an embodied notion of participatory location in the world (ibid: 49). That participation, which locates the teaching/learning subject at a node of the 'womb'-like network of space-time, does not 'allow a human being to understand himself and to be himself', as Glissant (1989: 171) observes in a note 'On the teaching of literatures'. On the contrary, it assimilates the human to a process of transformation that takes place at the connective nodes between multispecies human-nonhuman actantial entities. If, as as Simondon (1964: 260) claims, 'The living lives at the limit of itself, on its limit' (qtd in Deleuze 1990: 103), then pedagogical generativity takes place in 'limit-situations' that decentre the human, placing it at a transformative 'edge', but by the same token throws up planetary 'generative themes' (Freire 1972: 71-7). This pedagogy of a creative network of spacetime generativity does not forget the 'network of issues' that continue to dog Global South societies and thus must be addressed by 'teacherly texts' (Garuba 2017); yet is does so by activating, in the classroom itself, the 'animist materialism' that also pervades such texts (Garuba 2003).

The space of pedagogy, when assimilated to a generalized Caribbean topography of ceaseless interconnective transformation, takes on a temporality of transformative 'duration' (Glissant 1989: 144). That 'duration' participates in the ceaseless productivity of the tropics' 'unvarying season … whose obsessive rhythm', in Glissant's (ibid: 106) vision of Caribbean culture, 'creates a new economy of the expressive forms'. Glissant contrasts this infinite network of transformation, manifest in productive 'duration', to the discontinuous temporalities of European 'narratives that are periodically crossed by explosive flashes that arouse the emotions and bring "revelation" ' (ibid: 10). It is significant for the pedagogical theory sketched in this essay, and exemplified by a sonnet by Walcott, that Glissant maliciously notes: 'A conclusive illustration of this technique is the European sonnet, with its final thrust that both summarizes and transcends the clear meaning of the poem' (ibid: 106). The pedagogic temporality corresponding to a European sonnet taught within the 'additive' temporality of linear progress would be that of a rhetoric of learning 'goals' and 'achievement levels' that 'sum up' the material learnt and 'transcend' the context of learning.

But Walcott's sonnet, when implemented as a teaching text, neither summarizes nor transcends. The poem doesn't transcend in any way whatsoever. Nor does its last line summarize, looking over the prior discursive action from a distance, despite the deceptive stanza break that appears to leave it as an isolated

coda. Granted, Walcott's final line does rehearse a belated subordinating turn (literally, a *volta*) to the speaking self. But the 'turn', which works in general as an ironic caesura or reversal, in, in Walcott, difficult to locate. The reason for this is simple: instead of a caesura, Caribbean spacetime is structured as a fold or wave, and undulating continuity of interwoven creativities. For the self is merely one node, the least important perhaps, on a network of transformative interaction and crossings, whose task it is, in the literary classroom, to instantiate as moments of learning as interconnected generativity. It is high time we got back into the forgotten rhythms of this sort of class-time.

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Connections and tensions

of time in Communication

Theories

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Abstract

In Communication studies, time is not explicitly discussed in its constitutive dimension of interactional phenomena, or as a core variable of every action and of existence itself. Its apprehension is frequently noticed as a historical variable delimiting particular aspects of the social apprehension of temporalities. In other words, Communication studies tend to privilege time in its historical aspect, and not as an analytical or epistemic category. This article tries to develop a specific vision of the potentialities and limits of the presence of time in communicative processes. From the reflection about the temporal dimensions featuring certain Communication Theories, we realize that time is a component of distinction in theoretical formulations, but its specific aspects seem dissolve when it is considered as one dimension among others of the interactional phenomena.

Keywords

Introduction[1]

At first sight, whoever seeks to understand the relations between time and communication as presented by the discursive body entitled "Communication Theories", may come to face a kind of ambiguity. On the one hand, one notices the temporal question as an underlying presence in almost all theories – as a human phenomenon, Communication is inscribed in time. In some cases, the link is explicit, as in studies on the History of Media and/or Communication, in collections such as the one by Nunes (1998) or on the works organized by Ribeiro and Ferreira (2007) or Freire Filho and Vaz (2006) or the assembly of works presented in the Work Group Memmory in Media, at Compos.

At institutions focused on the formation of professionals and researchers, both in undergraduate and graduate courses, the appropriation of time in Communication studies takes on a more or less explicit disciplinary shape. On the one hand, the discipline "History of Communication", often converted into History of media – and, therefore, into an acknowledgement of its technological development not necessarily accompanied by the social variables that relate to it – or a History of professional specializations, time, again, holds a place parallel to the phenomenon, approached from the point of view of its transformation into "past".

On the other hand, however, outside the perspective of history or memory, the result is inverted: there are few works approaching time as a dimension essential for communicative interactions and for the constitution of subjects and their shared way of life. One may notice, for example, the almost complete absence – an exception are the texts by Ferrara (2014) or Marcondes Filho (2015) – of this kind of approach in the discussions at the Work Group Epistemology of Communication, when it comes to another place of academic dialogue (Martino, 2014). The "states of art" found, for example, by Trumbo (2004), Bryant and Miron (2004), Sanchez and Campos (2009), as well as the taxonomies proposed by Lima (1983; 2001), Marcondes (2001) or Torrico Villanueva (2004) and reviewed by Martino (2015) do not deal with the question of time in any aspect.

It would certainly be difficult, if not impossible, to consider an exclusion of the "time" variable in Communication Theories. Some streams of investigation in Communication, as those mentioned in the beginning of the text, bring in themselves the temporal question as an important element, but, again, only in terms of its transformation into some related category – archive, memory,

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nostalgia. Time is, not rarely, transformed into past time, re-elaborated in the present or indicated in the construction of a past.

In another scale and mode of appropriation, one notices that the question of time has gained a brief prominence in studies on the Internet and the environment of digital media, when questions related to synchronous and nonsynchronous interactions in the possible communication in such spaces came to be thought of as relevant elements for understanding Communication (PETERS, 2003; PRIMO, 2008).

The modalities above evidently do not exhaust the appropriations and uses of time in Communication Theories, but they somehow point the characteristic appropriations of time in the area – and, above all, the space of this articulation.

In epistemological terms, Communication Theories are evidently developed in temporal appropriations, as all existing things, but they rarely come to think about this factor's own relevance.

In general, when one talks about the relations between "time" and "communication", in the space of theoretical elaborations, what one mostly finds is the development of communicational thinking along chronologic time, and not the position of time in such studies – which may be seen, for example, in works dedicated to the historiography of concepts and Communication Theories. Time, in this case, becomes synonym of constraining demarcation of certain theoretical-epistemological perspectives. Such procedure surpasses the limits of epistemological discussion, unfolding itself in other spaces.

Taking on the risks of any kind of generalization, one may say that time, in Communication studies, is not explicitly problematized in its constitutive dimension of intersubjective phenomena, or, rather, as a variable of every action and of existence itself: there is not, so to speak, a specific view concerning the potentialities and limits of the presence of time in communication processes. One notices, very often, its acknowledgement as a historical variable limiting certain aspects of social acknowledgement of temporalities – in other words, Communication studies tend to favor time as history or as an organizing dimension of experiences and common events, but not as an analytic category or even an epistemological one.

In the many traditions of studies on communication processes, the variable and/or dimension of time, though fundamental, seems not to occupy a privileged place in the sphere of discussions and operations. With exceptions, the modalities of perception of time in communicational acts rarely feature the foreground, in the sense that it is perceived as one among other elements, especially within the scope of the Communication Theories. And, yet, the questions concerning temporalities –

in its myriad forms – are effectively inscribed in the center of every and any communication process.

Indeed, it would not be a complete mistake to claim that the very existence of a communication process implies, in logical terms, the presence of some kind of temporality. Either thought of in terms of "transmission", or "sharing", variables pointed by Lima (1983; 2001), communication implies the existence of time intervals in which it takes place. The indications are that, no matter which theoretical premise one adopts in order to think about Communication, time should hold an eminent place, often presenting itself as a heuristic category at once invisible and determinant for the understanding of certain phenomena.

The present study focuses on the problem of time as an epistemological question partially structural to thinking about communication, as it features the historical-historiographical course of Communication Theories, taken, in this case, as theoretical discourses that constitute the object of this work. This way, one seeks to observe the transversal presence of this theme within the scope of the so-called "canon" of Communication Theories, such as presented, among others, by Mattelart and Mattelart (1999), Martino (2009) or França and Guimarães (2016). This study places itself in the framework of epistemological questions concerning the fundaments of theoretical discourses posted in the Area (Ferreira, 2014).

The aim of this text, therefore, is to outline a few relations between time and theoretical thinking in Communication, based on a double question. It seems to exist, in Communication studies, a paradoxical appropriation of time: despite its fundamental importance as a constitutive element of communication phenomena, its investigation in epistemological streams in the area does not reach the same level of importance as other elements.

Such aspects, taken as a delimitation, do not effectively exhaust the subject, but point out the lines that shall be followed here. In the following, one seeks to outline two contradictory and complementary aspects of this relation. On the one hand, one seeks to observe the way how the set of Communication Theories, taken as a theoretical discourse that, like other discourses, cannot be separated from the historical conditions of its creation but, at the same time, do not stablish itself as a simple consequence of this, organizes itself temporally in a "History" elaborated based on political and epistemological criteria.

Afterwards, the text turns to observing in detail four of such theories, having in mind the particular importance they invest on time. If, as said, a considerable part of theoretical thinking in Communication time is an invisibilized variable amidst the set of other statements, there are at least a few theoretical elaborations –

Communication Theories – in which time gains prominence as temporality or as a set of temporalities constituting interaction processes.

2. The general problem: Communication Theories'place in time

The exam of the definition of periods in Communication studies, particularly in the domain of Communication Theories, presents itself as the result of the perception of a taxonomy responsible for positioning the regions of a "past" theoretical thinking in the area, in terms of chronological time, based on which one would be able to stablish criteria for delimiting what may and what may not be effectively studied. It is interesting to observe that, if non-elaborated ordinary perceptions may work as an index, there seems to exist a sense of "progress", if not overt "evolutionism" in the surreptitious evaluation of Communication Theories when it comes to its association to certain time periods.

Historical disposition and systematization according to periods in Communication Theories often features the same order as that of media development. A "history of the Communication Theories", in this sense, may be rather called "history of thought on technological means", since the organization by periods follows rather the advance of technique than communication possibilities themselves, in all of its social links, disclosed by technique.

This remits us, at once, to the problem of the place of discourses in time. In his classical historiographical study, Lowenthal (2004) recalls a fundamental difference for the theoretical elaboration we propose here: there is a difference between "Time", "History" and "Past". Initially, it would be possible to define his thesis as indicating that the appropriation of time by history is driven to the construction of a past. From the beginning, the author abandons a metaphysical perspective on the appropriation of time, delimiting his space of discussion: the metaphysics of time belongs to Philosophy and may be discussed, with its countless merits, in this ambit.

What one seeks in History is not time, but the conversion of time into a "past" acknowledgeable and intelligible from a present point of view. History, in this aspect, is not specifically the mediator between "past" and "present", but between "time" and "past", understood as categories in a permanently tense articulation. Such mediation, evidently, is tied to a myriad of variables that come up in the process of selection, choice and signification of elements that can effectively produce a past.

When interpreting Lowenthal (2004), Jenkins (2006) observes the contrast between the view of the historian and that of the sociologist or geologist: in epistemological terms, such different views concerning the same space are characterized precisely by the specificity of a certain scientific activity, one responsible for appropriating reality inside a definite outline that dialogues but does not overlap others – the "lineages" which Ferreira (2007) refers to.

Jenkins explains that History, in this aspect, does not seem to work but with the possibilities of reconstructing a past in the sense of attributing some kind of meaning to it, identifying it with something that surpasses the fleeting of perception in order to stablish itself as intelligible categories – "epoch", "period", "duration" or any other form of classification – which effectively conduces to another point, the validity of such classifications.

As a cognitive process, Garcia Gutierrez (2009) recalls, every classification features a double face, presenting itself at once as indispensable for any intellection, but equally responsible for creating constraints, maybe insoluble, associated to historical, economic, social and political factors that preside, often in an invisible way, the formation of classificatory criteria. Thus, the transformation of time into past is not free from the power formations that exist in the mediation of the discourse of History in which such conversion takes place.

There is, then, a complementary triad for thinking the question, aligned with a problem of perception that comes close to metaphysics – the question of the reality of time – with the effective possibilities of its appropriation by the human being, existing when the flux of temporalities is converted into events recognizable and, somehow, passible of a determinate causal delimiting in terms of its "beginning" and "end".

"Time" makes itself appropriable as duration, but this transformation seems to occur only at the expense of not being able to perceive anything outside duration, rendering time invisible. It is in this aspect that one observes the emergence of the Historic variable: hermeneutic construction of durations responsible for delimiting happenings and their disposition created in accordance with other equally Historical categories.

This is the moment when time, previously converted into duration due to the very limitations of human perception, enters a second order of transformation and is converted into "past", a set of constructed data based on History with which one may, indeed, work. This way, one moves from the problem of the perception of time to its heuristic operationalization as past, elaborated by History.

However, Lowenthal (2004) continues, one barely notices this kind of passage, preferring, in everyday life, to seek a practical equivalence between

History and Past, as if the relation between them were not only direct, but inevitable. It is in this sense, he argues, that the two factors maintain a relation of closeness with time without necessarily finding some kind of necessary equivalence among them. Past time is accessible only via History, which means to say, at the same time, that there is not a past except in as historical time, elaborated up from the possibilities that a historiography, or rather, an epistemology of History may retrieve. We shall see further how Walter Benjamin contradicts this perception of History as causally ordered past, as he proposes to contemplate the past in its counterflux, highlighting the dialectics that articulates past, presence and future.

Past states itself, in this case, as a way of interpretation of history that depends on factors surpassing the specific question of "time" as a category of the construction of reality, presenting itself as an element dependent on what the present grasps of it. It is not by chance that Hayden White (2005), in this sense, tends to carry this possibility to extreme consequences when claiming that History does not seem to distinguish itself from other modalities of text creation, but, on the contrary, like any discourse, obeys the existent lines of force so as to accomplish an invention – the past, localization of events in time based on the possibilities disclosed by historiographic methods.

At this point, looking at the past posts itself above all as looking at what Guinzburg (2008) develops as the idea of possible "vestiges" to be found in such past, and, further yet, vestiges that could be interpreted based on the categories elaborated in the present. So, even face to the "past", the vestiges left by time as documents – a term we employ here in its usual sense in History –, looking at the past is always looking from the present that is supposed to invent a possible past given the current conditions.

Time presents itself, then, as featuring certain documental materiality that allows its exploration and reconstitution in a perspective of cognitive appropriation formed, or at least facilitated, by what one calls "History". It is not by chance that, thinking of time means, as we've seen, thinking of the past and its appropriations in the scope of history. It is in this aspect that one may ask how the past research in Communication, in the scope of the development Communication Theories, is simultaneously the history of the appropriation of temporalities in the epistemological thinking of the Area.

This being so, it would not be wrong to say that, in the Area, what we often call "History of the Communication Theories" or derivate terms, among which the most famous are the books by Mattelart and Mattelart (1999) and Miege (2004), is not but a history of the techniques and technologies of Communication, in an almost linear sense, far from any properly dialectical grasp of history capable of

making way for the development of its articulations beyond simple "invention", "emergence" or "outbreak" of technologies.

In this context, one seems to miss not only the meaning of communication, beyond its media-technological aspect, in time, but also the very way how historical and temporal matters inscribe themselves in the ambit of a communicational thinking, converted, in this case, in an inventory of the main technological innovations and their "impact" or "effect" on society.

Such emphasis on technological media seems to be responsible, at least in part, for the "evolutionary" character attached to the development of Communication Theories: the "old" theories, localized in a historical time constructed based on a media variable, if not mediacentric one, are supposed to be effectively overcome by "new" theories, elaborated based on equally "new" medias, and therefore destined to invalidate, in logical and epistemological terms, what had been done so far.

In this sense, the hermeneutical potential of a Communication Theory comes to be judged no longer for its heuristic possibilities towards the present, but only in terms of its temporal creation: "old" theories explain "old" media and, therefore, have no validity in the time of "new" media that require, for their turn, "new" theories.

Herbst (2008) approaches the research on Communication in a temporal perspective. According to his vision, historical and cultural transformations leave no doubt concerning the need to think, equally, the Communication Theories as a whole. However, his conception focuses rather on the formation of an area than on the historical closure of such and such theory – a limitation suggested also by Demers (2000). The perspective of historical circumscription is equally present, for example, in Carlsson (2007) and Lebesco (2007).

By all indications, the problem seems to be that epistemologically the relation between *empiria* and theoretical scope does not follow the linearity sketched out here, but rather a complex dialectics of relations between discourses, knowledge, techniques and social practices in which different epochs and media temporalities co-exist, and even "new" media do not destitute or completely invalidate "old" ones, but put each other in tension along with ever contemporary practices and ambiences (Ferrara, 2013; 2014).

So, the emphasis on media aspects as a form of classification seems to suggest, beyond a mere technological question, the perspective that the epistemological reach of a Communication theory is outlined according to its time of formulation and, especially, in reference to the "media" to which it is attached.

The duration of an "epoch" is supposedly linked to a constant transformation of everything that is not immediately useful for "explaining" away the present as an archeological artefact, as it follows the speed of technological innovations defined by a logics of market in terms of production and disposal, tending to transform theories themselves into equally disposable elements.

Jensen and Neuman (2013) think in terms of the "evolution" of the area and the "paradigm changes", in a previously seen track, among others, by França (2001), but with few questionings when it comes to the permanence of the explicative potency of each model. McQuail (2013), in this sense, brings another element to the discussion as he puts into question the extent to which it is possible, in fact, to talk of "paradigm changes" in Communication theories and researches due to the relatively recent history of the Area.

This kind of thinking is maybe one of the elements that allows one to understand the voracity with which concepts coming from diverse knowledge areas, ones that present themselves as the final word in terms of explanation of communicational phenomena and their correlates, are rapidly incorporated to the vocabulary of the Communication Area. Such movement is often accomplished with little concern for a wider epistemological examination of such concepts, aiming at its potential heuristic unfolding, only to be left aside as soon as the next innovation – not theoretical-conceptual innovation, but technical or market innovation – comes up.

Evidently, this does not mean to assume any kind of discontinuity between Communication Theories and the media background in which they were or are formulated. On the contrary, one seeks precisely to stress out that, if the validity of a theory is also attached to a temporal factor, it is necessary to acknowledge that the constructions of time, transformed into history, are localized in classifications that may be questioned and widened so as to include not only the "media" but also the historical conditions of the emergence of such media and corresponding theoretical appropriations. Technological determinism signs also the conservation of conceptions about a historical time that is supposed to be delimited and delimitable, with no acknowledgement of the continuity lines, however accidental they may be, responsible for the resonance of previous epochs.

It is not a coincidence that, once one seeks the inverse pathway, that is, to acknowledge the extent to which Communication Theories present themselves in their own temporal and epistemological dynamics, it is possible to observe a series of non-linear movements, the most complex appropriations and re-appropriations, which do not follow any kind of elaboration passible of being associated to "normal

science": one may not, in this aspect, leave aside Braga (2014), when he claims, precisely, that "there is no normal science in Communication".

A possible example, highlighted in another moment (Barros & Martino, 2003; Martino, 2008; 2010) is the course of McLuhan's ideas in the Communication Area, oscillating between violent criticism in the mid 1980's until the early 2000's, when social and technological transformations seem to have demanded a return to his thinking so as to understand some scenarios then challenging the Area (Lemos, 2007; Pereira, 2012). Such return, as well as the contemporary permanence of "old" theories – as, for example, the Frankfurt school by Rüdiger (2005), Duarte (2010) or Rodrigues and Martino (2011) –, suggests the mix of times as forms of understanding contemporaneity beyond any epoch classification.

The inscription of Communication Theories in time seems to take place, among other factors, based on the transformation of time into past in the pathways of History – in this case, a history of the Theories responsible for elaborating potential understandings of communicational phenomena beyond media technicalities.

3. The problem of time in four Communication Theories

In what follows we present, in a non-exhaustive and panoramic fashion, some evidences that time may be found in some theoretical branches of Communication, not in an eloquent form nor as part of the central argument of epistemological reflections. One needs to localize it and name it based on what's between the lines.

