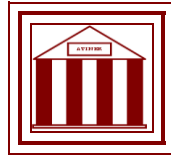


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**Consumption and Citizenship Media
Construction in Fictional Television
Discourses**

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Consumption and Citizenship Media Construction in Fictional Television Discourses

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Abstract

This discussion starts out from the perspective of consumption as constituent of identities in the context of the complex society, in which rights and universal duties are not enough, as have never been, to meet the necessities and demands of a common social existence, in which minorities (ethnic, generational, sexual) claim for distinguished rights, aiming at equality, all of that happening in an after-Fordist production-consumption globalized scenery, demanding a more attentive look at current conceptualizations, leading us to deepen considerations on the connection communication-consumption-citizenship, questioning discourses on consumerism, citizen insertion, social responsibility, conscientious consumer, from the point of view of media representations, stereotyped as a principle aiming at facilitating meaning attribution as well as mobilizing individuals on behalf of maintaining hegemonic perspectives. It is important to understand that this happens in capitalist democratic societies where consumption intersects social relations as “scenery of wishes concretization”, also being a place where distinction symbols circulate, where several social life aspects gather together, being a part of culture itself. Taking culture also as constituted by mass media, the proposal here is to question the transposition of concepts crystallized in contexts characterized by linear time and space for the sake of apprehending practices promoted by a dynamics that changes the way citizenship is realized. I bring discourses on citizenship, in the context of audience studies, assumed from cultural symbols and social imaginary dimensions, verifying signification and the re-signification processes, valuing different and divergent readings made possible by openings resulting from social interactions in a mediated hegemonic context. How do consumer relations intermingle with citizens’ rights and duties in a context of larger communicational accessibility? Which “insertion” and “citizenship” outlined by media discourses are refracted in the audience’s readings? Answering these questions hypothetically, I believe that, even working from generalization, having as its aim the biggest audience, in times of multiple identities, media needs to highlight differences by messages specification, promoting recognitions, reinforcement or transformations of collective identities. (What needs to highlight differences???)

Keywords: Consumption; Citizenship, Media Communication

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Introduction

In the study discussed here, the reference is the intersection consumption-citizenship thought from communication as an instrumental and methodological resource, bringing us close to the notion of citizenship as a social representation resulting from the sharing of ideas, from what societies are made to come true. I question the transposition of concepts crystallized in contexts characterized by linear time and space aiming at the comprehension of practices promoted by a dynamics that changes the way citizenship is realized due to transformations in the understanding of differences between “here and there”, “before, now and then”. I bring discourses on citizenship, in the context of audience studies, understood from cultural symbols and social imaginary dimensions, verifying signification and the re-signification processes, valuing different and divergent readings made possible by openings resulting from social interactions in a mediatized hegemonic context. Data collected by questionnaires and personal interviews were analyzed on the basis of the Collective Subject Discourse (CSD) and of Social Representations (SRs). CSD groups similarities and separates differences found in the subject-individuals’ discourses, resulting in a narrative-text that, we believe, reveals representations of ideas and opinions relevant in a determined social and cultural space and historical moment (Lefevre and Lefevre, 2013).

In the context of media discourses, the reference is the television serialized fiction for its importance more than recognized as a place where nation is represented and identified by means of symbolic imagination. Considering that media contents reflect and refract social living, the aim is to evaluate what is refracted in the individuals-subjects’ discourses.

Speaking about culture in Brazil necessarily means speaking about “Brazilian telenovela”. Forty six years after its introduction, it is possible to state that telenovela gained public recognition as an esthetic and cultural product, being converted into the central icon of culture and identity of this country. It can also be considered one of the most representative phenomena of Brazilian modernity, once it combines archaic and modern aspects, it links anachronistic and modern imaginary narrative devices and for having its history strongly marked by the dialectics nationality– mediatization (Lopes, 2009: 22).