3.1 The time of the situated action and the anticipation of the interlocutor's actions

In symbolic interactionism it is possible to say that time may be considered based on two specific forms of action: the temporality ascribed by the production of a face-to-face encounter and the duration of this encounter; and the temporality present in the way how, based on the interpretation of each other's significant gestures (MEAD, 2006), the enunciating agents exert mutual influence (Mead's reciprocally oriented action) learning to interpret and anticipate (via a shared frame of expectations) their movements and performatic positions.

There is, for example, a temporality present in the reflections by Goffman (1999), who constructs a sociology of interactions as he attempts to understand

and analyze not man in his moments, but the moments and its men. The moments that matter are those that present itself in the time-space of ordinary interactions guided by behavioral patterns. "The orderly character of the interactions is recognized with resource to a large base of shared cognitive suppositions and self-sustained constraints or even normative suppositions" (Goffman, 1999, p. 202)[2].

The way how interlocutors relate to each other according to Goffman reveals the way how specific temporality acts on interpersonal exchanges: the orderly and recurrent character of interactions allow actors to *recognizebeforehand* the limits constraining their ways of action, creating expectations of behavioral adequacy according to the identified limits. To anticipate, in a situated interpretation, another person's gestures so as to construct a socially adequate answer is a form of "foreseeing" (and so often to constrain the other's possibilities of agency) the future and, then, to seize the control over it. Nonetheless, however the interlocutors may try to control the situation and their pairs' behavior, there is a frailty, precariousness and instability in the interactions and enormous potential rupture constantly threatening interactional relations (Martins, 2008).

For Goffman (1999), the interlocutors' meaningful gestures may be simulated thanks to the presence of either positive sanctions or rewards, or negative sanctions and punishment, so that the definition of sanctions is connected to the approval or disapproval immediately expressed and felt in interaction.

In this statement one may identify the constant co-existence of two kinds of temporality in Goffman's thinking on interactions: the future is always anticipated by simulations of behavior according to what has been foreseen and the immediacy of the judgement of such behavior as either adequate or not to the expectations associated to a given situation (actions regulated face to what is meaningful for the agents at the moment). As noticed by Martins (2008) and Gastaldo (2008), social actors supposedly lead their lives amidst an exercise of anticipating the consequences of their actions, seeking at all expenses to avoid situations of embarrassment that might corrode the projected images of themselves and, eventually, lead them to ruin and social discredit.

In verbal face to face interactions, different temporalities mingle in the attempt to define situations, themes and forms of engagement of the subjects in community. Ordinary negotiation of the present situation in which the interaction partners find themselves seals the aspect of "here and now" that brings subjects close to each other as they seek to produce meaning to the experiences they live. But interlocutors construct their agency and their performances in different

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[2] All quotations have been freely translated from vernacular editions indicated bellow.

temporalities among themselves and concerning the immediate configuration of "here and now". So, it is possible to say that it is in the crossing-over of such temporalities that continuous relational and *intersubjective* process is articulated, in which a subject's attitude before herself emerges in her encounter with the attitude of the other person face to her.

In other words, while acting in the world in an intersubjective way, individuals constitute themselves as social actors and political subjects who seek to strengthen the bonds of belonging to a group, at the same time as they seek social acknowledgement of their moral status as a legitimate interlocutor.

3.2 Time and communicational constitution of political subjects

Political activity requires, from a pragmatic point of view, the situation of interlocution in which the subjects not only produce a shared and common space of exchange, but also stablish a temporality dedicated to reflection and public justification. A political subject is one who has the time to speak and, when it comes to interaction, has a wide time of speech, which allows her to construct, express and review her points of view. In Goffman one finds many special metaphors (scene, façade, background, situation, etc.) responsible for characterizing the encounter of interlocution, performance and tensions arisen by adequacy and re-adequacy of behaviors to the norms and frames of meaning. But if there's a multiplicity of spaces, there is also a multiplicity of times whose unequal distribution among social actors discloses relations of power and oppression.

According to John Dewey (2008), politics manifests itself in a process of forming public agents constituted as such while they have to deal with the controversial question of public power. This kind of problem acquires a widened dimension not only for affecting many people, but also for demanding a kind of social reflexivity that guides collective action. So, a public problem and the public agents who define it come up simultaneously, stablishing a time and a space marked by the attempt to construct association and cooperation bonds capable of guiding communicative actions destined to better understanding and/or solving affairs of collective interest. The synchronicity of the "appearance" of the public agents and their problems is something that demands our attention, since "the main difficulty is to find out the means through which a disperse, inconstant and multiple crowd may recognize itself so as to define and express its interests" (Dewey, 2008, p. 54).

For Dewey, a crowd is formed by all those who see themselves affected by the indirect consequences of the communicative transactions and exchanges destined to the discussion and elucidation of collective problems. But "the same crowd does not exist in two moments or places. The situational conditions bring up different consequences of the action associated to its acknowledgement" (Dewey, 2008, p. 34). A crowd yields from its action localized in specific time and space, and their interests and demands yield from association, intercourse and interpellation. "The ones affected in a serious and indirect manner, either for good or bad, form a distinct group and comes to demand acknowledgement and a name: the Crowd." (Dewey, 2008, p. 49.).

The actions and movements of crowds in public spaces of interaction and discussion exist as signs[3], or signals or symbols that relate and constitute articulations and memories allowing a series of events to be registered and preserved as meaningful. Crowds detain, then, repertoires that allow them to recall past agencies, foresee and calculate future routes of action, facilitating the "calculus, planning and a new kind of action that intervenes on what happens so as to draw its course towards the foreseen and desired interest" (Dewey, 2008, p. 58). In this sense, crowds are forms of experience.

It is suitable to recall that Dewey's reflection on the signification of experience pervades all his oeuvre and features a strong temporal dimension. Experience is presented as the establishment of links between that concerning which an experience is made and the way how an experience is conducted: between an object and a subject. The temporal dimension of experience is present in the very movement stablished between a subject and an object, in mutual relation. For Dewey, "experience constitutes itself by a material full of uncertainty, moving towards its consummation through a series of various incidents" (2005, p. 95). The depth of experience is given by the relation between present and past experience, through connections between what has already been done and what must be done after that. "In an experience the flux goes from something to something. Since a part conducts to another and the other part brings the one that came before, each one gains distinct features in itself. The permanent whole is differentiated by successive phases that emphasize its different nuances" (2005, p. 90). An experience yields from a process or temporal organization in which "the

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[3] It is important to stress out that Peirce's semiotics also features a temporal dimension related to three modes of perception of the phenomena of the world by the mind: primary, secondary and tertiary are categories of perception of phenomena that structure themselves, respectively, based on the time of contemplation (affectation of plain feeling), time involved in the operation of distinction and shock among elements by the law of action and reaction, and time destined to the production of an intelligible synthesis of the phenomena via thinking (that is, its translation into a sign).

final arrival" is related to everything that happened before as the culmination of continuous movement. The work of gathering the parcels of an experience manifests itself in the development of a "plot, which depends on a scenario, a space where it may develop and a time in which it may unfold" (2005, p. 95).

Experience is movement, rhythm, cadence in different speeds in a velocity, connecting movement to the temporal chaining of facts. Due to its continuous resurgence, says Dewey, there are no cracks or gaps in which one haves an experience. There are pauses, places of rest, but they signal or define the quality of a movement. "They sum up what has passed and avoid its dissipation and its evaporation in vain. Its acceleration is continuous, keeping the parts from falling apart" (2005, p. 90). The pauses of experience relate to a constant endurance, "in which the consequences of a previous doing are absorbed and guarded and each doing brings in itself a meaning that has been extracted and preserved" (2005, p. 105). The many parts of an experience are tied to each other and not only succeed each other in time, so the result is always anticipated at each moment and periodically appreciated with special intensity.

The concept of experience and crowd in Dewey, as well as Mead's concepts of reciprocally oriented agency and "generalized other" hold a prominent place in second generation Critical Theory, especially in Habermas. The temporalities of experience and elaboration of public problems configure, according to Habermas, a model of democracy that conceives politics not as processes occurring only in the ambit of institutions, but as networks of communication shaped in every-day life, amidst the intersubjective negotiations of norms, values, beliefs, interests and understandings accomplished by the actors in a given social context, situated in a specific time and space.

3.3 Time between work and leisure in Critical Theory

In Critical Theory the question of time may be dealt with based in two remarks made by Adorno and Horkheimer. The first refers to a kind of dilatation or distention of present in order to accommodate all the consumerism impulse stimulated by conformism and constant repetition of the same formulas and appeals. "Consumer's conformism satisfies itself with the reproduction of the same. Cultural industry consists in repetition" (ADORNO and HORKHEIMER, 2002, p. 27). "The repetition of the same" remits to a temporal invariability that stablishes a consensual routine favorable to both the dissolution of conflicts and of the borders between work and leisure. Present time, widened by cultural industry, claims that the needs and desires must be fulfilled "here and now", so that entertainment is

seen as an extension of work. In this sense, the second remark is that what is consumed as entertainment during the time destined to leisure is a copy of the work process, automatic succession of regulated operations.

Along with contiguity between work time and leisure time new rhythms of existence come up, and also the domestication of the senses. The criticism in *Dialectic of Enlightment* to cultural industry's messages of entertainment is widely known: "If cartoons have another effect beyond habituating the senses to a new rhythm, it is that of inculcating in all brains the ancient truth that continuous abuse, shattering all individual resistance, is the condition of life in this society" (1983, p. 33).

There are, then, two temporalities that crumble the subject and her possibilities of resistance: one that makes her live in the present all the time so as to keep up with the novelties and appeals of consumption; and another that, by dissolving leisure in work,kidnaps the time necessary for elaboration and reflectionon past facts and experiences, also demobilizing the plans for the future and the planning of actions for changing the present. Besides, the very regulation of work and leisure times determines the ways how each subject is to take on activities and actions, how each one is to position and be positioned in spaces dedicated to sharing and to the production of political decision and public participation. Reflexive and critical activity requires a slow-down in time, so that the glance may be newly habituated to contemplation and not only to the immediacy of the luminous flashes of merchandise advertisement.

Under this aspects, the engines of reproduction of cultural industry evince a division between those who live the time of the action and of reflexive knowledge and those who live the time of survival, alienation and repetition. Once their needs and desires are foreseen, forged and automatically supplied, individuals spend more time as consumers, as objects of cultural industry, than as emancipated spectators. Time here is the operator of diverse exclusions and asymmetries, acting, along with culture transfigured into merchandise, as an obstacle to emancipation and autonomy. Marxist criticism present in this unequal distribution of times and possibilities of expression among groups and subjects is centrally present in the philosophical approach by Jacques Rancière (*The Politics of Aesthetics*), for example, and more recently his interlocution with Axel Honneth (*Recognition of Disagreement*)[4].

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[4] The valuable debate between Rancière and Honneth is organized in the oeuvre: Genel, Katia; Deranty, Jean-Phillipe (eds). *Recognition or Disagreement: a critical encounter on the politics of freedom, equality and identity*. Columbia University Press, 2016.

3.4 Temporal legibility of dialectical images

Another approach of time based in Critical Theory may be found in the thinking by Walter Benjamin and its interfaces with memory and History. In Benjamin, the gesture of recollection produces images, forms of reading time and ways of shifting the consensual dispositive that organizes past, present and future in a linear and causal order. Under such prism, dialectical image, according to him, leads to understanding the way how times become visible and passible of supporting ways of imagining and producing politics.

According to Michel Löwy, dialectical image expresses the fact that "the relation between today and yesterday is not unilateral: in an eminently dialectical process, present enlightens the past, and enlightened past becomes a force in the present" (Löwy, 2005, p.61).

This definition, according to Gagnebin (1999, p. 15), "puts into question an abstract and empty representation of historical time as infinite succession of points that could only be connected by the order of its apparition". Historical phenomena would be, then, fruit of such dialectical tension between past, present and future, taking on the form of a constellation. Historical phenomena, isolated like stars in the sky, do only acquire a meaning when a work of recollection and montage produces the line that unites present and past. For Gagnebin (1999, p. 16), the requirement to recollect the past "does not imply the mere restoration of the past, but also a transformation of the present so that, if the lost past is then found again, it does not remain the same, that is, it is also retrieved and transformed".

"Benjaminian image, then, is presented as a form of legibility of time" (Löwy, 2005, p.131), since it not only produces itself in the encounter of diverse temporalities, but also crosses over temporalities as a lightning, lights that occasionally cut and illuminate the totalitarian and consensual horizon that usually organizes the experiences.

Didi-Huberman explains that dialectical image is not an image in the denotative sense of the term, but a metaphor for a dispositive that brings up and saves the "inestimable moments" that resist capture, silence and the excesses of discourses constructed by the media and the State. For this reason, he constructs the hypothesis (2011, p. 119) that image is a temporal operator of survival, carrying a political potency related to our past, present and future.

The concept of dialectical image allows us to perceive the time of gestation of contra-powers, "seeing the rhythm of coups and contra-coups, tempos and

contra-tempos, themes and contra-themes, acclamations and revolutions" (Didi-Huberman, 2011, p.110).

The impure temporality of our historical life yields from the outline of a unique connection between two phenomena (or more) that acquire a new meaning and draw a new historical object, so far unsuspected, more truthful and more consistent than linear chronology (Gagnebin, 1999). Opposed to the narration that chronologically numbers the sequence of happenings, this procedure, as it clips privileged moments   from the chronological continuum, is defined, by the end of the *Ten Theses on History*, as "the apprehension of a savior constellation". Time operates in the dialectical image also as an operator of montage and dismantling in the political gesture of "accepting the discontinuous aspects of history, proceeding to the interruption of this chronological time with no roughness, renouncing to the happy development of a syntax straight and flawless" (Gagnebin, 1999, p. 99).

Dialectical image subverts the consensual and naturalizing orderings of the stablished discourse and requires us to constantly mind the future, refusing demobilization for nostalgia. This is so because, according to him "the real object of recollection is not, simply, the particularity of a happening, but that which, in it, is specific creation, promise of the unknown, emergence of the new" (Gagnebin, 1999, p. 105). Recollection is the creative and transforming gesture that makes way for active and constant construction of the present.

3.5 Temporalities of becoming-minor

Gilles Deleuze's reflections on cinema images carries and is articulated by the notion of time. But his encounter with Felix Guattari promotes an approach of time that seems provocative and is enunciated as such: "to believe in the world means to bring forth happenings, even small ones, that may escape control, or engender new space-times, even if in reduced surface or volume" (DELEUZE, 2013, p. 222). With this statement, Deleuze articulates the notion of becoming-minor with practices of resistance and existence of political subjects. Such movement is interesting for Communication not only for the space-temporal proposition associated to the constitution of possible worlds, but also because becoming-minor operates through the creation of statements and modes of enunciation that enable the emergence of a "shared existence in cooperation".

The constant tension and transit between majority/minority, molar/molecular marks the refusal of social identities that imprison, and the quest for existential territories not subjected to a majoritarian principle. So, becoming-minor discloses the production of multiplicity in action, the invention of becoming

autonomous, unexpected, producer of molecular agency of multiplicity. Such agency, according to Deleuze's appropriation by Maurizio Lazzarato (2007), seeks to experiment gadgets, to create institutions more favorable to the dynamics of creation and accomplishment of possible worlds.

To create tense transits between molar and molecular, majority and minority, would supposedly bring forth the conditions for transforming and experimenting the power relations that constitute such pairs. But one needs to recall that transiting "in between" implies encountering temporalities, velocities and rhythms of production of lines of flight able to keep molar forces from enclosing themselves as majoritarian models, and to turn molecular forces into a source for processes of creation and subjectivation (Lazzarato, 2007). The production of "in between", passages and transits, also present in Benjamin, create the conditions for transforming and experimenting power relations that produce subjectivity and difference. Becoming-minor updates virtual, fluid and revertible relations, the ones open to experimentation of subjectivation that escapes the states of domination. This is the philosophical basis that has supported reflection, in the field of Communication, on the insurgence and uprising that took over the streets and networks of Brazil, as the student movement in June 2013 (Altheman, Marques and Martino, 2017; Silva, 2014).

This attempt to explain some temporal dimensions in certain Communication Theories reveals that time is a special component in conceptual formulations, but its specific aspects, when the due problematization is missing, seem to be dissolved as a dimension among others in interactional phenomena.

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Corporate Communication in Peculiar Environments: Reflections on Dialogues in Mediated and Mediator Landscapes

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Abstract

The command of contextual elements where face-to-face interactions take place may facilitate the planning and execution of corporate communication programs and actions. This differential tends to be more pronounced in environments that are considered peculiar, such as the Pantanal and Amazon biomes, where technological appeal is less evident. Enterprises that operate in such places and link their missions with the territory can exploit face-to-face communication in a professional and strategic way, which in Brazil is still little explored in the communication field. This article invests in the identification of mediations imposed by this kind of environment and analyzes the way in which these scenarios are built and mediated by the media.

Keywords

Corporate communication; Face-to-face communication; Pantanal.

Introduction

Corporate communication work in enterprises installed in urban centers have been continuously explored by scientists in that field. Case studies of communications practices in these enterprises have provided subsidies to the theoretical development in the field of corporate public relations and communications: a good example is the growing number of publications involving the use of social media by organizations – one kind of communication which is well spread especially among urban publics.

However, there are other nuances of corporate communication that are yet little explored by academic research. Face-to-face contacts in peculiar environments – where, in essence, urban and rural landscapes are brought together – are short of deeper theoretical knowledge. This is the case of work developed by communication teams of enterprises that operate in biomes such as the Pantanal and the Amazon, whose missions are tied to physical space. Settings in these cases are more than just a simple workplace for such professionals. They impose specific issues on the communicator's routine that deserve some reflection – due to how circumstances are mediated by the media as well as to its particular mediating instances. Better explained: activities related to corporate communication in regions with rich biodiversity such as the Pantanal and the Amazon are under a double mediating bias, i.e., the previous knowledge that the involved interlocutors accumulated about the territory they have not yet visited and the mediating role of the landscape itself which bears upon the interactions that occur in these environments.

The aim of this article is to identify some mediations that characterize the Pantanal as a peculiar landscape which relates to the corporate communication work developed in this region. The experience of this author in this environment allowed observing singular situations which eventually are repeated in other landscapes with rich biodiversity, such as the Amazon. The perception of other researchers about the environment/communication relationship involving the Amazon is reclaimed in this study.

The two biomes are marked as mediating instances of dialogues that take place within their geographic boundaries. Specifically in the case of the Pantanal it was observed that the landscape itself conditions the content and form of face-to-face communication that takes place there. This sort of interaction – highly valued in that locality – has strategic potential for corporate communication yet lacks theoretical knowledge that can guide and optimize its development.

This research begins with a description of the immersion methodology, which is contemplated not only in communication science, but especially by theoreticians of geography in their studies of landscapes; it presents theoretical foundations, highlighting authors who conceptualize mediations, corporate communication and face-to-face communication; it advances into a brief contextualization of collective imagery built by the media in regard to the Pantanal; it identifies mediating instances of face-to-face communication in the Pantanal, based on observations made during immersion; and it concludes that environmental conditions and its mediations need to be adequately known and explored by corporate communication carried out in these localities[1].

Immersion methodology: landscapes and shared experiences

As a result of its transdisciplinary character, communication often seeks other sciences in search of contributions that help to explore communicational phenomena. Sociology, linguistics, social psychology, philosophy and other disciplines are commonly deployed by communication scholars. Studies undertaken in the field of geography may also cooperate in this regard.

It is from this latter area of knowledge that aggregating notions about the concept of landscape arise - which must be understood in its rural and urban dimensions. Authors of this discipline point out that research on a given geographic space cannot do without immersion. In the field of communication this same methodology seems adequate for some studies on the perception of mediations.

"Why study the meanings of landscapes? Because they reveal values and conceptions of the world, personal experiences and historical processes that are far beyond the form apprehended by the more immediate sight" ponders Sakaguti Junior (2010, p. 20). The author explains that the idea of landscape should not be restricted to the panoramic view or the visual set of a certain place. He joins a line of geography that interweaves landscapes with culture, a very promising connection for the research of the mediating aspects inherent to physical spaces.

Also a representative of this line, Sandeville Junior (2004) links landscape to experience, discourages studies made exclusively by indirect means, such as images and cartography, and advocates transdisciplinary looks for the

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[1] Part of the reflections developed in this article are in "The role of face-to-face communication in the context of organizations of mediatized society", a doctoral dissertation presented by this author on February, 2016 at Universidade Metodista de São Paulo (São Paulo Methodist University).

understanding of places. According to that geographer, due to their nature, immersion stands as a methodology capable of producing meanings for the knowledge of landscapes. Sandeville Junior warns that in the following citation 'common' must be understood both as 'ordinary' and 'collective'.

> The sense of a landscape cannot be given only by the theoretical and existential universe of the observer, at the risk of a stereotype. In fact, the landscape is more intensely revealed from the people who have a common experience in it (SANDEVILLE JUNIOR, 2004, p. 3).

The idea of shared experience for the understanding of landscapes reveals itself as fitting to decipher the mediation processes that involve the physical environment. For Sandeville Junior (2004, p. 4), immersion becomes valid even for territories that are not inhabited by humans, "because it will reveal aspects that cannot be perceived indirectly through databases or instrument readings."

> Basically, I am referring to the need for direct contact, not only at the rudimentary level of visual perception of the objects that are in the landscape, since they by themselves do not shape the landscape. This contact must put human experience in evidence. It is about recognizing the landscape in its aesthetic dimension, not of plastic beauty (formal arrangement) or of utility (functional adequacy), but of a sensorial experience, which is the way we use the term aesthetics here. Landscape is a human experience. It poses a challenge, therefore, towards a relation of alterity and outgoing, of revision of assumptions, where we are immensely renewed by this experience, that is, if one constructs the meaning of a shared landscape (SANDEVILLE JUNIOR, 2004, p. 4).

Sandeville Junior's methodological proposal goes beyond the concerns of geography and provides support for interesting discoveries in the field of communication. If the physical space is recognized as a human experience and if the mediations researched herein have their essence linked to live experience, then displacement and immersion appear as viable alternatives for the study of mediating instances in communicational processes. They tend to allow other types of observations.

The author reinforces the importance of this methodology by means of an example similar to those provided by French sociologist Louis Quéré (2010) on experiences. For this latter author, the subject will only know exactly what an apple is when it is tried (no matter how well descriptions indicate its color, texture, taste and dimensions). Similarly, Sandeville Junior (2004) suggests that landscapes can only be understood if they are experienced live and if there is involvement.

According to Sakaguti Junior (2010), the bonds established with the physical space are responsible for the construction of special meanings attributed to it. In notably urban environments, where the majority of the population lives, mediations

seem less noticeable because they are incorporated into everyday life. When displacement of urban actors to a rural environment occurs, then "estrangement" arises as reported by Bianchi (2011, p. 134):

> Urban daily life experience is very different from what is experienced in a rural context, temporalities are different, there are other ways of looking at work, relationships and, in many cases, of relating to the media. It is certainly a relationship of lived "estrangement," in which are present rituals and experiences with which one is not accustomed.

Thus, the contrasts between urban and rural persist as distinctive elements of spatial mediations and will be addressed in more depth later herein. Another relevant mediation that assumes a leading role in the construction of imageries is the one produced by the media and that, in mediatized society[2], establishes itself as hegemonic. In this sense, some scholars - usually knowledgeable of other realities – are beginning to question the coherence between the places as presented by the media and the real places.

Therefore, the individual who knows spaces such as Pantanal and the Amazon exclusively by visual images made available by the media will have a different conception from one who moves to the region, opens fence gates, shakes in trucks or horseback and feels the temperature and the smell of the place. This guy builds another kind of imagination and will certainly come back from these places with a different repertoire and renewed experiences, since he will have undergone other mediations. This reasoning seeks to support the choice of immersion methodology as a privileged way of observing communication phenomena, especially those related to the conditioning provided by physical space. It is worth remembering that the elaboration of this study was only possible due to immersion in the evaluated environment, in its urban and rural dimensions. Bibliographic research complements the methodology.

Less connected corporate communication

"No organization can escape today the impacts caused by new technologies. Non-adaptation may lead it to become obsolete and stagnant," predicted Kunsch (2003, p. 261) as early as at the beginning of the century. In fact, corporate communication depends on the use of technologies for its routines, planning,

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[2] According to Martino (2012, p. 222), "broadly speaking, mediatization can be understood as the set of transformations occurring in contemporary society related to the development of electronic and virtual means of communication." This definition can be considered very simplistic, since the phenomenon of mediatization does not begin with the appearance of electronic and digital media. However, the understanding that the process of social transformation has been furthered and accelerated from them it is acceptable. This discussion advances in the doctoral dissertation cited above.

contacts, analysis of results, etc. This dependence, however, does not mean abandoning more conventional and less connected forms of human interaction, such as face-to-face dialogues. It is not uncommon to witness in organizations people "talking" through technical devices despite sharing the same physical space.

> In relation to the context, it must be considered that communication in organizations, as well as in society, suffers all the impacts caused by the digital revolution. Consequently, the way to produce and convey organizational messages is also undergoing profound transformations. This new dynamics of information processing and communication in the digital age completely changes the forms of relationship and the way to produce communication (KUNSCH, 2010, p. 54).

This reality has attracted the attention of some researchers in the area, such as Martins (2012) and Kunsch herself. In addressing interpersonal communication - which manifests itself through verbal and nonverbal exchanges - the latter author considers it to be "singular, irreplaceable, interdependent and intrinsically compensatory", in addition to observing that "organizations in general cultivate it scantily or even avoid enabling an environment conducive to truly qualitative interpersonal relationships in everyday work relationships" (KUNSCH, 2010, p. 56).

Martins (2012), on the other hand, is also following the phenomenon and directs her research to the strategic use of orality in organizational communication. In this author's view, the option for face-to-face communication determines a differential for the management of corporate communication.

> The presence of technology in internal and external processes is well placed and received, yet human issues are those that need to urgently have a role in the higher levels of managerial discussion - and this may be possible from a dialogic approach between academia and the labor market (MARTINS, 2012, p. 218).

For her, communication is justified by the need to establish relationships and, even within the organizational context, interlocutors seek human relations. In this aspect, face-to-face communication theoreticians point out that the intermediation of contacts by means of technical objects leads to an impersonal tone in interactions.

Schutz (1979), for example, conceives the world structured in terms of actual reach, that is, of here and now. Although this perspective does not coincide with the mediatized world, which retains another type of structuring, the author's contribution is expressive for the constitution of the concept in question, especially by associating indirect knowledge with impersonality and the need for inferences – which are not always plausible.

The researcher treats in person contact as "relationship of Us", a situation

that requires participants to "orient themselves to You" – different from the mediated communication in which the orientation is to Them. However, the author's major contributions to the concept of face-to-face communication are the ingredients that he considers indispensable for the relationship of Us to in fact materialize. They are: a common language, capable of allowing the interpretation of shared meanings; the reciprocity of motivations and the discovery of the motives of the person with which one interacts; a similar system of relevancy among the actors; and, in particular, the attention given during the meeting, since "the participant must become intentionally aware of the person confronting him" (SCHUTZ, 1979, p. 181).

Another concept that needs to be addressed before moving on is mediation. Surrounded by inaccuracies and mistrust, it can be considered complex because it involves elements that surround the communicational process. In the Latin-American conception mediation represents the process of negotiation of meanings that involves the reception of messages, based on the cultural elements of the societies where it occurs. Physical space, as an integral part of the context in which face-to-face communication develops, manifests its mediating role, conditioning the conduct of emitters and receivers.

For Martin Serrano (2010), the forerunner of Social Mediation Theory, the media (he studied television) exerts a mediating power before the audience by restricting the codes of interpretation of content transmitted through messages, not the message selection process itself.

> According to this hypothesis, the Mediator will be able to control the world view offered to the television audience without the need to explicitly declare value judgments. [...] There would be a correspondence between the social value judgments - by which the Mediator achieves control - and the logical relations by means of which the medium encodes the messages (MARTIN SERRANO, 2010, p. 6, own translation).

The Spanish researcher defines mediation as "the activity of social control that imposes limits on what could be said, and to the ways of saying it, by means of a system of order" (MARTIN SERRANO, 1976, p. 180, own translation). This reasoning also applies to understand the mediating role of physical spaces. A room, a landscape, a boat - in and of themselves - do not impose restrictions on the behavior of those who occupy them. However, it is known that there are social rules (codes) that provide for certain types of conduct for each environment. This conception is fundamental to understand how and why some spaces end up formatting the face-to-face communication that develops in them.

The media and the construction of the imagery about peculiar regions

In didactic and scientific publications, the Brazilian Pantanal is described as a floodplain where the flood and drought regime regulates environmental conditions, favoring the conservation of biodiversity. In the media, specifically in journalistic framing, the same region has been presented as a sanctuary or ecological paradise, highlighting the scenic beauty formed by extensive green areas interspersed with small ponds and inhabited by wildlife. The fictional framing, by its turn, reveals a mysterious Pantanal, at the same time tranquil and tranquilizer, a set for innocent romances lived by rustic and remarkable characters.

The different mediations around this landscape are thus manifested as cuts that direct visibility and perception about the environment. The likelihood present or absent in these discourses is not under discussion; what this section intends to identify are the different perspectives of description of the same geographic space, which establish themselves as references in the collective imagery, to the point of conditioning any type of actions developed in that territory, whether they are daily or exceptional.

The linkage of "different" environments to a mythical conception - such as that which supports the idea of an ecological sanctuary -, built by the media discourse, is not a recent phenomenon. Schettino (2013), when studying both the mythical and the real Amazon, uses literary fiction to uncover the mediated descriptions of the space. His research cites works such as the novelist Gastão Cruls, who in 1925 wrote *A Amazônia Misteriosa* (The Mysterious Amazon) and, five years later, *A Amazônia que Eu Vi* (The Amazon that I Saw), recounting, respectively, the imagined and lived environment.

Also in 1930, Ferreira de Castro, a Portuguese writer who lived during four years in the Amazon forest, published *A Selva* [The Jungle], a work of fiction set in that territory. Finally, Schettino (2013) mentions Euclides da Cunha, author of *Um Paraíso Perdido – ensaios, estudos e pronunciamentos sobre a Amazônia* (A Paradise Lost - essays, studies and pronouncements on the Amazon), a collection of texts produced from an expedition to that region in 1904, launched in the 1990s. According to Schettino (2013, p. 11),

> comic books, which are easy to read and readily apprehended, movies and TV soap operas deal with building peoples' imagery, regardless of differences in culture, nationality or capacity to abstract required by the symbolic imperviousness of words. The two Amazons lie forever confounded in the profusion of films and teleplays

> produced throughout the century just as it is no longer possible to distinguish truth from fiction. [3]

The bias towards the heavenly that infuses the media coverage of the Amazon is also the subject of a study by Dutra (2001, p. 2), for whom the media reproduces or transforms old stereotyped visions, "especially those that portray the Amazon as a paradisiac place and, contradictorily, at the same time inhospitable, in which the physical exuberance of nature and human invisibility coexist".

The stereotypes to which Dutra refers also feed much of the contemporary journalistic and fictional narrative about the Pantanal. It is not the case to condemn these imaginary constructions, since they fulfill a discursive function. As Lippmann puts it (2010, p. 92), "renouncing all stereotypes in favor of a completely innocent approach to reality would impoverish human life."

The mythical perception of the Pantanal has been fostered by the media, especially through the mediation of fictional products. According to Maio (2009, p. 217), "until the 1980s the population of the rest of the country knew less about it through the media than from schoolbooks and textbooks used in geography classes". The media's own access to the region was difficult, which prevented regular journalistic coverage.

This picture begins to change as of an intervention by the extinct TV Manchete. The Pantanal soap opera, first shown on this network in 1990, presents to the country an unknown, strange, mysterious and mythical region, adopting an innovative narrative for the time.

> Suddenly, a soap opera appears that clearly draws away from standards. It brings another pace, another time, another rhythm, admittedly slower, with longer contemplative takes, focusing more on landscapes than on characters, with a more elaborate plastic treatment and a marked presence of music (MACHADO; BECKER, 2008, p. 12).

The success of this soap opera shook the prime-time monopoly of the largest open TV station in Brazil, Rede Globo. Written by Benedito Ruy Barbosa and directed by Jayme Monjardim, it had a simple plot: the love story between Juma Marruá, a *pantaneira* [a woman from the Pantanal] known for turning into a jaguar when irritated, and Jove, an urban young man who lived with his mother in Rio and then decides to travel to the Pantanal to live with his father, the farmer José

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[3] Concepts such as "truth" and "real" should be taken in their subjectivity in regard to which a philosophic discussion would be fitting. This study, however, will no delve deeper into this debate, but just try to draw attention to the relativity of these definitions.

Leôncio. There he meets Juma and the romance begins. The main role, however, was Nature's.

According to Balogh (2002, p. 142), "with regard to the exploration of space, the choice of the Pantanal as a location was of rare aptness: few spaces would lead us so vehemently to the 'lost paradise' myth." The play was repeated on two other occasions: in 1991 by TV Manchete itself and in 2008 by SBT (Sistema Brasileiro de Televisão - Brazilian Television System).

For Machado and Becker (2008), the soap opera transferred to the imagery of viewers a poetic and Eden-like discourse on the biome. The ethos of the place is strongly evidenced in the testimony presented to Becker by actress Cristiana Oliveira, who played the character Juma Marruá (Figure 1):

> The day I arrived in the Pantanal I wanted to cry. Because the shock is absurd. The shock of the urban milieu with that wild thing, you know? It's too big and you feel that small. You see how insignificant you are. The Pantanal is now my second home. I felt this need to improve as a person, to develop myself as a human being. I learn. At this whole distance I'm having, I learn to value many things. Things I did not value because they were all day by my side, you know? Now I value that (MACHADO; BECKER, 2008, p. 54).

This "shock" to which the actress refers can also reflect the rupture between the idealized Pantanal that composed her personal repertoire before the visit and the experience in that space during the filming period. In fact, there are no striking inconsistencies between the atmosphere displayed by the soap opera and reality. "A work of fiction can have almost any degree of fidelity, and as long as the degree of fidelity can be taken into account, fiction is not misleading" (LIPPMAN, 2010, p. 30). However, the fictional perspective and the television production itself are configured as mediations and restrict the possibilities of interpretation, as advocated by Martin Serrano (2010).

Figure 1 Actress Cristiana Oliveira in the role of Juma Marruá

Source: UOL Celebridades[4]

Another fictional piece that follows in part the same formula of the soap opera is the film *Cabeça a Prêmio* (Head at Prize), released in 2009 and directed by Marco Ricca. Despite being included in the crime genre, the plot unfolds in the border region of the Brazilian Pantanal and is characterized by "a mixture of acclimatization to an inhospitable and unknown environment and a great tranquility in the conduct of its narrative" (VALENTE, 2009).

The poetic style of narrative of the soap opera and the film seems to have migrated to non-fictional media products, such as journalistic articles and documentaries, and persists until the present time. The most contemplated news sections in national coverage are related to the environment, science and tourism, with content very close to fiction - on TV it is common to display programs accompanied by instrumental or regional soundtracks illustrating the images of beautiful landscapes.

The cultural characteristics that delimit that space and technological development as a differential for the support of the local economy are some of the approaches absent or little explored by big-circulation journalism in the coverage of the Pantanal. Some silences are also observed by Dutra (2001, p. 2) in relation to the Amazon. "Alongside an urban and modern Amazon, there are other singular amazons with specific characteristics that make them frequent items on the media, especially television."

The prioritization of the "exotic" reinforces the discourse of immutability, perpetuating the ecological havens and inhospitable environments stereotype for both the Amazon and the Pantanal. The notions of modernity, urbanity and development always sound strange to the consumer of symbolic goods who do not have the opportunity to travel to these territories.

Distinguishing mediating features of the Pantanal

Some distinctive characteristics of the Pantanal plain function as mediating instances of the interactions developed in that environment. One of them is rurality itself, which has been interrelated with temporal perception by Bianchi (2011) and other authors. In this way, the rurality / temporality binomial distinguishes a mediation that affects spatial properties.

> The different temporalities inscribed in the daily life of those who live in rural areas are negotiated and become a unique time, where work,

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[4] Available at http://celebridades.uol.com.br/album/2013/10/09/veja-fotos-da-atriz-cristiana-oliveira.htm#fotoNav=3. Accessed on Aug. 23, 2016.

> family and rest time are inserted and where the media also enters into negotiation. The existence of those who live in the countryside is constantly marked by the time to sow, time to harvest, time to fertilize, time of sun, time of rainy weather, time of work, time for home, media time. All these times present an individual existence, yet it is their junction and relationships that establish the lifetime of the fellow living in the countryside (BIANCHI, 2011, p. 140).

In urbanity, the temporal parameters also characterize the way of life, however, they are elaborated from other scales: time of congestion, time in waiting queue, length of the cinema session, overtime worked, time of download, date of credit card deadline, among others. The intervention of time as an element of space configuration is similar: they change the variables. In addition, the scarcity of dwellers in rural land contributes to a sense of monotony. "The panoramic views seem static, creating a sense of immobility and unchangeability over time. The impression is that they would continue to be as they are for a long time" (SAKAGUTI JUNIOR, 2010, p. 116).

When guests from urban areas visit rural areas, such as the Pantanal or the Amazon (located in the extreme north of Brazil, see Figure 2), they encounter this differentiated temporal mechanism and develop adaptation or misalignment reactions to it. The presence of mass communication transmitters, such as television and radio, partially attenuates the feeling of isolation / estrangement. The internet connection is gradually occupying these spaces, ensuring greater familiarity with the place.

If the panoramic view conveys the sense of immutability, in the Pantanal it is also associated with infinity or absence of limits. The very location of the biome (Figure 3) - distant from the great economic centers of the country – contributes to this perception. With an area of approximately 140 thousand square kilometers, the plain is spread over two Brazilian states: Mato Grosso (35%) and Mato Grosso do Sul (65%).

Figure 2 Map with the location of the Amazon
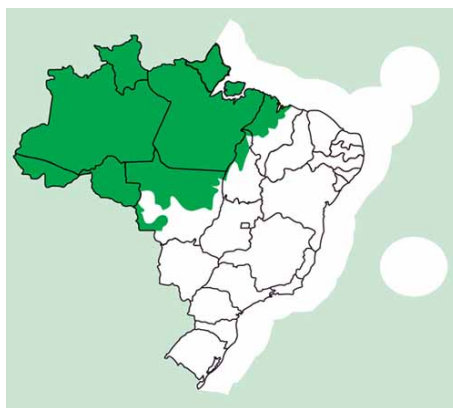
About 1,400 kilometers separates, for example, the cities of São Paulo and Corumbá, in the Mato Grosso do Sul portion of the Pantanal, a distance that, when traversed, evokes the notion of the country's territorial vastness. Apart from the perception of the distance and the extension of the Pantanal, the simple fact of living in that space seems to impress certain characteristics on inhabitants:

Figure 3 Map with the location of the Pantanal in Brazil

Source: Embrapa Pantanal/Geoprocessamento

Although each environment or ecosystem can affect people differently, there is probably a general effect that causes practically the same reactions in all those who go there. Whoever spends a lot of time at sea, for example, is more exposed to certain feelings - and most people feel precisely those same "certain feelings"; those who live in the Pantanal tend to speak tamely, be suspicious and, at the same time, supportive; the fellow who lives in the Amazon rainforest has a different nature from that who lives in the Atlantic forest (MORAES, 2014).[6]

There is a distinctive characteristic of that natural view that refers to the absence of limits, also perceived by poet Manoel de Barros when describing that "in the Pantanal you cannot pass a ruler. Notably when it rains. The ruler is the existence of limit. And the Pantanal has no limits" (BARROS, 1997, p. 29). This sensation relates to the wide areas of flat, continuous land, comparable to the sea (Figure 4).

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[5] Available at: http://www.ecoa.unb.br/probioea/guia/index.php/amazonia/75-amazonia. Accessed on Aug. 23, 2016

[6] The contributions of socioeconomist André Steffens Moraes, a former researcher from Embrapa Pantanal, a former seaman and current researcher at Embrapa Soja (Londrina-PR), were incorporated into this research due to the perspicacity of his personal impressions on the Pantanal landscape, elaborated over the years during which he frequented that ecosystem. I am thankful for this rich collaboration.

There is a real and effective limit to the landscape, but by some feature of the environment we have the impression that there are no limits, that the landscape has no end, that there are no horizons, etc., and that impression is thereafter permanent. For example: in the open sea where wherever you look you can only see sea and sky which get mixed up as a continuous and constant horizon; mainly after several days at sea and without seeing land. This type of sensation also occurs in the Pantanal, because the landscape, although multivariate, always seems to be the same; one has the impression that there is no limit; one has the impression that there is no horizon (MORAES, 2014).