For the empirical work, understanding that the intersection of media and material consumption practices, associated with citizenship practice, is part of the individual-subject identity, I took the residents of Brasília¹ as the research universe due to the fact that it is a city a space of cultural intersection where, eventually, a “Brazilian” identity comes true. Although Sao Paulo responds to aspects of diversity, there is already a “Paulista identity”, that, although made

¹Brasília –situated in the Federal District, one of the 27 federative units of Brasil. It is in the Central-West Region, it is the smallest unit, being organized in 31 administrative regions. Brasília is the federal capital of the country as well as the center of FD government. FD was idealized in the 1950’s by the president Juscelino Kubitschek, in order to move the national capital from Rio de Janeiro to the center of the country.

up by several cultural voices, in order to grasp some comprehension to answer the objectives stated would demand a very complex sampling method, implying more material/financial resources. Due to the space organization of Brasília, its architectural aspect being a main characteristic, it was possible to reach the diversity planned with a smaller sample. The diversity found about the residents of Brasília, having basic and middle education level, allowed me to reach global characteristics, identified in the discursive formations present in the respondents' discourses collected by personal interviews.

Brasília, a planned city, was constructed aiming at public space. However, the lack of consideration about a “newborn” city development influenced by the eventualities of the dynamic daily life in a city intended to be the destiny of people from all over the country, besides being the center of federal government, resulted in a disordered peripheral growth, giving rise to the called “satellite cities”, today officially denominated “administrative regions”. In such regions live most of the descendants of the *candangos*,¹ who now live on rendering service, answering to the demands from trade, banks, transport, education, culture, health sectors in the Pilot Plan,² where most of the inhabitants work for the federal government.

However, I draw attention to a common characteristic between these groups: the origin in other states, implying a diversity of regional cultures, values and even expression forms. Regionalisms that were lessened in a city in continuous “construction”, even more than in metropolises like Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro or Porto Alegre, where migration took place in “waves”, integrating the ones “arriving” to an already constituted “identity”. These migrants established themselves in peripheral districts, which turned out to be “welcome places” but also spaces of exclusion, sometimes constituting “separated worlds” from the dynamic cosmopolitan main spaces.

In the course of 54 years of existence,³ Brasília promoted the neutralization of linguistic differences, turning the cultural variety into a support for facing daily challenges. In the process, the speech of Brasilia people is characterized as a space of universal meanings that, more than being aggregated, they are fused, founding a new identity, neutralizing regionalisms, turning Brasília into “the” Brazilian melting pot. Besides such diversity and peculiarity, favorable to exploit meaning attribution, carrying out this study in Brasilia was relevant as it allowed the development of an audience study in this part of the country, going beyond regional themes and aspects, integrating it to the knowledge on Brazilian people.

¹Candangos: people who migrate to Brasilia in search of a better life, mainly during the construction of the city at the end of 1950's. Most of them born in regions suffering from dryness.

²Center of Brasília named after the airplane format designed by Oscar Niemeyer.

³Being a planned city, Brasília was inaugurated, and that happened on April 21st, 1960.

Communication, Consumption, Citizenship: Building Relations

The values of a society are responsible for maintaining its cohesion, promoting social peace, which leads to economic growth, the main target of capitalist societies. Meaning attribution has as its starting point the representations of daily life situations and practices, central place for establishing individuals as subjects, through the word, which originates in the culture sphere and returns to it, in a continuous process of transformation. If the media establish parameters for social practices, if consumption influences identities, it is because they reflect what already constitutes these practices and identities, in a process of necessities and wishes elaboration, by means of symbolic aspects. However, the perspective of thinking about citizenship practice within consumer culture still demands a careful look about how that may take place. It is necessary to better define the thresholds between consumption as a right and as space favoring power control; to establish points of disturbance, to understand relations between being and having, trying to understand consumption configuration as culture in a world that gets more complex each day, where cultures are multiplied the same pace (Tondato, 2010: 16).

In this study, I take communication, consumption and citizenship as social facts and as the beginning of methodological work: Communication / Information as phenomena of existence; Consumption like action, and Citizenship as a condition constituent and constituted by social reality, intermediating society living evolving both like content and form, structural and non-materiality. Communication, Consumption and Citizenship are considered here as perspectives that allow us to think about social interaction and constitution of identity in the context of communication besides “media”.