The perception of the lack of horizons or limits is imposed as a physical and psychological element of interference during face-to-face interactions. There are substantial differences between talking in open, broad and indefinite surroundings and a dialogue delimited by walls. The sensations that can be associated with face-to-face communication in the Pantanal are diverse and unpredictable, and may include lack of control, loss of references, excessive informality, lack of protection, concreteness, concentration or determination, among many others. The description of the actress Cristiana Oliveira can also be recovered, particularly when she mentions feeling small before the immensity of the space. This projection before the environment is reflected in some way in the conversations developed there.

Figure 4 Area of the Pantanal plain: enlarged horizon

Source: Private collection

The discussion about physical space also raises the debate about the public and the private, since the Pantanal can be considered hybrid: the farms are private properties, owned by a natural or legal person, and the Pantanal, insofar as being a biosphere reserve, is a territory of public interest. Research conducted by Empresa Brasileira de Pesquisa Agropecuária (Embrapa) indicates that 95% of the plains are occupied by private properties.

The physical presence in the region will be governed, therefore, by mixed occupation codes. Visitors and hosts can observe in the landscapes the overlap of interests: the public seeking the preservation of the territory and the private trying to increase the profits from the economic use of the place. This apparent confrontation, until now, is reasonably balanced due to the concept of sustainable development being operative. The harmonious coexistence between the ox and the wild species is held as an example of this balance. This circumstance also manifests its mediating role, since the dialogues in that territory routinely touch on the question of sustainability

Closeness between interlocutors and wild animals is another factor that often bears on interactions. Scenic beauty and biodiversity, in general, enthrall visitors, who also see many oxen, since beef cattle is the activity that has best adapted to the region. The vegetation and the waters that accumulate in bays and *corixos*[7] complete the visual.

Given the unpredictability with which animals can approach humans, the dialogues in the field are likely to be interrupted for contemplation or even for moving toward safer areas. It is observed that the presence of fauna causes some types of sensations, such as dread, anxiety, curiosity, apprehension, fear, etc. Invariably, animals are themes of conversations that take place in the Pantanal.

Other mediating elements present themselves as characteristic of that place. The welcoming manner of the inhabitants of the region is one of them. Although distrustful, as indicated earlier, the *pantaneiro* is distinguished by hospitality and solidarity. The cultural habits of this population - among them the tereré[8] rounds, the *moda de viola* (a typical music style played with a special local guitar) and storytelling - invite the visitor to integrate into the environment, a behavior reinforced by the still precarious access to information technologies. The phenomenon of mediatization, however, tends to alter this daily life, imposing other types of mediations.

Final considerations

Some conditions present in the physical spaces seem, in fact, to condition the development of face-to-face communication, particularly the pre-established codes that determine conducts during the use and occupation of places. Social rules define typical behaviors for certain environments, such as remaining silent during a movie session, worship at a religious temple, or a lecture in an auditorium; whereas

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[7] Corixos are rivulets that form during the rainy season and flow into bigger rivers.
[8] A beverage similar to *chimarrão*, but made with cold water.

demonstrations of effusiveness are expected and welcome in a football match, inside a stadium. Cordial dialogues are planned in offices and similar work environments; screaming, running and joking appear as usual habits in the school yard during class intervals of a child education unit.

As shown in the theoretical foundations, the contexts where face-to-face interactions develop impose different degrees of constraints. It is likely that environments with concrete and artificial physical barriers, such as interior and exterior walls or counters, will establish more limiting – yet safer – conditions for communication. The environment seen as an obstacle may justify a more palpable perception of the compelling potential of some installations. On the other hand, spaces inserted in nature may appear as more relaxing and less formal scenarios, where possible tensions during the dialogues would be contained by the landscape's own intervention. It is advisable to expand the set of sites studied to establish these relationships more solidly.

In this article it was possible to observe that the physical environments – and their mediating codes – induce certain behaviors and attitudes. However, it is also noticeable that the physical space, in itself, has a limited impact on conducts. The forms of face-to-face interaction are determined by an articulated collection of contextual elements, such as the environment, social rules and customs, the type of relationship between interlocutors, time, and so on.

The discussion about the mediating functions of physical spaces raises a vigorous debate regarding the intensification of the process of mediatization in society as a whole and in some geographical spaces in particular. The work of corporate communication developed in regions considered exotic must take into account the evolution of this process. The knowledge of the mediating instances of these environments will be acquired, to a large extent, through trial and error, since the research in communication about these contextual conditions is incipient.

The discussion developed in these pages points to the centrality of the human being inserted in a social context, bound by mediations and experiences. Researchers who venture through this area face at least two compelling challenges: the complexity of articulating the mediating aspects of the context and the impossibility of reproducing the sensations felt during the experiences (CARDOSO FILHO, 2008; QUÉRÉ, 2010; WOLTON, 2004).

Hence the relevance of methodologies such as immersion, pointed as a way to explore the geographic space by Sandeville Junior (2004) and Sakaguti Junior (2010). Even knowing the difficulties that he will face in trying to scientifically describe his experience in a particular place, the researcher who opts for live experience will acquire a unique and indispensable knowledge if he wants, in fact,

to unravel the mediating role of the environments in the communicational processes.

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The internet as a moral space: an analysis of the "teachings" of Deboísmo

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Abstract

This paper studies Deboísmo, a "movement" popularized on social networks, which preaches the "doctrine" of "take it easy" and disseminates these teachings using internet's typical language, such as memes and humorous images. Based on the premise that the media plays an important role in articulating ethical dilemmas, the aim of this paper is to understand what are some of the characteristics of the moral precepts being developed and circulating on the internet. In theoretical terms, the article addresses the relationship between media and morality and the characteristics of the contemporary morality. In empirical terms, the research involves the analysis of the aesthetic quality and the moral agency (Chouliaraki, 2008) of the commandments of the deboísmo published on a page named Deboísmo on Facebook (www.fb.com/deboismo).

Keywords

Introduction

The media plays, increasingly, a leading role in the articulation of the moral and ethical[1] dilemmas of contemporary social life. By means of news production, fictional narratives, talk shows and other communication products, the media offers elements (such as texts and images, which articulate rational and affective arguments) for people to reflect on, incorporate, negotiate and even reject, values, norms and ideals about what is good, correct, fair and normal. Such moral values disseminated in the media serve then for individuals to modulate their behaviors, to devise ways of understanding themselves and others, to orient their interactions and experiences, and to develop interpretations of the social world in which they live (CHOULIARAKI, 2008, 2013; SILVERSTONE, 2002; 2007).

With the popularization of the internet, specifically, with the expansion of social network sites, the public can receive information, but also produce, discuss, and comment on opinions of each other. Thus, the role the media plays in the ethical and moral debates has become more and more complex. Since social network sites establish new forms of sociability, based on the dynamics of horizontal, synchronous or asynchronous, non-face-to-face conversation, supported by the creation and maintenance of profiles and personal pages (BOYD, 2008; DEUZE, 2012; RECUERO, 2008, 2012; TURKLE, 2011), the media now provides not only representations and interpretative frameworks for understanding social life and to relate to each other. It also promotes communication platforms where people can effectively debate and engage in ethical and moral conflicts that take different forms and are motivated by innumerable situations on the internet.

One recent phenomena in which ethical and moral debates can be observed on the online environment is the "movement" of Deboismo. The neologism, originated from the Brazilian expression "de boa" (that could be translated as "take it easy" or "keep calm" and indicates a sense of tranquility and understanding), became popular on social network sites, making thousands of users of online platforms to convert to the "movement" ideals. The major agglutination center of the discussion about the Deboismo is on its Facebook page[2], which has more than one million of followers. The page has a sloth with religious garments on its cover and is updated daily with images, videos and texts that talk about Deboismo

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[1] We use the terms as synonyms and in using them we refer to the set of values, conceptions and ideals that govern the customs, practices, and interactions of individuals with each other. This definition is supported by Taylor (2005), who criticizes the narrow definitions of morality, which summarize it as a system of obligations. For the author, we are inextricably immersed in moral configurations, even implicit ones, for they provide a horizon of meaning for our actions and our identities.
[2] Cf. https://www.fb.com/Deboismo.

philosophy with humor. Some of these posts receive thousands of likes, shares and comments, and are widely judged and discussed.

The aim of the present work is to contribute to the understanding of some of the characteristics taken by the moral precepts under developement and circulation nowadays on the internet. Methodologically, we adapted Chourialaki's (2008; 2013), analytical categories of *aesthetic quality* and *moral agency,* designed to interpret the media's ability to morally educate the public, analyzing the teachings of Deboismo presented on its most popular Facebook page. Before discussing the empirical results of the research, we present a brief theoretical discussion about the relationship between media and morality.

Media and Morality

To justify the relevance of studying the media, Silverstone (2002, p. 14) argues that the media has become part of the "general texture of experience". It is no longer possible to think about our daily lives without taking into account the role of the media in producing feelings, evoking affections, building common sense, organizing daily practices and processes, imprinting our perceptions of time and space, and elaborating distinctions and judgments about our own experience. In this way, Silverstone (2002) defends an understanding of the media does not separate it from social life, avoiding schematic interpretations that evaluate the media as external agents that would alter the "natural order" of social relationships. For the author, the media cannot be thought outside of society, because it is fundamentally social: processes, practices and media texts are organizing elements of the ways in which we interpret and act, collectively and individually, in the world.

In a more recent book, Silverstone (2007) develops his reflections to defend the importance of understanding (and therefore, criticizing and regulating) the media universe as a moral space. For the author, some of the main ethical challenges of the contemporary world unfold in an ambivalent way in the media, and they involve respect for human dignity and the ways in which we deal with alterity:

> The media are complex, contradictory, contested practices – but they are practices, not disembodied processes. And as such they are the product of human thought, judgment and action. And as such they are the principal means of connection (and disconnection), of symbolic inclusion (and exclusion), indeed of communication (and miscommunication) between human beings, without which, even with their distortion, social life is inconceivable (SILVERSTONE, 2007, p. 162-163).

For Silverstone (2007), the media is not a common moral space, because its work is mainly related to the strengthening and relativization of borders (national, political and identity) that guide moral debates in other spheres. The moral strength of the media resides in its classificatory practices in terms of the "me" and the "other":

> The continuous inscription of difference in any and every media text or discourse: from the crude stereotypes of otherness to the subtle and not-so-subtle discriminations of dramatic characterization, narrative construction, political commentary, internet chat rooms and talk radio (SILVERSTONE, 2007: 19).

With this view, the author privileges the media representations and is concerned with demonstrating the social relevance of the apparent banality contained in the media texts. Incorporating the theoretical perspective presented by Silverstone, Chourialaki (2008, 2013) develops a more empirical approach to the ways in which the media morally educates the public. For the author, the media has an ethical character in the way that they present situations - in news, entertainment, advertising, etc. - in which the suffering of the other at a distant place is presented to the public, who is then invited to act. Chourialaki (2008, 2013) argues that the media offers a broad spectrum of public engagement in relation to the other, which goes through forms of voyeurism, passivity and indifference, and is capable of fostering practical or discursive actions in order to alleviate other's misfortunes. Chourialaki states:

> It is this pedagogic function of mediation that renders contemporary media texts an effective form of moral education. […] media spectacles moralize their audiences by habituation, by systematically promoting ethical values and cultivating dispositions to action. (CHOURIALAKI, 2008: 832).

The debate about Deboismo on Facebook articulates this pedagogical function even more explicitly than other media products, since it presents itself as the diffusion of a lifestyle, a philosophy or a religion in which (a good) relationship with the other is fundamental. However, due to its dissemination on social network sites, discussions about Deboismo have certain characteristics that escape the typical scope of media representations discussed by Silverstone (2002, 2007) and Chourialaki (2008, 2013). Aiming on reflecting about these singular characteristics we present and discuss the teachings of Deboismo on Facebook.

Deboismo on Facebook

A search for the term Deboísmo on Facebook shows hundreds of pages and profiles on the subject, of the most varied types and number of followers. We chose the most popular page about Deboismo on Facebook[3] as the central focus of our analysis. The data on the page was obtained in April and May 2016, in an analysis of the posts occurring in that period, and postings that had been made in the past. The page Deboísmo was created on June 27, 2015, by two youngsters from Goiás, a university student and his girlfriend[4]. In April 2016, the page had almost 700 thousand followers and reaches today one million and one hundred thousand people. According to the classification options made possible by Facebook, the page was nominated[5] as a "Religious Institution". An information that was accompanied by the title of the page, found on the its cover image, composed by an illustration of a sloth in religious clothes.

All Facebook pages have a number of options to describe itself. In the "overview" section of the Deboísmo page, there was a map, locating the origin of the page in Goiás State and a link to an online store where products such as T-shirts and coffee mugs with the theme of Deboismo were sold. In the "General Information" section, there was a description of the page: "Deboismo is a way of life. Being *de boa* does not mean to be inert to the world, it means being thoughtful. With calm and patience, the world will become a better place." The mission of the page was also made explicit: "Make people a little more 'de boa'." In the contextual menu, there were also links to the photo and video albums originally published in the timeline of the page. In addition, users could rate it, leaving comments visible to other users.

The page highlights, however, are the posts made in the timeline, consisting of original content, content shared from other pages and content submitted by the page followers. During April and May 2016, the page was updated 3 to 8 times a day, and some of its publications were actually republications of old posts. The publications contained mostly humorous images, memes, motivational messages and promotional posts for products from the online store.

Among these publications, some posts intended specifically to disseminate the teachings of Deboismo. In one post (Figure 1), which was republished several times, ten teachings were listed alongside a stylized image of a sloth, which makes reference to various religions (e.g., Hinduism, presenting the sloth with three eyes,

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[3] https://www.fb.com/Deboismo.

[4] Cf. http://oglobo.globo.com/society/tecnologia/conheca-deboismo-nova-filosofia-de-boas-da-internet-17392121. Accessed on 03/30/2017.

[5] Since the information obtained in the data collection period no longer corresponds to the current situation of the page, which has been modified even by transformations in the Facebook layout itself, we chose to describe the page in the past, in order to avoid anachronisms.

and Christianity, by placing a halo, characteristic of Christian iconography, behind the head of the sloth).

Figure 1 – Teachings of Deboismo

Ironically, in spite of the multiple references to religiosity present in the ideology of deboismo, the ten teachings were in fact a simple translation of a code of conduct described by Richard Dawkins in the book "The God delusion," published in 2006. Dawkins, besides being a renowned British biologist, is also an ardent promoter of atheism. Such a contradiction did not go unnoticed by the followers of the page, who immediately questioned the use of Dawkins' ideas and especially the original, more explicitly atheistic, teachings. The page continued to republish the teachings during the period of observation. However, it replaced the latter teaching, "Be skeptical," for "Share the teachings of Deboismo and make your environment more peaceful. Be the change you want to see in the world".[6]

Apart from this post, there were more messages regarding the ten teachings of Deboismo in the archives of the page. The publications were made in the first few months of the page's existence and use the typical meme format: a background image and a black-shaded white font in the upper and lower portions of the image, or only in the lower part of the image (as in the example of Figure 2).

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[6] Although it is important to record the origin of the teachings, the fact that they are translations of Dawkins' thinking does not invalidate their analysis, since in recontextualizing the original text within the Deboist ideology and linking it to images far from the proposal of Dawkins, the teachings gain new meanings, not necessarily related to atheism promoted by the British scientist.

Ten of these posts formed our *corpus* of analysis. They were interpreted with two analytical categories developed by Chouliaraki (2008, 2013): aesthetic quality and moral agency. These categories were elaborated by the author to analyze the ways in which media acts as an instance of moral education of spectators of television journalistic productions about the suffering of people in distant places.

By aesthetic quality, the author refers to the ways in which "talk and image are combined on screen so as to represent distant suffering as an immediate reality for the spectator." (CHOULIARAKI, 2008: 839). By moral agency, the author refers to the way the news invite the spectator to act, that is, how the journalistic texts propose to the spectators that they engage with the suffering presented in the news.

Even though the objects to which such categories of analysis have been created are different from the object of the present research, it is possible to adapt it to meet the objectives of the present study. This happens because, although the author approaches the humanitarian dramas expressed by television journalism, the motivation is very similar to the one of the present research. The author also seeks to understand how the media acts as a place for moral negotiation, with the premise that:

> Media representations are, in this sense, conditions of possibility for public action and it is these conditions that we need to analyse so as to understand just how media texts may contribute to promoting an ethics of care and responsibility, or indifference and apathy towards distant others (CHOULIARAKI, 2008: 832).

As already discussed, the relationship with the other is also the central focus of Deboismo. Questioning the aesthetic quality of publications on the page of Deboism means that instead of analyzing the verbal and visual characteristics of the television medium, we will ask if and how the text and image create an "immediate reality" for the follower of the movement's page. With relation to moral agency, it means to problematize how the publications of the page create a position to the page's followers and how the page invites them to take action to become "de boa" (to keep calm or take it easy).
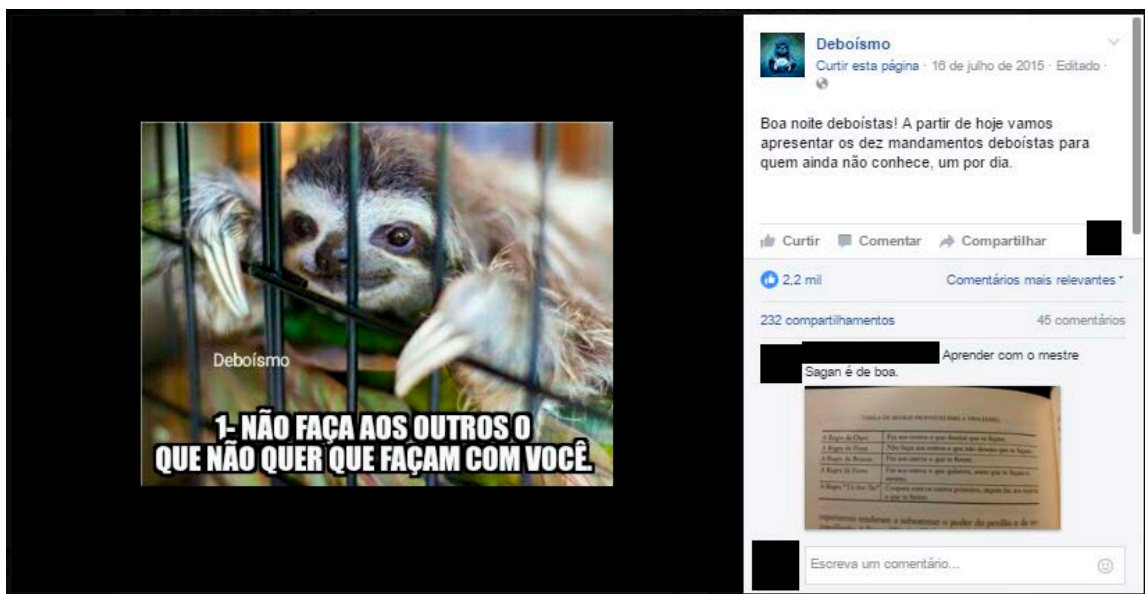
Figure 2 - Example of posting on the teachings of Deboismo
"1 - Do not do to others what you do not want them to do to you".

The aesthetic quality of the teachings of Deboismo

The first analytical category in which the posts about the teachings of deboismo were interpreted is the aesthetic quality. For Chouliaraki (2008, 2013), the aesthetic quality refers to the way in which text and image are used for the construction of an immediate reality, capable of producing an affection in the viewer. The author exemplifies some types of aesthetic quality when discussing three strategies: 1) the resource to the spectacle, which amplifies the potential of texts and images to surpass their real references and operate in the field of simulation, turning the public away from an immediate reality and stimulating sensorial aspects of media production; 2) sentimentalism, which uses text and image to enhance the emotions that can be sharpen for a portrayed situation; 3) Pamphleteering, which uses texts and images to give more factual information about a particular situation of other people, and how we should act to help.

The aesthetic quality of the posts in which the teachings of Deboismo are disseminated is not easily defined in any of the examples cited, even though it presents elements of both the spectacular and the sentimental strategy. The texts are only a transcription of the original texts of the teachings (although two of them have been reduced from their respective images). Such texts are imperatives of conduct that act more on sustaining the moral agency of the posts than on their aesthetic quality. The images have as central focus the sloth, a major icon of Deboismo. In each of the teachings, the sloth appears in a different situation. In

one post the sloth has reading glasses and a book between his legs; in another, it is dressed as Freddy Krueger, a terror character. In a third publication, the sloth wears mirrored sunglasses, in front of a splendid blue sky.

The strategy of employing the sloth in all posts can be understood as a spectacular artifice in the sense that posts are allowed to be experienced as typical memes, made to be humorous and shared on Facebook profiles, without necessarily relating to any immediate reality. Verbal language commands a certain type of behavior, but the image does not construct a situation in which the choice to take the promoted attitude is dramatized or emphasized in some way.

There are exceptions, however. The first teaching, "Do not do to others what you do not want them do to you" is illustrated with the image of the sloth in a cage, full of sadness (figure 2). The fourth teaching, which is related to the need to forgive, is a parody of Edward Hopper's famous painting "Nighthawks," which shows the front of a New York restaurant at night. In the parody used to illustrate the teaching, a sloth appears with arms opened, some chairs are on floor and the window glasses of the restaurant are shattered, implying that the sloth threw the chairs against the restaurant.

These dramatizations, however, have little capacity to insert the spectator into an effectively possible reality. Even if they present situations in which the need to follow the teachings is dramatized (the spectator does not want to be trapped and sad as the sloth, or must forgive him for breaking the glass), its aesthetic investment bets on previous experience of page users with the language of memes, habitually populated with sometimes anthropomorphic animals, sometimes in unexpected conditions. Therefore, the images operate more in the dimension of the simulation than in the construction of an immediate reality, in which the spectator can put him or herself in the other's place or at least sympathize with the situation of the other.

Moreover, by using the sloth in the teachings, the posts confer on discourse of deboismo a self-referential aspect, which turns to its own symbolic terrain rather than dialogue with everyday experiences of page followers on which such imperatives of conduct could be put in practice. So the spectacular logic takes place, because it is emphasized the very condition of meme of the post, regardless of its content. Sensory stimulations and humorous tone overrides any attempt to promote any attitude towards the other or the world.

However, the use of the sloth also comes close to the sentimentalist strategy in some publications. In them, the sloth appears as deserving of affection or as a strategy to highlight important values for the ideology of deboismo, such as love, tenderness and respect for nature. The third teaching, "Treat other human beings,

other creatures and the world in general with love, honesty, truthfulness and respect," is presented with an image in which a sloth and a woman are hugging each other kindly. The seventh teaching, "Put all your convictions to the test; always compare your ideas with the facts, and always be agreeable to change your mind", shows a sloth with eyes closed and showing the tongue, in a playful expression.

In both cases, the images seek to excite the viewer, triggering feelings of affection and protection in relation to the animal. The images do not offer practical alternatives, they only invoke affect in an abstract way. This sentimentalism not attached to the effective actions, is, in fact, the basis of Deboismo. The notion of "keep calm" or "take it easy" as the page preaches, is often translated as a state of mind or a subjective condition rather than a set of actions and positions in relation to the other. The "kind" images of the sloth have the function of producing this subjective condition. In these cases, the teachings of deboismo are aesthetically similar to a very common type of page on social network sites that are dedicated exclusively to provide motivational content and messages of positivity without an explicitly moral characteristic. The greatest deal of these messages can be resumed in this idea: "feel good about yourself".

These publications can be interpreted as a contemporary expression of the "painless ethics" described by Lipovetsky (1994, 2007). According to the French philosopher, the moral commitments currently assumed by individuals lost their imperative character, associated with duty, to become circumstantial. The preoccupation with good has not disappeared, but it is now organized according to mostly individual and subjective interests: "In place of the severe commandments of morality, we have psychologism and the euphoria of well-being", says Lipovetsky (1994: 62).

The moral agency of the teachings of Deboismo

The second category in which the messages were interpreted is that of moral agency. Chouliaraki (2008) defines moral agency as the way the media texts position the viewer and invite him to take a practical or discursive action. The author also exemplifies the moral agency with three typical positions, offered to spectators by the media texts: the voyeur viewer, who is released from any moral obligation; the philanthropic spectator, who is the target for the emotional politics, but is not persuaded to act; and the protester spectator, whose moral position involves a call to the practical action, even if it is restricted. The author also notes

how aesthetic quality and moral agency are linked, and responsible for substantiating the moral agency.

In the case of the posts about the teachings of Deboismo, however, there is a certain apparent contradiction between the aesthetic quality and the moral agency. According to Chouliaraki (2008, p. 846), media texts act in a moral education dimension not "through explicit instruction as to what is right or wrong, but rather through exemplary stories as to what matters in a particular situation and how to act appropriately in it." The posts about Deboismo operate inversely. They are explicit verbal instructions on how to act, but that trigger aesthetic strategies (images, meme format etc) that reduce the moral content of their instructions, since they lack exemplary stories in which the practical application can be showed. More specifically, the guidelines remain at an abstract level, which make the orders optional. It is symptomatic that the post about the fourth teaching of Deboismo is preceded by the following text: "Good evening! Continuing the series of the ten teachings of Deboismo (teachings, not orders, since imposing rules is not a way to be "de boa"), today we present the fourth"[7]

The fact that the teachings are transplanted ideas from another context also needs to be put in consideration. If on Dawkins' book the norms described by the author were presented as an alternative for Christian morality, on the Deboismo page the ideas lose their philosophical amplitude. They are not no longer the consequence of a certain kind of atheist thinking that needs rules to organize human relationships. They become the very substance of "lifestyle philosophy". So to Deboismo page followers, the teachings are not presented as impositions, but as general and elective guidance with very few specificities.

Here, again, the teachings of Deboismo are showed in consonance with Lipovetsky's thesis (1994 and 2007) about the weakening of the morality commitments, without the disappearance of ethical projects. The teachings of Deboismo position the viewer as a voyeur, who can experience the memes of the page without joining enduring causes that require sacrifices, or appeal to emotion to summon the viewer to assume the condition of "take it easy".

According to Lipovetsky (1994, 2007), the moral relativizations of the last decades did not result in the erasure of ethical discourses and projects. However, they have transformed the way people engage in such projects. For the French philosopher, we live in a historical moment in which ethics became optional and not conflicted. The contemporary world, and especially the commodity market, offer us a series of "conscious", "sustainable" and "voluntary" choices so that we can

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[7]https://www.facebook.com/Deboismo/photos/a.779185485513588.1073741829.774696909295779/78 4891131609690/?type=3&theater. Accessed on 30/03/2017.

practice good only as long as it does not cause discomfort to us. Therefore, ethics enters the logic of individualism and begins to be guided not from collective interests, but also as a kind of private pleasure. It marks the emergence of what Zizek (2003) called, more caustically, "shamed hedonism," in which collective welfare is attached to individual needs and choices.

To demonstrate the argument, let us take the fifth teaching, which proposes: "Live life with a feeling of joy and wonder" (Figure 3). The posting brings the text at its bottom, while the image shows an illustration of vivid colors with three sloths with open arms, each one a color. Unlike other thoughts of Deboismo, the teaching in question does not suggest verbally a way of dealing with the other, but a relationship to oneself and one's own life, marked by positivity. How does the message position the reader and invite him or her to take action? The text brings an explicit order, but the practical dimension of the convocation is placed in the background in the name of the experience of the individual in relation to himself, and not to the other.

Figure 3 - Fifth teaching of deboismo
"5 - Live life with a feeling of joy and wonder".

From the categories proposed by Chouliaraki (2008), what is important here, and in almost all other teachings, is more what the author calls "politics of emotion", than a true call to action. The viewer is asked to assume the position of someone who experiences a sensation rather than takes action. Yet, attitude and feeling are the same. The experience of emotion is an action for itself. Illustrating the teachings explicitly normative in their textual dimension with images that

distance them from an immediate reality or appeal to sentimentality, the teachings of deboismo liberate the spectator from the necessity to take an action. It is only needed to accept the "de boa" condition, enjoy, comment and share the publication.

It is important to note that we do not advocate any depreciation of emotions in the name of reason, but rather we aim to identify how the celebration of emotion in deboismo contradicts the call to action in relation to the other. As Ahmed (2014) notes, emotions also take a cultural form, allowing the creation of judgments and values, as they drive people to take certain kind of actions. The point is to note that the emotions on which deboismo finds its base do not turn to the other, but for the followers of the movement themselves, in a self-referential turn. What do emotions do, to use Ahmed's expression (2014), is to help legitimate a type of position that values social rules guided by the "non-harm principle" (VAZ, 2008), in which the personal search for well-being cannot be object of sanction unless it causes harm to the other. Although such a configuration apparently promotes tolerance, the respect for the other and the conviviality with difference are restricted to ensure that every individual has the right to self-realization. Consequently, the tolerance promoted by deboismo can easily become mere indifference.

Final remarks

The proposal to question the morality dimension of a Facebook page like that of Deboismo may seem disconcerting in its own banality. However, one million and a hundred thousand people feel affected in some way by this page, enough to follow it and receive their messages daily. When Silverstone (2002) chooses a rather dubious American talk show to open its arguments to answer why study the media, his choice is not at all careless. Studying the media means, for the author, understanding that it is precisely the perplexing banality of much of the media that makes it an object worthy of study. For this, it is also through the flow of media messages - which we perceive with divided attention and which we take not totally seriously - that fills the "texture of the everyday" and becomes an inevitable part of our lives. That way, we develop judgments and classifications, we attribute values, and we sense and interpret events. Deboismo is part of this flow.

From the analytical categories developed by Chourialaki (2008, 2013), it was possible to identify some ways in which the messages from the page Deboísmo operate their "moral education". Inspired by online aesthetics and a curious marriage between religion and secularity, the teachings of Deboismo point to an ethical project that turns to emotion, to humor, to the sensitive. It frees the reader

from strong obligations, to relativize orders that, although explicit, are presented only as elective teachings. Being "de boa", consequently, can be interpreted much more as a condition of the individual in relation to him or herself than to the other. The absence of exemplary stories or practical applications of the teachings makes Deboismo an invitation to the mere sense of feeling good.

Taylor (2005, 2007) and MacIntyre (2007) suggest that in contemporary times the moral horizons are fragmented. The moral sources that allows us to think about the worthy ways of living are individualized, rather than being object of collective deliberation. In this way, we lose the ability to think and share the social good in a communal way. Our value judgments are only expressions of our personal inclinations. Therefore, there is no way to reach a consensus. This is a possible explanation for the fierce debates (or "tretas" in Portuguese[8]), for which Deboismo presents itself as an antidote, and why the slogan "take it easy" seems so attractive.

The teachings of Deboismo, at first, seem to go against the logic of moral disarticulation. They make explicit rules of conduct relatively clear and place the relationship with the other as the basic element of its "philosophy." However, its articulation through the language of the internet and its weak commitment to create immediate realities in order to provoke practical attitudes also point to the individualization of moral sources. Identifying how the page followers discuss the traits observed here about the ethics of Deboismo could be an interesting development to continue to reflect on the ways the internet, and especially the social network sites, operate as "moral spaces".

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Journeys and Heroes in Piauí`s Magazine Profiles: a Study on Biographic Gestures in Journalism

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Abstract

The reflections of this article focus on biographical gestures in journalism, studying them in profiles published in the magazine *piauí* magazine, especially from those identified as "figures of the republic" 30 profiles were analyzed, out of a total of 103 published profiling texts by the magazine). Using concepts how biographical illusion (BOURDIEU, 1986), biographical naivety (BAKHTIN, 2005), the journey of the hero (MARTINEZ, 2008) and the profiles in journalism (Villas Boas,2003 and Maia, 2013), as well as reflections on the nature of the biographical gesture, the question that guides this reflection is: how and to what extent does the *piauí* magazine use the narrative strategy of profiling to offer the reader new ingredients and gradients both in the profile and in the context and social circumstances in which they are inserted?

Keywords

Tatical considerations

Journalism, in its most usual modes of expression and narrative series, has used social life as an essential raw material. This assertion is a starting point for the reflection proposed here about how, in Brazilian journalism, the narrative construction of biographical profiles has become an important strategy for the journalist to seek to move forward in relation to his daily life and directly perceptible to try to understand better the world in its complexities and opacities. It is therefore assumed at first that a biographical profile may have the potential to transcend the immediately visible dimension of the event, to counteract the circumstances and causalities that engendered it, and to bring out the overlaps, joints, nexuses, and connections it feeds.

As will be described later, biographical profiles have historically constituted, within the narrative series of journalism, a strategic bias in terms of the journalistic work of probing the immediate real. Profiles are carried out by electing and probing social actors that end up generating some type of interest depending on the roles they play, the places they occupy or even motivated by the events that they carried out. Or, often, not so much, since the human figure is always powerful to be narrativized in function of its singularities and peculiarities. Of all sorts, they are reports of an essentially memorialistic nature, for not only were they substantiated by the activation of the memories and the memorable of the profiling, but themselves, the profiles, become established as narratives feeding the repertoire of the memorable.

Using reflections on the nature of the biographical gesture, notions such as biographical illusion (BOURDIEU, 1986),, biographical naivety (BAKHTIN, 2005) the hero's journey (MARTINEZ, 2008) and profiles in journalism (VILLAS BOAS, 2003; MAIA, 2013), the question that guides this reflection, based on the analysis of profiles published by Piauí magazine, identified in series "Vultos da República", is the following: how and to what extent does the Piauí magazine use the narrative strategy of profiling to offer the reader new ingredients and other perspectives, both in the profile and in the context and social circumstances in which they are inserted?

On the empirical object chosen, piauí is a monthly journal that was released in October 2006 at the International Literary Festival of Parati - Flip, by the filmmaker João Moreira Sales and the publisher and owner of the Company of Letters, Luiz Schwarcz. Without editorial and without fixed columnists, for its publishers there are no small or large themes. They seem to believe that what really exists is good stories or badly told stories. According to its editor, João

Moreira Sales, piauí is not a magazine produced in writing, it is created and developed by reporters, researchers and writers who are in the field looking for exclusive and original material.

In order to observe the mentioned biographical investments of piauí, it was considered necessary the exploratory work in the 128 editions of the magazine, (from the first edition, in October of 2006, until May of 2017). Of this total, 103 texts were considered profiling, which shows that the profiles are considered an important resource for the journal, since 80% of the editions have brought this type of report. After this step, a first methodological procedure was developed based on content analysis, whose objective was to verify common characteristics that are repeated in the content of a text capable of grouping them in the vignettes published by Piauí magazine (types, figures, profiles, figures, personal stories, among others). As we will try to show ahead, the magazine seeks, in its own way, to organize such narratives adopting a typology to identify them.

In the authors' evaluation, the profiles identified as being the most relevant, and within these, the vignettes as figures of the republic (30 in total) 0were chosen for an observation and, among this group, by sampling (as a function of of the article itself), six were given a more detailed analysis in terms of seeming to gather more elements effectively connected with the questions that move our reflection.

Our analytical work thus considered a first moment of quantification (CA), and then associated elements of Narrative Analysis (NA) and phases of the hero's journey, proposed by Martinez (2008). The purpose of this paper was to observe how the narrative strategies used by the Piauí magazine, in the series of figures of the republic, approach the characters in their contextual and circumstantial complexity, offering new ingredients and gradients on narrativized life histories to the reader.

The biographical as a mode of knowledge

It would not be an exaggeration to say that biographical gestures in any media-interactive environment, as Arfuch (2010), Bruck (2009) point out, have significantly deepened the immediate / mediated set of knowledge available in an intense negotiation process, one might say, in some cases, almost overlapping between past, present and expectation of future. The media, especially journalism, by its nature also documentary, ends, in its way, to refer and nourish processes of memorialistic construction. Regardless of the mediums that support them, textual and imagery registers and nourishes our perceptions of the more recent past - so to speak, a refraction of refraction.

The tensions that mark this relation between stories that, when they are placed as narratives of the present, are also instituting themselves as a substance for memory and history, reveal a complex game of temporality in which we end up constituting perceptions of events and situations which in the future will be offered as keys to the understanding of the past. A game of temporality in which journalism is not always merely ancillary, but episodically an effective marker of the senses and interpretations that will crystallize, feedback and biases (mis) understandings and (in) comprehension. In a word, journalism, in narrating, inscribes reports in the field of memory and, in doing so, also becomes a substance and a privileged place of the memorialistic game.

Journalism would thus contribute to the daily construction of the image of public personalities in reporting situations in their lives - rapid passages, experiential circumstances, the known and the hidden. And, consequently, for the construction and reconstruction of these images and the collective memory about certain people and / or situations. It is worth emphasizing that the pieces of the life-jigsaw of such personalities, assembled daily without the temporal distance by the daily narrators, serve as reference for future perceptions and interpretations and will often be used by biographers, journalists or not, as affirmation or refutation of facts, circumstances and contexts of lives of biographed/profiled.

Thus, if the profiling results from a markedly indicative work, which seeks the synthesis of its referent, that is, the life history in question, also turns out to be the result of a requirement for the director to establish a coherent narrative and that translates for the reader more than coincidences, causalities and origins of the events and circumstances on which we want to shed light. This is because what the profileist has to face are, even if obtained through interviews directly with the profiled, only fragments, fragments of a multilinear temporal set that constitute the life of the portrayed. The haze of time opacizes.

The construction of profiles generally indicates that a narrative approach has been chosen for the approach of a particular theme by the biographical bias, in a perspective that will privilege aspects directly associated with the life of the profile. Centrality of the observation, the profiling, references events / circumstances / processes that are often the main theme and interest of the narrative in question. In-depth attention to the character's characteristics, behavioral and emotional details can enable the profile designer to gain new circumstances and new facts to help them better understand what they are investigating.

On one hand, biographical profiles can be seen as a possibility of skewed access, such as door and passage, to marginally access to topics of more complex direct approach. The profile of the informer driver, the secretary who knew all the

schemes and decides to denounce them, the ex-lover of the agent denounced for involvement in illicit actions, the soldier who no longer agreed to submit to vilification and cruelty. Examples neither lack and won't lack. People who live often in the stream of what passes, but that eventually gets wet and even plunges deep into things.

On the other hand, it should be remembered that some life stories seem to draw especially the attention of those who dedicate themselves to the profiling enterprise. They are characters, in general, who have made their lives a symbol of the stories, processes and circumstances they engender and experience. Expressions such as "a life dedicated to ...", "your life is such history itself", "there is no way to separate your life story from what happened at that time ..." give a good account of how, by motivations and intentionalities of the most distinct, certain characters seem to symbolize moments in history that have gained important meaning in the lives of particular groups and societies.

Among the risks of biography is certainly the tendency to seek, a priori, that lives are arranged in coherent and linear reports. That the trajectory of a life is based on an original motivation that will be its end, but also its purpose. It is the idea of biographical illusion. Considering the notions of biographical naivety (BAKTHIN, 2005) and biographical illusion (BOURDIEU, 1986), Bruck (2013) warns of what he means to be a biographical naivety of the journalist.

> By the way he relates to information and by the very nature of the mediation that, in cultural and social terms, he makes of the real, the journalist, in undertaking a biography does, according to Bakhtin, believing naively. Ingenuity that is defined, especially, besides the tendency to approach and involve with what it raises about the life of the biographer, by the search of a narrative that tries to organize linearly and coherently the course of an existence. (BRUCK, 2013)

Such narrative and narrative linearity that seduces and rounds the biographical gesture is especially prompted by Bourdieu (1986), when the French author approaches what he called a biographical illusion. For Bourdieu, biographical illusion takes hold in the a priori belief that life constitutes a whole, a coherent and oriented set "which can and must be apprehended as a unitary expression ..." (BOURDIEU, 1986, p. .184). Or, in the words of the French theorist:

> To produce a life story, to treat life as a story, that is, as the coherent account of a sequence of events with meaning and direction, is perhaps to conform to a rhetorical illusion, a common representation of existence that a whole literary tradition did not stop and does not stop strengthening. (BOURDIEU, 1986, p. 185).

That is, the illusion would have less to do with relational aspects of empathy or rejection of the profileist with the profile character, but with an a priori posture of seeking, for life in reporting, a linear coherence of causes and consequences that circumstance and if as the entire life trajectory was, inexorably, an evolution, a river without interruptions, without ramifications, without deviations, droughts or floods.

In turn, Pignatari (1996) warns us that it is inevitable, in the composition of a biographical narrative, that the author makes use of operations of a fictional nature. Comparing the biography to a puzzle, Décio Pignatari points out that the director of a biography or profile has before him an immense volume of information such as documents, data collected and reminders that often also present themselves as disconnected facts, divergent accounts or contradictory and even conflicting records about the biographical profile. And that in the non-fictional biography, it is up to the biographer to search for coherence, making this existential puzzle have order and meaning instituted by linearity. Décio Pignatari referred to the work of the biographer as being of someone who "sets up an interpreting web, thanks to which he apprehends, captures, 'reads' the life of someone like the spider with the fly," from threads extracted from the most varied symbolic nature - from art to document.

It is not too much to suppose, therefore, that the biographical account is based, in large part, on this attempt to make sense and to make reasonable what Bourdieu called "extracting a logic at the same time retrospective and prospective, a consistency and a constancy", establishing logical relations of final cause and effect, of a linear sequence of facts that coherently develop and evolve. Especially in this respect, one can say that the reflections of Pierre Bourdieu and those signed before him by Mikhail Bakhtin in his Aesthetics of verbal creation (2005)[1] are profoundly convergent. Bakhtin, in analyzing the perspectives of the author and the character in the aesthetic activity, also pointed to this veiled agreement between biographer and biographed, in cases where what he calls the "naive author" of a "syncretic biography" is present (BAKHTIN , 2005, p.178).

Profiles in journalism

If we turn our gaze to the media, the presence of life stories is noticeable, both in the newspapers and in magazines, radio programs, news portals, among others. One of the most recurrent forms of narrativization of these stories and their

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[1] The original of this work was released in 1979, a few years after the death of Mikhail Bakhtin, which occurred in 1975.

subjects is the profile, present in journalism, according to Maia (2013), since its beginnings.

According to Vilas Boas (2003), regardless of the type of narrative construction used or the type of character construction that the journalist uses - individual, type or caricature (Sodré and Ferrari, 1986) - one of the roles of the profile is to generate interest by the character portrayed, provoking reflections on objective and subjective aspects of human existence. According to him, the genre has figured in the world press for more than a century, but it was only after the 1930s that magazines and newspapers started betting on this specific type of narrative, which approaches human figures journalistically and literarily.
The New Yorker, Esquire and Vanity Fair are some examples of American magazines in which the genre was consecrated. In Brazil, according to Vilas Boas (2003), the magazine O Cruzeiro e a Realidade are also examples of quality in the profiles they published - in-depth research, description of scenes and gestures, setting and various other literary resources that enriched their texts.

Even in the face of such a marked presence, the literature of the area points to an inability to conceptual closure about the profile, a fact that allows us to launch a more ontological view on the issue, privileging the human dimension of the journalistic work involved in the elaboration of this type of text which, through the symbolic appropriation involved in the construction of its narrative, is capable of promoting the singularization of the individual constructed through the narrative and of inserting its history in space and time.

This view seems to us to be circumscribed by the certain dematerialization of the frontiers between journalism, literature and history, in this sense by dialoguing with biography. "If the biography is strongly marked by these dimensions, the profile, as a cut of moments in the life of a person, understands these discourses also from the point of view of reporting" (MAIA, 2013, 177). In this type of text, the character ceases to be the background to become the protagonist of the story, letting itself be captured by the journalist's gaze. In this sense, according to Maia (2013), we can understand the profile

> as a textual composition of the subject from certain angulations that reflect the perspectives adopted both in capturing and editing. For this, it is possible to define two main classifications: a) extended angulation: in this case, the author presents the subject from a linear perspective, supported by an assertive logic, which represents an objectification of the report, a conventional narrative. b) diffuse angulation: the life story is constructed under an irregular surface, which makes the light beams reflect in all directions, with space even for the shadows, leaving the reader the task of composing this trajectory, since elements extra-interview appear throughout the text, revealing an unconventional narrative. (MAIA, 2013, p.282)

Other perspective on the profile in journalism is given by Sodré and Ferrari (1986). According to the authors, the profile is a type of narrative that can be understood as a reportage whose focus is the character, protagonist of a story, in general of his own life.

For Sodré and Ferrari (1986), there are three predominant types of profile construction, taking into account the position of the journalist in relation to the character to be profiled. The first one is the classic interview, in which the impression of existence of personal contact between journalist and interviewee (narratively constructed) is not necessarily required, and there is the prevalence of direct discourse. Already in the second type of construction, there is a greater approximation between the journalist and the character, which provides symbolic and relational exchanges between both, allowing the exchange of personal and aesthetic experiences, expanding the sensitive dimension of the narrative. In most cases, these texts are marked by the use of indirect speech mediated by the figure of the narrator. The third type named by Sodré and Ferrari (1986) is characterized by the combination of the two previous types. The reporter, using dialogues and a narration mode that includes descriptive elements, among others, tries to bring to the text the moment in which the encounter with the character occurs.

However, if we look at the profiles published by the Piauí magazine, for example, as we did in the exploratory research to carry out this work, it can be noted that the adoption of only the three predominant types of profile construction (SODRÉ and FERRARI, 1986) or a sealed typology of character construction do not account for the complex task of narrativizing the individual, his experiences and his temporality in the contemporaneity. These texts, often due to the voices that trigger the narrative (for the construction of the profiles, besides the character, several other protagonists are heard and their voices assimilated in the text, for example), the strong presence of irony and humor (ANTUNES, 2015) provide the widening of the reader's interpretation and perception, making him more autonomous so that he walks along his own trail of meaning and draws his own conclusions about what he has read.

When we question the profile of the textual composition of a subject, we see that the journalist, in the construction of his narrative,

> has the possibility of using the available material that most suits the chosen format. There are no rules to follow: it is up to the journalist to know how to transpose, for the texts, frameworks that, paradoxically, transcend subtleties, delicacies and only life histories, indispensable for the construction of past history, the present uneasiness and the future perspective. (MAIA, 2013, page 187)

In his studies, Martinez (2008) affirms that there are several ways of capturing the reader's attention, but one of them stands out for proposing a narrative pattern with which human beings have been used for millennia, pervading the mythical narratives - the structure of the hero's journey. The concept, proposed by Campbell (2005), shows that this narrative mode is divided into 17 stages divided into three phases.

The first phase is called The Departure, in which we locate the beginning of the journey. Within it, we have the following steps: the call of adventure, which is when there will be an event that will change the life of the hero; the refusal of the call, at which point the hero may have doubts about accepting or not the call that could change his life; the aid to the supernatural, which is when will appear master figures capable of advising the hero in his doubts; the passage through the first threshold, the portal that separates the hero from experience; and the belly of the whale, which occurs when the hero goes through a moment of internal reflection. The second phase, called initiation, is composed of stages: the path of evidence, which is when the hero, in his process of personal transformation, goes through trials that try to divert him from his path; the encounter with the goddess, when the hero engages emotionally with someone, dispersing his attention a little in relation to his journey; the woman as a temptation, when the hero must find the balance between the carnal and the spiritual; the harmony with the father, at which point the hero breaks with his old convictions and values, visualizing his mission in the world; the apotheosis, the hero, stripped of his old beliefs and values becomes free to reach another level of consciousness; the ultimate blessing, when experiencing another level of spiritual awareness, the hero is confronted with the ultimate challenge of transcending icon symbology. And finally, the third and last phase, is called Refusal of return. It consists of the following steps: the refusal to return, which is the moment when the hero discovers that he has to return to his origins and impart knowledge he has acquired through his experiences to his peers, the magic escape, which is the moment in which the hero, taken in denial, needs help to return to his daily life; the rescue with external aid, when other characters, external to the narrative, can come to help the hero to fulfill his fate back to his; the passage through the threshold of return, which is when the hero makes his way through the symbolic portal that leads him back to the everyday; lord of two worlds, the enlarged view of the world, acquired through the experiences of his journey, leads the hero to play a beneficent role, with sages of wisdom, among his own and freedom to live, at which point the hero allows himself enjoy a new personal biography and open to new experiences.

It is important to note here that the narrative mode activated by Campbell (2005) does not rigorously follow all phases, and in some reports such circumstances may overlap. Identifying similarities with life narratives in journalism, such as the texts classified as a profile, Martinez (2008) appropriates Joseph Campbell's hero's journey and re-signifies it taking into account the specificities of this semiotic system and the studies already carried out in this field until then. The author presents more than 10 situations / circumstances in which, through the structure of the hero's journey, one can think of profiling narratives, for "although for the purposes of describing the twelve steps of the hero's journey, this sequence need not be necessarily linear, since each plane can be put in relation to any other plane ". (Martinez, 2008, p.50).

Therefore, in the dialogue with Martinez (2008), the hero's journey is understood as an interpretive way of narrating life stories whether they are narrated in biographies, profiles, documentaries, book-reports, etc. In what concerns this article, it can be observed that the mentioned situations / circumstances are present, even in function of the textual extension of the profiles, in a fragmented and referential way in the narratives. It should be remembered that this is proper to mythical narratives. They are redesigned and updated on a uniformity, a pattern of the way of counting.

Profiles in piauí: figures, types and autoprofiles

As mentioned in the opening of this article, 80% of the issues brought this type of report. The magazine seeks, in its own way, to organize such narratives by adopting a typology to identify them. Altogether, in 103 editions (until the edition of May 2017, the magazine was in its 127th edition), were observed texts that were considered of profiling.

Although they are vignetted by the journal itself under the same grouping, the texts classified with the most recurrent categorizations — tipos, figuras e histórias pessoais (types, figures and personal histories) - have heterogeneity both with respect to the theme and when it comes to narrative construction, which has made it a bit more complex the construction of a corpus, given the imprecision of this separation. This is the case of the clusters referred to here as autoperfis, tipos e figuras (self-profiles, types and figures).

Already the series of *vultos (*figures), which unfolds in figures of literature, figures of culture, figures of the academy, figures of the economy, figures of the republic, among others, groups texts more cohesive in relation to the narrative and thematic structure. For being more representative in the magazine, we chose the

30 figures of the republic already published as corpus of analysis for this work. Within this set of 30 figures, a sample of six articles was defined for the analytical work.

The *Vultos* (Figures) profile series presents readers with personalities that are already known to the public due to their prominent presence in social life - in general, politicians, artists, entrepreneurs, among others. In this category, the profiles are vignetted as *Vultos da Cultura* ("Figures of culture"), *Vultos da Economia* ("Figures of the economy"), *Vultos da Academia* ("Figures of the academy"), *Vultos da Literatura* ("Figures of literature"), among others. In total, 57 figures were published, out of which 30 were called *Vultos da República* ("Figures of the republic")[2], which we will analyze in this article.

We also noticed the presence of the "Profile" series (11 occurrences), with a generalist tone regarding the choice of characters and themes. The texts tell the story of celebrities such as Ciro Gomes (piauí, ed. 6), Lily Marinho (piauí, ed. 4), Rodolfo Landim (piauí, ed. 52), among others.

Another category of the profiles of the piauí is the one of figures. The figures correspond to 12 profiles. They concern people who do not have, so to speak, the level of notoriety as the figures, but which the magazine understands deserve to be profiled. As an example, one can quote the profile of the former comedian Tiririca and who became a federal deputy and received the title *Tiririca no Salão* (Tiririca in the hall) (piauí, ed. 68). Or the economist Ricardo Paes de Barros, who in the 74th edition was profiled in the text entitled *O Liberal contra a miséria* (The Liberal Against Misery) (piauí, ed. 74).

We also noticed the presence of the series "Brazilian Types", represented by 23 texts in which characters are transposed between the picturesque and the caricatural, as in *A supersuperlativa* (piauí, ed. 60), which tells the story of Marluce Marlele , a bodybuilder known as the Brontosaurus Woman, or are outlined tribes such as those without a car from the city of São Paulo (piauí, ed. 58) and the Sunga Pretas, from Rio de Janeiro (piauí, ed. 08) the types of behavior common among social groups are also outlined, such as what occurs in *O neoerudito alegórico* (the allegorical neo-discourse) (piauí, ed., 59), about the intellectuals who flood their texts and talk about rhetorical elements and complex phrasal constructions that are not understood for most people, even their peers.

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[2] Characters of the figures of the republic presented in the piauí: Dilma Rousseff (ed 31); Dilma Rousseff (ed. 34); Márcio Thomás Bastos (ed. 39); Marina Silva (ed. 40); Michel Temer (ed. 45); Lula (ed 46); Indio da Costa (ed. 47); Luciano Coutinho (ed. 49); Marco Aurélio Garcia (ed 51); Gilberto Kassab (ed. 58); Nelson Jobim (ed. 59); Gilberto Carvalho (ed. 60); Kakay (ed. 62); Eliana Calmon (ed.66); Delúbio Soares (ed. 69); Paulo Vieira de Souza (ed. 73); Geraldo Alckmin (ed 80); Kátia Rabello (ed 81); Rui Falcão (ed. 83); Carlos Lacerda (ed 91); Aecio Neves (ed. 93); Eduardo Campos (ed. 94); Paulo Skaf (eds. 95); Delfim Neto (ed. 96); Geraldo Alckmin (ed. 99); Jean Wyllys (ed.101); Eduardo Pires (ed. 114); Delcídio do Amaral (ed. 117); Jair Bolsonaro (ed. 120); Jorge Picciani (ed. 126).

Another type of profiling is the so-called "personal stories", closer to an auto-profile. They are narratives that seek to take to the reader self-centered perspectives, deeply subjective and self-descriptive of these characters. They are not a common profiling type in the journal, adding, at the end, within the analyzed set, three texts. For example, the poet and journalist Leandro Sarmatz talks about his difficulties and "bizarre" of having to live with psoriasis in the article *Uma coisa de pele (*a skin thing) (piauí ad. 123) and in *Meu reino por um banho quente* (My kingdom for a hot bath) (piauí, ed. 20), a text in which Ney Matogrosso speaks of his pride in knowing how to provide for himself and his detachment from material goods.

Heroes and tracks in piauí

In the text *A verde* (The Green) (Piauí, ed. 40), in which Daniela Pinheiro profiles Marina Silva, it is already possible to notice evidence of the presence of the hero's journey from the mustache of the text: "Broken up with PT, for various interests, Marina Silva runs the country defending a low carbon nation. " One can observe movements that suggest from the break with the past, the beginning of a new way of being and thinking, temptations and, in the end, the almost messianic sharing of experiences with the community. The interesting thing is that, in this text, the mustache shows a journey traveled by the heroine-character who is part of a great journey, lived by the protagonist of the profile in question.

Pinheiro constructively narrates Marina Silva using elements that dialogue with the heroic: daughter of a humble rubber tapper of the state of Acre, who from childhood coexisted with poverty and with scarce, who lost the mother in childhood, who, among the eight brothers, "was the one who became ill. At age 6, his blood was contaminated with mercury, which would be the source of all his health problems. He had five malaria, one leishmaniasis and three hepatitis "(piauí, ed. 40). And who, even in the face of all these adversities, became literate at the age of 16, was the city's most voted councilor, became a senator, a minister and a candidate for president of the republic. A Herculean and overcoming story.

In this profile, it is possible to identify his departure from the Workers' Party (PT) as her call of adventure, insofar as this is an event that changes his political life, preparing him to pass through the first threshold, when he leaves its comfort zone in the PT and opens up to contact with a new experience in the Green Party (PV): "Marina Silva joined the PV with the promise of leading a restructuring in the party, which has as leader in the Chamber deputy Zequinha Sarney "(Piauí, ed., 40).

Other events in her story also date back to the hero's journey, such as her encounter with the first husband, which would be associated with the encounter with the goddess, when the hero romantically evolves with someone: "she met Raimundo Souza, a technician in electronics, attending his church. It was her first boyfriend. They married and went to live in a shack on the outskirts "(piauí, ed. 40) and the harmony with the father, when Marina Silva breaks with her old religion, reflecting on her mission in the world and receiving the cure of a disease: "Marina became an Evangelical of the Assembly of God, surprising even her closest friends. According to his sister Lucia, who is from the same church, "Marina was healed thanks to God" (piauí, 40).

In the text *O Candidato S* ("The Candidate S") by Consuelo Dieguez[3] (piauí, ed. 95), in which the outlined character is the former president of Fiesp, Paulo Skaf, the character's response to the adventure call is noted when Skaf, whose professional tradition has always been linked in some way to the industry and the employers' unions, accepts the challenge of entering into public life "to provide a service to society", assuming a mission in history: "to break the polarization between PT and PSDB in the state " from Sao Paulo.

Father of five, the former president of Fiesp seems to go a little further than the encounter with the goddess, when he met Luiza, his wife, and with whom he married at the age of 23. In the journey of the hero, when there is the encounter with the goddess, the character goes through a moment of dispersion in his journey, as happens with Skaf that, after his marriage and the birth of the first children, disperses of the objective to conclude the degree of Administration.

Skaf is shown by Dieguez, especially during the campaign period (which began to happen almost ten months before the official announcement of his candidacy), as someone who likes the spotlight, who makes a point of evidencing his feats (or the feats of Fiesp?), using them for election purposes. With this same purpose, is also able to be present in meetings, meetings and avail themselves of appointment counselors. That is not to stick to the crusades that hang in search of the ultimate blessing. In the case of Skaf, the search for the blessing resigns in the search for the vote. In the profile presented, Skaf raises flags (the reduction of IPTU in São Paulo, for example). The text suggests that the profile seems to take into account what their position can add to their image in the campaign in search of the blessing of the people, translated into a vote:

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[3] Consuelo Dieguez is one of the journalists who most subscribe to the figures of the republic, in Piauí: nine, in all. Dieguez has been working in Piauí since 2007, and is Consuelo Dieguez, a Piauí reporter since 2007. She is the author of the compilation of Billions and Lágrimas profiles, from Companhia das Letras. He worked in the newspaper O Globo, Jornal do Brasil, TV Globo and in magazines Veja and Exame.

> At the end of last year, in another of his crusades, the president of Fiesp collided with the mayor of São Paulo, the petista Fernando Haddad, rising, this time, against the increase of the Property Tax and Urban Territorial, the IPTU. Fiesp was able to overturn the bill in court, after its approval by the City Council. Skaf said the increase was "abusive" and represented "real confiscation." Haddad called him a "demagogue" and said that he acted to "harm the city." (Piauí, ed., 95).

In *A bancada de um homem só* (The bench of a single man) (piauí, ed. 110), written by Adriana Abujamra, Deputy Jean Wyllys (PSOL) is presented as a type of hero urged to accept great calls for adventure in his life history. Soon in childhood, the boy Jean accepts the challenge of qualifying intellectually and leaves the family to study in an internal college, what in the future would be determinant for his professional choices that would take him to the University of Brasília as a professor; in his youth, accepts a new call of adventure by assuming himself homosexual, reconfiguring his presence in the world; already an adult, is selected for the program Big Brother Brasil (BBB) and is the champion of the edition, making it known nationally. Not far from this fact, a new call of adventure is imposed, and Jean enters politics and is elected federal deputy for Rio de Janeiro. "Until I got into politics, I was known as the Bahian who participated in Big Brother Brazil, declared to be gay on national network and was the winner of the program." In accepting this challenge, Wyllys goes through the first threshold, a fact that brings him closer to the experience, the possibility of putting into practice everything he believes and everything he has learned there. The character, now, is notorious in the media, in the political scene and among minorities, artists and intellectuals:

> Transiting with ease among artists, with the sympathy of intellectuals and an expressive number of followers on the internet, the deputy has been calling attention to his flags: the defense of the rights of blacks and stigmatized minorities, such as the LGBT community, and controversial causes, such as the legalization of drugs and abortion. (Piauí, ed., 110).

Jean Wyllys, in the beginning, underwent a process of refusal of the call before accepting it and entering the political life. From the moment that Wyllys was considered to have an electoral potential, the winner of the BBB received several proposals: from his countryman Antônio Carlos Magalhães Neto, on behalf of the DEM, to Aloizio Mercadante, on behalf of the PT. He rejected all of them because he had doubts about the path he should really take, but accepted the last invitation from Heloísa Helena, president of PSOL.

However, what the profile report is trying to pass through is that, in order to follow this path, the character needed to have a lot of courage and determination,

and throughout the journey, they were constituting their vision about the world, knowing the challenges and how to face them.

> The children of Dona Inalva and Mr. Jose attended the Pastorals of Youth and the Ecclesial Base Communities, movements created by progressive priests influenced by Marxism and the Second Vatican Council, with "preferential option for the poor". And they learned that social inequality should not be considered natural. "It was in the involvement with the Catholic Church that my life began to be politicized. The Church gave me access to books and a knowledge that my family and even the school I attended would not allow me, "said Wyllys. (Piauí, ed., 110).

Today, Jean Wyllys seems to be living the stage of the master of both worlds, in which his more mature and enlarged vision, resulting from the experiences of his journey, leads him to play a wise role among his companions Chamber. For a long time, the deputy has changed the pieces of lyrics, typical of his lines, by excerpts from renowned theorists and, seeing the mass media as "a rich arena to be disputed", he does not fear the media insertion believing that each participation in a television program is an opportunity to get people to know their flags and to become aware of human rights. Regarding the fact that he is always in the media, whether conventional or digital, he concludes: "The audience of TV Câmara is smaller than mine on Facebook. So, if it is to speak to the general public, I speak on social networks, not in the plenary, where no one listens. "

In *O Comissário* ("The Commissary") (piauí, ed. 83), by Daniela Pinheiro, Rui Falcão, national president of the Workers' Party, is narratively constructed as someone who does not commit excesses today, has a low tone of voice and elegant behavior: "Is formal, gentle and mysterious. It is easy to imagine him as the cardinal of a conclave: controlled gestures, opaque and indecipherable gaze, pondering the imponderable in a monochordian voice "(piauí, ed. 83). A character who, at first glance, common sense would not have imagined leaving his routine as a middle-class student behind to join the armed struggle against the military dictatorship in Brazil. It all started when Falcão, at age 17, went to live with relatives in Salvador and saw for the first time a street demonstration against then-President Jânio Quadros. Until then, his involvement with the world of politics was restricted to his activities as chairman of the college. This manifestation stirred him, arousing interest and curiosity, giving the hero of this story the contact with the call of adventure.

In the midst of this political effervescence, the president of the PT lived his first meeting with the goddess, personified in his first wife, Maria Aparecida, cousin of Collor's former minister of Agriculture, Antonio Cabrera, and mother of two of his three children. Both at home and at work, his militancy was ignored. To friends who

were still part of Partidad, he confided that he had married, and that this was one of the reasons for his departure from the movement, since his wife knew nothing of his activity. In fact, on that occasion, he had already crossed the first threshold and lived his ideology as a member of the Palmares Revolutionary Armed Forces (Var-Palmares), "a Marxist-Leninist group that defended the overthrow of the military government by the arms and the implantation of a socialist regime in the country, "entering into hiding and adopting the name of Rubens de Jesus Carvalho and several other codenames.

Then, one afternoon, Falcão was arrested in his apartment and taken to the Island of Prison, located four kilometers off the coast of Rio Grande do Sul, where the hero began to tread hard on his way through the tests, broken by beatings, various other methods of torture that have tested his unwavering loyalty and his political position. Falcão did not budge.

Overcoming the trials of this process of personal traumatic transformation, which left physical and psychological sequels - according to him, almost all already overcome - and already affiliated to the PT, the character built by Pinheiro in 2013, would reach the stage master of both worlds, in which his expanded view of the world, acquired throughout his life experiences, leads him to play the beneficial role of Commissioner of a new challenge: emancipating the PT from the federal government.

However, Malu Gaspar, in *O samba do Prefeito (*Samba of the Mayor) (piauí, ed.114), tells how her character, Eduardo Paes, former mayor of Rio de Janeiro, with great manliness, conquered the city hall and received, in his management, one of the biggest sporting events in the world: the Olympics.

The son of parents representing the middle class in Rio de Janeiro, Paes already had a tendency towards politics, according to a friend of school:

> On board the snack bar, the young man was traveling around the bay of Angra, attending all the parties, whether or not he had been invited. Articulate and expansive, it already gave signs of political bent. "He was always hugging people, he liked a speech, he wanted to be the center of attention" (piauí, ed.114).

Even with the manifestation of the "gift" for politics, Paes did not get involved in the student movement, like most of his colleagues. His ticket was given at the hands of his guru and political godfather, César Maia, presented to him by a friend of Maia's daughter. It was not long before the politician began asking for legal advice from Paes, who was in a law office.

In 1992, Paes had his call of adventure. Candidate for mayor of Rio, César Maia invited him to work on his campaign. Integrated with the Youth Cesar Maia, he

had a very prosaic mission: "I drove the car because he had no driver. I studied and worked during the week, and on Friday I would get in the car and stay with him. I only left on Sunday. "(Piauí, ed.114). The young man's dedication paid off. Once elected, Maia called him to work in the city hall, where he became his pupil and won a subprefecture.

His controversial actions, which in several cases involved the expropriation and removal of many families, were poorly seen by the common population and admired by one of the city's largest newspapers, O Globo. The publicity surrounding his name was so great that he set out on his way to the threshold, when he decided to go public once, applied for councilman, and won as most voted for of the country in 1996.

He had already cleared his objectives: "to be Secretary-General of the United Nations, after being mayor, governor and president of the Republic" (piauí, ed.114). However, he would have to go through the tests, at times tense and proving that would persuade him to deviate from his goal. By irony of fate, the evidence on his way was put by Cesar Maia. Because his son was entering politics, Paes guru would even ask that he give up his candidacy for deputy. Disappointed, Paes enters the belly of the whale, where he undergoes a deep process of personal reflection, and chooses to move away from the political godfather, to change his party and follow the path he has drawn for himself. "I had all the love in the world on PSDB. But, my goal was to be Mayor of Rio, and when Cabral invited me I saw that I could achieve, "said the now part of PMDB party. Change that leads you to your goal. He is elected mayor of the wonderful city with the desire to be the "mayor who has transformed the most from Rio, from Carlos Lacerda and Pereira Passos." In this sense, he worked for the construction of Porto Maravilha and for the conclusion of the Olympic works, closely monitoring spreadsheets and results.

In *O delator* (The delator) (piauí, ed. 117), profile of Delcídio do Amaral written by Malu Gaspar, we note that the narrative of the ex-senator's life story is found in progress when the narrator takes the streetcar, making his temporal cut from the moment that Delicide is arrested, in his residence. It is from this fact that history unfolds. We came in contact with a Delicidio that was about to cross the first threshold of this historic cut: the signing of the awarding agreement, which would have earned him the number one enemy of the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT).

For the character, the passage through the first threshold came very close to the time he was in the belly of the whale, a moment of internal reflection on what steps to take after prison: after much thinking, Delcídio do Amaral "began to

consider the hypothesis of imploding the Dilma government on the morning of November 25, 2015 ".

In his story, the figure of his wife, Maika do Amaral, is present, exercising great influence over the actions of the former senator, advising, imposing or even scolding the husband:

> "What did you do?! What did you do?! I do not know you, this is not my husband! Are you offering an airplane for the guy to get away? You're crazy! "He glared at the Maika do Amaral cell phone in the first conversation with Delcidio, still on the day of his arrest. (Piauí, ed., 117).

This strong presence and influence is an indication that there was in Amaral's life his encounter with the goddess: "she participated actively in political campaigns and, whenever she had the chance, she throbbed. One of his constant scoldings was his affiliation with the PT, a party she never swallowed. "

As in the examples analyzed here, we find throughout the corpus narrative elements that reimpose the hero's journey as the construct base of the narrative plot. However, perhaps due to the nature of the profile, all linked in some way to politics, Marina Silva is the only one that approaches the transcendental stages of the hero's journey theorized by Campbell (1992). In his journey, we identify the attunement with the father and an influence of the supernatural. In contrast, the most recurrent stages in the set of characters are: the call of adventure, the passage through the first threshold, the encounter with the goddess, the belly of the whale, located in the first and second phase of the hero's journey, respectively, The departure and The initiation.

Final considerations

This article aimed to observe, focusing attention on the profiles published in more than 10 years by the journal Piauí, narrative journalistic series that use biographical gestures as a strategy to seek to transcend the immediately visible dimension of the event and, thus, to seek to deepen the understanding of social life, by contrasting the circumstances and causalities that engendered it and bring about the overlaps, articulations, nexuses and connections that it feeds.

In our understanding, in order to face the question that moved this reflection, it was correct the authors' decision to use the profiles of piauí in function, among other reasons, of the editorial characteristics of the journal itself and the importance that the biographical gestures, whether journalistic profiles or other textualities, have in this publication. Therefore, we believe that the question

that guided us, namely the ways and to what extent the Piaui uses the profiling in the construction of its narrative strategies, found relevant resonance in terms of what could be observed from the exploratory observation to the analysis of the corpus of analysis, which corresponded to around 30% of all texts considered profiling.

Another consideration that can be made after the analytical work is that the observed texts privilege perspectives and elements strongly present in the interpretive model of Joseph Campbell's journey of the hero (Cousineau, 2004), which emphasizes the phases of adventures that mix, when they do not overlap, to the very life trajectory of the profiled ones. In this perspective, it is emphasized that Martinez's (2008) appropriation of the notion of Campbell hero is an important contribution in terms of his interpretive possibilities, due to, even if tentatively, to enable readings that can provide lateralized glances on the textualities constructed by the profile: the "call", the adventures, the challenges, the new paths of the journey, the knowledge of oneself and the decisions and actions in the face of confrontations.

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"There I Can Be A Woman": Transvestite Everyday Life And Sociability In Digital Trajectories

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Abstract

Supported in an ethnographic research on the internet (HINE, 2015), this article interprets some elements of transvestite sociability based on their practices of consumption and use of digital technologies. Observing the digital trajectories of the research participants, through the interactions in the social network platform Facebook, we demonstrate how the internet is incorporated into everyday life and it moves different practices of interaction, such as gossip, tricks and needle. In addition, through the site, the notions of fidelity to themselves and the interactions singled out by work in prostitution, central elements in the understanding of their sociabilities, are manifested.

Keywords

Consumption; Digital social networks; Transvestite sociability.

Introduction

Inspired by Certeau's (1998, p. 93) thinking, that human agencies can subvert logics from established order systems and recognizing uses[1] as actions "that organize without be notice the work [...] of consumption" in their "formality and their own inventiveness", the article interprets some of the interactions a group of transvestites[2] makes in their digital trajectories. Through an ethnographic research, we try to understand some of the uses that research participants realize in the social network platform Facebook.

We select data from the fieldwork, interviews and systematic observations made in personal profiles of nine participants for about a year, categorized in some elements that seem to be central in the articulation of the transvestite sociability universe. Through the observation of some recurrent uses, we describe how the interactions in their personal profiles articulate different aspects within their sociability.

Ethnography, as an epistemic practice that takes place beyond the field research techniques, is not the simple adequacy of a method and is not limited to the adoption of certain methodological procedures (Geertz, 2012; Peirano, 2014). Our proposal assumes the undertaking of what Geertz called a dense description, an intellectual effort to interpret the empirical data collected in the field, considering the intermediation relationship (Damatta, 2010) established between the researcher and the research subjects in the construction and sharing of meanings (Laplantine, 2012; Velho, 2013).

Social and Human Sciences field already has a proficient set of researches dedicated to understanding the transsexuality universe in various disciplines and approaches. Since the pioneering work of Silva (1993), Jayme (2001), Benedetti (2005), Bento (2006), Kulick (2008) and Pelúcio (2009) are some examples of investigations that serve as a theoretical basis for understanding about this universe, guiding our commitment to reflect on transvestite experiences, in the interface of the uses and practices in their digital trajectories.

According to Lanz (2017), transgender territory is composed of different gender-divergent identities, which transgress, deviate or otherwise violate the

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[1] The theoretical approach understands both the uses and the consumption of goods and artifacts as social and cultural practices, singular and contextual. Therefore, in the article, we do not use 'social' or 'cultural' as adjective in none of those expressions.

[2] In this article, we have chosen to translate the Portuguese term 'travesti' into 'transvestite', because it is the recurrent term in academic translations. However, transvestite is a term that does not fully address the sociocultural realities of the research participants. In general, in English language, transvestite refers to crossdresser. In Brazil, travesti designates trans woman, originally a pejorative term, but it has a political meaning of struggle for recognition.

male-female gender binary device. According to the author, transvestites are the most visible transgender group in Brazil because of their ostensive presence in cities and their participation in sex industry. In our research, we take the definition 'transvestite' by the participants' self-identification with the term. It refers not only to bodily and aesthetic transformation, but also to different positions related to gender and sexuality that formulate their social practices.

Transvestite is, as reported by Benedetti (2005), a complex and disputed identification, guided by diverse values and practices that cannot be confused with the search for the feminine of the cisgender women. It corresponds to a specific corporal and social reality established in the referential of a feminine self, located neither within nor outside the normative categories of social and sexual division, but lived in the transits and in the processuality of the body and sexuality (Campuzano, 2008). Corporality and feminine relational character indicates the possibilities of *making gender* of transvestite, defined through the coherence regimes between performances of gender and the appropriate body to develop them (Bento, 2007).

Relational character of transvestites' corporality and femininity is expressed in the dynamics of their social relations (Benedetti, 2005). Through transformation processes, they constantly move between domains and socially established gender positions. According to Pelúcio (2009), transvestites seek to (re)construct a female body, inscribing it, as well as its gender and sexuality, in practices and places of ambiguity, resignification and conflict. This (re)construction happens through *feminine symbols* that act on bodies thought by society as masculine. Social relations (that go beyond the limits of the body itself) constitute the experience of transvestites' corporality, the visible symbol of their identity project.

Observing the development and consolidation of digital communication technologies in the most diverse frameworks of social experience, we understand that social networking platforms have enhanced communication and interaction processes among people (Miller et al., 2016). Social experiences are being constituted through particular uses of these technologies, elaborating the very categories with which people define themselves and the social universe around them.

Insertion in complex communication environments, guided by different stimuli, has made possible the development of changes in sociability regimes. Diversity of interaction patterns, as a mark of our societies specificity (Castells, 2003), allows us to investigate the way in which online sociability networks have more complex and streamlined the flows of communication organized by the possibilities in network with the internet environments.

The practices observed in the fieldwork and described in the light of some theoretical relations about how consumption articulates meaning processes point to a greater autonomy and self-communication in the elaboration of their personal and identity projects (Castells, 2003, 2013). To examine these relationships, we approach our perspective to consumption studies, discussing the relationship between Internet and everyday life. Through an ethnographic approach, the article shows how the uses of digital technologies, especially social networks, articulate the meanings of practices and experiences in the transvestites' everyday life.

Social and interactional dynamics through consumption

Reflecting on consumption, as a process of social life organization, requires to consider innumerable activities beyond the practices whose focus are the market bases on the relation between production, acquisition, and application of any good and social actors involved. According to Barbosa and Campbell (2006), consumption is a central category in the definition of contemporary societies, a process that articulates identities in the social fabric and the strategies by which actors and groups define different situations and experiences of everyday life.

In addition to a classification system, according to Rocha (2004), consumption is a code that legitimizes and translates the most different social relations. Consumption works in a recognized and shared way and collaborates in the elaboration of personal and collective identities and in the social relations established by them. Aligning with Douglas and Isherwood (2004), Rocha thinks consumption through the articulation of classification systems, crossed by the symbolic dimension that stabilize cultural categories that give meaning to each social universe.

In an anthropological definition, Douglas and Isherwood (2004, p. 103) understand consumption as a process in which different social categories are articulated and continually redefined in "the very arena in which culture is the object of struggles that shape it." In the capacity to make sense of relationships, consumption articulates and fixes the meanings of social life, to provide some stability to the categories by which cultures are lived. In this conception, consumption is a social form of containing the meanings fluctuation, functioning as ritual processes (DOUGLAS, ISHERWOOD, 2004). Through these processes, social actors and groups construct an intelligible system of reference, marking their systems of sociability. These operations chain together different sets of classifications and markings, "perspectives that are not fixed, nor are they

randomly arranged like a kaleidoscope. Ultimately, their structures are anchored in human social purposes" (Douglas, Isherwood, 2004, p 114).

As part of the cultural reproduction of social relations, consumption practices attribute meanings and project the very existence of social order in everyday life (SLATER, 2002). For Slater, in the capacity articulated by consumption, agents live both the determinations of the social order and the possibilities of making some kind of resistance to them. If in a sense consumption organizes social order and difference, it is through it individuals can find ways to manage their cultural and social resources in order to propose reinterpretations, modifications and transgressions of the imposed order.

Certeau (1998) also defends this proposition. He reflects the operations of uses defined through consumption, such as the creation of a play space for ways of using the established order of place and language, which impose the law, establishing regimes of plurality and creativity. In this perspective, uses are taken not in relation established with the system and order, but as relations of forces, defining the networks in which they are inscribed and delimiting the circumstances social actors can take advantage.

Castro (2014) demonstrates, with the rise of contemporary lifestyles, consumption has been defined by different economies of knowledge and skills that demand heterogeneous and variable forms of engagement. Different social pedagogies become articulated and socialized by consumption-oriented systematics, reorganizing the spaces and routines of individuals.

These systematics transpose the dimension of objects materiality, corresponding with symbolic production of communication and interaction processes. Castro defends an articulation of specific consumption cultures, in which to consume also means to communicate. Consumption as social and cultural practice related to the subjectivities of the actors and to the social recognition of the relations they establish. Seeking to understand how specific consumption practices articulate transvestite sociability through the uses of social network Facebook, we present a brief foray into the debate regarding an ethnographic approach to the study of Internet.

Internet and everyday life: an ethnographic approach

In the context of consumption cultures, an ethnographic approach to the Internet (which favors the use of information and communication technologies in the social frameworks configuration) reflects on how online interactions occur and what they mean (Maximo et al., 2012). From the environments and the

configuration of interactional practices, it is important to recognize the exponential use of the Internet and its incorporations in the social actors' everyday life (Fragoso, Recuero and Amaral, 2012).

Ethnographic approach reflects practices and interactions in virtual spaces, emphasizing the empirical agencies and the ways in which interacting subjects construct cultural patterns (MAXIMO, 2010). Understanding the contextuality of practices, in its direct relation with the everyday life experienced by social actors, Miller (2013) proposes to think the internet not as a tool, limited to specific material supports, but by the "genres of uses" that people articulate through it. Consumption organizes the uses, that is, the defined types of usability genres that people make of the internet and its platforms as forms of meaning.

Miller and Horst (2015), debating the assumptions of digital anthropology, understand digital produces deepening in the proliferation of differences and particularities of social life. As with material culture, digital culture is a fundamental part of the human experience in society. In digital contexts, the dialectical nature of culture is intensified, due to the processes of convergence that affect social practices. This process triggers forms of abstraction that are put into operation in different practices, "created in the context of each place, not given by technology" (MILLER and HORST, 2015, p. 96). In addition, the authors criticize the understanding that digital technologies would eventually promote the loss of a supposedly authentic sociability. Miller and Horst understand culture as mediation, and digital as a specific mediation. In this sense, interactions and control of these interactions enabled new forms of participation and experimentation, moving different economies of meaning.

Hine (2015) reflects on an ethnographic approach to understanding people's navigation experiences. In this sense, the author proposes to think the Internet as three interconnected dimensions: embedded, embodied, and everyday Internet. Internet as embedded refers to human-human and human-machinery connections and/or interactions, associated with the capacities built on the Internet, and that transcend their boundaries. This notion articulates important reflections regarding the field research, since it allows perceiving what people are doing when they are online, understanding how these spaces are constituted and how they interact in the configurations of the social and identity orderings.

Embedded Internet in transvestite everyday life corresponds to a multitude of interaction practices. These practices are largely singled out in the use of Facebook, considering the platform convergence, which allows triggering and sharing contents of other platforms and sites, and the tools available for the more personalized production of utterances (posts, check-ins, tags, photos, videos, etc.).

In this way, an infinite number of contents circulate in the network that compose these interaction scenarios.

The notion of online spaces embedded points in "close detail at how a distinctive culture may emerge in such a space, with its own sets of norms and values" (Hine, 2015, p. 34). Research participants' sociability, embedded in the uses of the platform, points both to the maintenance of their sociability regimes and to the articulation of their own experiences and interests. The search for demands of social recognition, visibility, conquest of rights and violence denunciations and transphobia situation configure an experience of everyday life sharing. Added to this scenario the mobile internet, which allows ways to expand the processes of sociability, understood as an "internet companion, friend that has to have"[3]. Social network traffic follows the day's activities in a flow that moves interactions in the social network with offline conversations and situations.

The Internet as embodied articulates not only the perception of the human body as the necessary basis for the transmission of information, but as a medium by which feelings are expressed and how they interact in the composition of the online experience. As "the Internet is potentially experienced by 'embodied' users in different ways, depending on the circumstances" (Hine, 2015, p. 43), online trials allow the articulation of different forms of presentation and performances linked to experiences and body aesthetics.

Admitting online as a way of extending of the embedded world, Hine says that virtualization does not erase bodies in interactions, but it expands ways in which bodily experience manifests itself. In transvestite sociability, the very idea of mediation that the platform accomplishes seems diluted, insofar as the profile and interactions are understood as ethical and aesthetic correspondences directly related to the body. Although the use of images still points to the centrality of transvestites' body capital in their interactions, the platform's own dynamics point perceptions of the body not only linked to the images posted.

Photographs attest to the body's most fundamental evidence in the social network, but comments (written), the ability to demonstrate feelings and involvement in other activities, and events are also perceived as a form of body inscription. In social network, corporality is not only an image, but it assumes a multisensory imagery character (Csordas, 2008), which associates, within the allowed technical dispositions, not only images but also senses and emotions that compose corporal experience.

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[3] We do not name the research participants in this article. Because of that, most of their speeches and expressions are in quotation marks. However, in some moments, we use the italic to demarcate phrases and expressions pinched from interviews, observations and postings. We incorporated these expressions into the authors' text.

Uses, agency and appropriations of the Internet dynamize the senses in everyday life as social experiences are embedded and embodied. According to Hine, it is in the everyday dimension that the internet takes place, taking for itself the meaning of a cultural phenomenon. While the virtual medium intertwines with all the interfaces of everyday life, the perception of the Internet as a situational and localizable media stands out. Everyday dimension is expressed in the general flow of existence and in the experiences guided by technological possibilities and in interaction with other social structures.

Ethnography for the Internet of transvestite everyday, thus, pursues questions about how the Internet is characterized in the research participants' digital trajectories, "being sensitive to the variable topicalization of the Internet […] specific circumstances in which accounts of its significance are produced" (HINE, 2015, p. 53). Considering that embedded and embodied Internet in everyday life reflect particular uses of transvestite sociability, we present an interpretation of some social practices observed in our fieldwork.

Internet in everyday life and in sociability transvestite

The interpretation presented in this article comes from the description of some uses the research participants make on social network platform Facebook. We aim to reflect how these consumption practices articulate the production of significance in everyday life. We present some of the recurrent uses observed in their timelines and obtained in informal conversations during fieldwork.

We keep confidential the research participants identities. They are between 19 and 36 years old. With the exception of two, most of them did not finish high school and all have income from work in prostitution. The participant observation that has been underway since June 2015, as part of the ethnographic work, takes place in a peripheral neighborhood in the city of Santa Maria, South Brazil. We also develop the fieldwork in the observation of online interactions. The adherence of transvestites to research defined the fieldwork, delimited by the migratory flows they carry out, living prostitution in the transit of different cities.

Due to the constant traffic experienced by most of them, Facebook allows to maintain and manage the friendships and the sociability beyond the shared physical presence. This implied in methodological terms regarding the observation, collection and debate about the data, in interviews and conversations on and offline, face-to-face meetings characterized by participant observation and interactions in their personal profiles on social networks.

In Facebook, name, profile and cover photo, biographical and identifiers elements and the possibilities of interaction are the central elements of personal pages composition (Recuero, 2009). For all the transvestites who participate in the research, profile is important in the constitution of established relationships and the very notion of person through which other elements of social life articulate. In the digital profile, there are actions, creative constructions and margins for maneuvers that end up articulating the capacity to produce impression (Goffman, 2013), regulating the way in which others perceive their behaviors. Profile does not represent the transposition of the person to the digital environment, nor in terms of a representation, but articulates a notion of "persona", authentic, self-nominated as true, discursive and personalized that allows actions of self-presentation and interaction (Polivanov, 2015) .

In the social network, we notice the result of what Silva (1993) already pointed out about transvestites: a work of conscious elaboration of self, lived in the dimension of their body and sexuality assumed in their contexts. On Facebook, this work is not a deceiving way of representing herself or pretending to be what she is not. Although referenced in everyday life of high subordination and violence, transvestites identities express the "character of fidelity of themselves" (Silva, 1993, p. 39), even permeating their digital experiences. By maintaining this fidelity, transvestites mock the compulsory heterosexual norm (Butler, 2013), opposing the existing cisgender and heterosexual social structures, shifting, from this, broad routes of practices by which gender and sexuality are produced.

This implies a correspondence between what they post and the way they conduct the interactions with the categories of thought that they have on themselves. Miller (2011, p. 179) discusses in his field research in Trinidad the concept of mask as a social and creative elaboration about yourself. According to the author, the idea of mask does not necessarily indicate disguise, illusion or external appearance. For one of his informants, the truth about a person can be perceived in the effort and work she does to create his public presentation on Facebook. Through person's postings, one can understand what the person thinks he/she is, as he/she presents the image he/she constructs. In the effort to show what you are, it is more interesting the work person have done in building your appearance than the content expressed.

The mask works not as a form of deception, but as an indication of what the person actually conveys about himself/herself and the work he/she performs to realize that statement. In our research, we also observe this relationship. Transvestites construct their experiences of the feminine through symbols of a feminine that are their own (Pelúcio, 2009), with narratives and images considered

true and *authentic*. Contents posted, especially on themselves, cannot *betray* all that work and effort by which mainly their corporeality and identity are manifested.

"There [on Facebook] I can be a woman", says one participant. She indicates the importance attributed to the Facebook profile for the realization of their identity project, the possibility of being and expressing their own desires. All the participants assure they have already had trouble, in various everyday contexts, to be recognized by their social name. Even if they present the social name document, which gives them the right to be identified by the female gender. According to Peirano (2006), the identification document legalizes the citizen and makes person visible, subject to control, making a citizen in performative and compulsory terms. Documents, mainly the identity card, present reference data that attest a person as correlate to the card. Facebook profile articulates a project of broader identity realization, favoring assemblages that express the corporeal materialization and existences social policies. Profile is not only technical support for the interactions, but also assumes a biographical rescue dimension (Winocur, 2009), whose experiences are shared according to everyday events.

Although in official contexts, transvestites show social name document or even the identity card, they see Facebook profile as one of the most authentic places of self-presentation. Because the profile allows a more individualized and personalized public elaboration. Agency of technological possibilities collaborates in the process of transvestite body individualization (Maluf, 2002), which dramatizes the mechanisms of difference construction and the dominant policies of subjectivity. Technology provides discursive and interactional support to individualization, which, about person's identification, leaves few gaps for differences and constraints that may be triggered when referring to gender identity.

Facebook profile allows a greater creative maneuver over the interdictions of identification (such as official documents), but also of other heterosexual perspectives by which their bodies, gender, and social experiences are interpreted. One of the main advantages transvestites observed is the ease of self-expression that technology allows. Autonomy in the public image elaboration is an important social capital in the maintenance of the online interactions and the sociability outside the Internet. On this question, transvestites affirm, "profile is a montação"[4]. Facebook profile reveals their "most faithful version, more worked", or "more official than all the rest".

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[4] We chose to keep the term in Portuguese because we did not find a correlate in English for translation. *Montação* is about experience and presentation of body and identity. One type of *montação* is when transvestites wear makeup and feminine clothing and props to go out at night. *Montação* also means building or shaping the body through aesthetic beauty procedures or surgical intervention.

Far from revealing an ontological truth of the self, this authenticity indicates the maintenance of an "expressive coherence" (Sá and Polivanov, 2012) that transvestites carry out in the social network. Expressive coherence is not only maintenance of online sociability, but also social experience to assume their bodies, desires and sexuality. This work of construction/transformation and fidelity from the affirmation of the feminine gender and corporal transformation is extended to the social network. In this sense, fidelity and work/creation are not antithetical, but correlated terms.

This authenticity does not erase from the networks the indeterminacies of gender that can arise from contact with other people, especially those not very close. It is not uncommon the biased comments made by people added in the social network, leading to fights, and online friendships undone due to non-recognition of the transvestites' female gender. According to Miller (2011, p. 116), Facebook facilitates and expands existing social networks, enabling people to research others before deciding whether to invest in such relationships. In the "Facebook Friends" friendship genre, we include both known and unknown people – added by the contact with the participants of other people's social networks, thus increasing the possibilities of relationships.

This friendship genre influences transvestites' social life, both in relation to the bonds that comprise their friends and dates as the male clientele and future clientele of prostitution. Men interested in providing sexual service articulate their own dynamics according to their interests. While clients or interested men comment in transvestites' photos expressions such as "hot", "sexy", "sexy body", "princess", their friends comment expressions like "diva", "wonderful", "beautiful". These differences point out an articulation of interactions genres, organized into frames of meanings between friendship/beauty and sexual interest/beauty. Male repertoires of sexual interest nourish the conversation in terms of praise and desire manifestation, which even if they do not materialize in sexual/love relationships, impact reputations and desires. Excluding a few rare and explicit posts, these comments are the only elements in public interactions that correspond directly to the prostitution universe and the offer of sexual relationship.

At least in public interactions, prostitution is little or never commented[5]. Comments of male audience interested in sexual companionship (comments expressed mainly through compliments, in some cases, only with the "Whats[6] number") reveal the way in which the platform focuses on the work of prostitution,

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[5] As literature indicates, research participants also have in their lives common denominators such as violence, history of problems with family acceptance, and difficulties during the Elementary or High School phase. These elements lead most of them to run away from home and work in prostitution.

[6] WhatsApp, conversation app.

making it possible to meet new contacts (future clients), research their lives and maintain existing contacts.

Although it is not an openly publishable subject, they talk a lot in the conversations outside the public internet about *bofes*[7], *mariconas*[8], *viado*[9] and other characters of this social frame, as well as about erotic games and negotiation of pleasure. When triggered within the sociability practices in the social network, the status of the involved man, even if it is not actually revealed, is usually shared outside the network. Thus, the platform is also used to determine who enters or not in the sexual market, establishing a type of clientele screening, denouncing and sharing among friends the profiles of aggressors, abusers, fakes, or even inopportune partners, or closeted queers who pretend to be straight and playing hideous games about sexuality.

Prostitution is not erased in the context of using this social network. On the contrary, it often provides the dynamics of interactions. If we take as an example some of the photos usually posted (*selfies* alone or photos where the evidence falls on the femininity and sensuality of the transvestites' body), they also operate within the frames of signification organized by prostitution. After all, "nobody speaks, but clients are on the net, it's for everyone to see". A photo that shows the beauty of the body (when they are naked, usually with nipples covered by emojis or other graphic effects), or even wearing clothes that they consider sexy, can receive different markings: #goodnight, #athome, #goodgirl, #sexy, #sextou[10], #alwaysGod. These hashtags collaborate in the interpretation of the photograph leaving open the sign of the body in offer, because, as one of the research participants said, "Sex is in the head, everyone sees in the photo what they want to see".

They use other hashtags on pictures, whether they are alone or in groups of friends or workmates. #go, #gotothenight, #hot, #work, #letsgo are widely used expressions in the context of friendship/prostitution. Rarest are the posts marked by direct referential denominators alluding to prostitution. Even if they take a picture and post directly from the block[11], by the Wi-Fi from somewhere or by the mobile data. The apparent neutrality of these hashtags designate some kind of elaboration that not aims to deceive information about their work. It indicates prostitution is not only associated with violence as a legitimate code of night

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[7] Hot man.

[8] Old gay man.

[9] Queer.

[10] In Brazil, *sextou* is an adjective and commemorative expression that indicates it is Friday (Sexta, in Brazilian Portuguese), beginning of the weekend. Besides that, transvestites use the term in both senses: it is Friday and "to feel sexy" (Sex).

[11] Place where they work in prostitution: corners of avenues, gas stations or highways.

conduct (BENEDETTI, 2005), but also contexts of friendship, sociability and trust, work that is publicly assumed in social networks, including even moments of leisure that are possible at night and in the company of friends.

Another element present in sociability of transvestites is the way they sexualize various contexts and the jocular way of sexuality. In jest, any subject or theme can be sexualized. The following images illustrate this form of joking sociability, whether in postings on timelines, memes, videos, or the content of conversations during interactions.

Figures 1, 2, 3: Theme images: Easter, New Year and Christmas.
Source: Images shared in social network and received by the author.

Transvestites share many images of sexualized fitness masculine bodies, associated with contexts of amusement and sociability. At Easter, one of them shared an image of a model wearing bunny ears, he anoint the bare torso with chocolate, accompanied by the phrase "I want to smear chocolate today". On another occasion, she shared an image of a go-go boy wearing just swimsuit: "Today I'm going to funk. Today I want to be possessed, kkk [laughs]". Animated interactions arise from such postings, comprising a particular use of sociability marked primarily by sexuality, irreverence, and humor.

Jocularity of sexuality is not only expressed in the contents posted on the social network, but it constitutes the way many relationships are constructed. Another example of how contexts are sexualized by joking - as well as the technology itself can be sexualized - is when, in the field, in a party, the presenter expected that the DJ put a pen drive in the device, so that another transvestite made her show. Due to waiting for technical problems, presenter played with the audience: "Someone wants to penetrate? We need someone to come in … the pen drive, girls! Oh, Lord!"

In addition to the sexualization of different contexts of everyday life, another element that appears in online interactions concerns honesty as one of the main social capitals transvestites mobilize. Guided by an honest work ethic, including

prostitution, many of transvestites stories refer to the struggles, difficulties, and labors they face in the most different situations of everyday life.

Most often, they report their poor and humble origin and context of difficulties and violence faced. They seek to build an image of themselves and maintain their reputations as dignified, honest and hardworking. Reputation is an important element in the constitution of their social relations, as these stories circulate by effecting other ties of interaction. They relate cases of violence with *alibãs* (police officers), fights, beatings and disputes, as well as help in difficult situations and problems faced. They tag profiles of those who participated in the events on posts. In addition to recalling facts, these posts function as "networks of complicity" (Fonseca, 2000), which do not erase the differences, but establish the level of relationship and intimacy between them and with whom they interact – networks of friends and known people closest and present in offline situations generally.

In one of the posts, one of the participants wrote about a fight with another transvestite for having stolen money from her. "Beware of that lying person (tagging the profile of the person). She stole me. I helped her when she needed it most. No one wanted to help her and look what happen". In the interactions, there are both messages of support and repudiation with the one involved. Comments with more likes are those that tell other episodes considered controversial about the same person. This demonstrates reputations are built or ruined mainly by what is said in the social network. Directly exposing the person, tagging her profile to the post, is not gossip, but a mark of being a woman, brave and frank enough to "face the enemy". It establishes a direct relationship between the enunciation in the network and "do not take things lying down". In this sense, we can think Facebook as street analogy, public place where conflicts are resolved or exposed, or even "to say something to somebody´s face", thinking the interactions as the very person involved in the situation.

Comments, whether or not posting the person involved, or even leaving an atmosphere of incognito or charade, also involve the articulation of prestige in reputations or demoralization. Combined with the idea of building and maintaining reputations online, gossip is a key element in many of the interactions of research participants. Involving reports of real or imaginary facts, gossip is a force exerted on other individuals (Fonseca, 2000).

Although they publish few gossips, there is a threat of gossip. When in fact a gossip becomes public, it is because the subject is serious and involves a series of responses, comments and interactions. What transvestites post on Facebook is either the possibility of gossip, which does not actually come to fruition, or

comments on the gossip that has come from other sources. The following comment illustrates this:

> It looks like someone was offended that I posted some sexy photos on Facebook! I didn't show anything that on a beach during an afternoon of sunshine everyone usually sees naturally. I'm in a bikini, my dear. besides, I do not need to be knee-deep to believe in God. He is always with me getting rid of badly loved people made some feigned who do not accept the happiness of others. (Facebook Post, April 2016)

Despite not declaring the name of the involved woman, people ask who she are on comments, expressing repudiation for her action. In another situation, one of the participants wrote a post and tag the profile of the gossip girl involved, defending herself from an accusation about her honesty. In the post comments, there is criticism about the person involved as a person of low reputation, since the gossip would have occurred while the gossip girl was going to visit her husband in prison, which served even more to delegitimize her action.

In addition to gossip, two other elements are embedded in the same horizon of interactions: needle and trick[12]. Needle is about divergences between transvestites, but it is not really gossip. Despite this, they do not miss an opportunity to needle someone, whether during everyday conversations or online interactions. The most beautiful dress made by the couturier for such an occasion, the hairstyle in a particular beauty parlour, a compliment, a complicated love relationship, jealous situations, all these elements are reasons to needles. If gossip even breaks relationships and instigates enmity, needle often fuels disputes and encourages conversations and interactions.

You needle someone already expecting an answer or some kind of friendlier interaction. Mockery is part of this interaction in the possibility of "one overturning the other" because "you only plays with someone you know well". They use memes and ludic and jocular tone images in this type of interaction. Playful posts, tag the naughty friend or the quarrelsome friend also fuel the interactions between friendships and partnerships that are more intimate.

Trick, in turn, is a creative category of transvestites, to designate a situation of deception, disguise or misguided excuse. The origin of this term refers the make-up used by transvestites in the constitution of their femininity and corporeality. In that case, trick, with irony, is to look feminine. In the context of the interactions,

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[12] Trick is the closest term we found to translate the word 'truque', an expression very particular of Brazilian LGBT community, especially transvestites.

generally in a tone of animosity and joke, the trick is lying about the real situation of the fact.

When one of the transvestites who was single posted that she had reattached with her ex-husband because he could not stand the cold of winter alone, other transvestites commented: "Look that trick, girl!", "You're a tricker!!!". Another, when posting a photo with a friend, unknown and considered beautiful by the others, claiming to be dating, was soon revealing herself: "It's a trick, girls". Different from needle, more amusing than gossip, but that seek to reach a specific person, establishing a situation of conflict, the trick is understood more as a funny and humorous situation to face everyday situations, making more reference to themselves.

Another observed use, related to self-fidelity and maintenance of interactions, is the threat of revealing the names of the male audience (or possible clientele) considered inconvenient. When they feel very annoyed by men, usually with sexual interest, they post disgusting comments on this relationship, even stating their "power to destroy homes[13]."

One of the participants, tired of this relationship, wrote a post in which she shared two prints of her cell phone screen: the conversation she had on WhatsApp with a boy and the posting of a declaration of love he made to his girlfriend (followed by a photo of couple). In the conversation, transvestite asks if he is married, and he responds to be "married and not castrated" (implying his sexual interest)[14]. She comments that she feels disgusted with him and pities his girlfriend and that she will print the chat. She wrote on her post: "I hate infidelity, it's for everyone to see he is a trash without character and a son of a bitch. He still swears love that poor woman." Many people commented her post, supporting her position and offending the man, whose name was in the images.

Exposing the profile of the involved person in this type of situation, or even the threat of this action, operates within the management framework of the social network contacts. Even if it functions as a "Facebook cleaning" (Polivanov, 2014), excluding the person from her on and offline relationships, it also is a force, a power that can be activated. More than a type of digital revenge, it points to the character of self-fidelity and to her convictions, central element with transvestites conduct the interactions.

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[13] There is a many men married to cisgender women who are looking for the sexual services of transvestites.

[14] In Portuguese, "married not castrated" is a popular (and sexist) expression that means that even married man can (and even must) betray.

Final Considerations

The article proposed an interpretation of the recurrent uses of social networking platform Facebook, through the observation of the Internet inscription in the everyday life of transvestites. These experiences are based primarily on self-fidelity (continually performed on the site, but correspond directly to what they believe to be), the different forms of sociability and management of online interactions, the sexualization of various social contexts in the form of joke and by prostitution as an element, which crosses the imaginary of established practices and relationships.

It is worth mentioning that the uses presented are only part of the diversity of practices that constitute these experiences, motivated by the inscription of them in personal profiles in the platform of social network, moving interactions and conversations. The interpretative approach presented some examples of the uses most directed to everyday sociability. A reflection on the use of the social network platform in the search for visibility and citizenship is still open in the horizons of the research, which characterizes other uses of these technologies and mobilizes other references.

Interactions described depend on the singular contexts of situations, scenarios and social actors involved. In social networks, transvestites seek to construct a representation of themselves, in terms of a greater possible fidelity of the characteristics and elements that comprise their experiences, corporality, sexuality and identities. We believe that these practices reveal an exercise in production of impression (Goffman, 2013) through laborious work that establishes contexts of digital interaction with other contexts of the participants' lives.

Incorporation of the internet in transvestites' everyday life define the mainly uses observed in the article. Gossip, tricks, needle and sexualization of contexts and contents of interaction develop in the flows between different ambiences that constitute the singularities of these digital experiences. These dynamics move the environments of interaction, manifesting the bonds of friendship, intimacy and disagreements, fundamental elements of social relations in everyday life.

In the highlighted interactions, we noticed that transvestites say few words in the public internet about prostitution, although it permeates many of the relations established between the research participants. Prostitution singles out interactions and transvestites manipulate it with caution and mastery. Interactions described articulate games of desire, interest, power, and disputes for prestige and social recognition, which are not just restricted to financial returns. In this way, the social imagery and the practices of transvestite experiences are reformulated in the

scope of interactions, which focuses directly on the contexts of particular uses and how the internet is experienced.

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