Summarizing the points of view of Bourdieu (2008) and Douglas & Isherwood (2004), Sassateli (2010, p. 9) says that:

goods are conceived as material elements through which social actor reproduces the cultural meanings which structure social space. In turn, social actors learn to prefer certain objects according to their particular social-cultural location and, through their choices, testify to and reproduce their social-cultural location,

In other words, freedom of choice and insertion in a sociocultural environment are constituents of consumer practices, like “being a citizen”.

From Moscovici (2012) we learn that the knowledge about the way individuals of a particular society think is directly related to their existence as well as it expresses the dynamic of such society. That means the level of complexity of structures and contents produced by such society is the expression of its movement. From that, I took Communication as an axle for the analysis that follows, an instrumental and methodological tool, from what it is possible to identify and to spread the Social Representations or Collective Representations built by the community relations. I relate this to Citizenship in so far as it becomes perceptible when the discourses give form and content, thus meaning, to the state of “being a citizen”.

SRs standardize the objects, persons or events found. They give them a definite form, place them in a determined category and gradually set them as a model of a specific type, diverse and shared by a group of people (Moscovici, 2012: 129).

For Motta (2012: 23) it is important to study narratives to understand “how we establish the world representatively, acting in it representatively”. The representations resulting from the interviewees’ variety of discourses, according to the methodology here proposed, sum up narratives composed of the several ‘personas’ chosen to be exposed at the very moment of the interview. From these narratives, the intention is to identify the meanings of consumption and citizenship given by individuals that feel they have become “subjects“ of their own history, or not, meaning they have done more than leave their birthplaces in search of better life conditions.

Despite the relation to the concepts of discursive subject, polyphony, enunciation and meaning, and the assumption of having historical and ideological conditions that produce the discourses, CSD does not explore these conditions of production and the concept of ideology. [...] The result is that the focus of such approach is not, anymore, the dismantling of the text aiming to highlight its contradictions and social historical conditions of ideological production, tracking identification of similar meanings (Gondim and Fischer, 2009: 23).

The subjects’ discourses are a social-historical result of polyphony, reflecting and refracting individual and collective trajectories. When the subject-individual talks about “being a citizen”, “being a consumer”, he/she does it as holder of several discourses, which sometimes may even seem contradictory without, however, being in conflict, but representing the result of intersection between subjectivity and objectivity. In the answers commented next, people hold a polyphony of discourses: as interviewees’ – “what do they want from me?”, ‘as residents of Brasilia’, ‘as migrants’, ‘as citizens’, ‘as consumers’, all of them combined in three or four sentences supposedly expressing an opinion, but supporting a life history.

The Interviewees and their Perceptions on Citizenship and Consumption

Most of the interviewees have been living in Brasilia for more than 16 years (141/150). Regarding the birth place, 119 are from different Brazilian states while 31 were born in the Federal District. The distribution shown on table 1 characterizes a migration movement that has begun in the last decades of the XIX century, a result of a tough drought period in the Northeast Region. Historically Brazilian migration movements have been reactions to specific economic development periods – vegetal and/or mineral (gold) extraction,

industrialization – each time alluring people from regions undergoing some kind of distress.

Table 1. *Interviewees' State of Origin*

Origin (state)	Absolute quantity
Federal District	32
Minas Gerais	22
Maranhão	15
Ceará	14
Piauí	13
Goiás	12
Bahia	11
Paraíba	10
PA; PE; RJ; RN; TO	3 (each)
AM; MS; RS; RO; SP; SE	1 (each)

Letting aside especial characteristics due colonization and/or social-historical trajectory, the composition shown on table 1 is the result of a dream, similar to the one lived by migrants regarding the USA, when they leave their countries in search of the American Dream. Although, in the Brazilian case, people targeted the subsistence itself, while our Central and Latin American “cousins” going to the USA, and also Brazilian people, focused prosperity.

Inquired about “what is more important to be a citizen”, “to have free health and education services” was the option chosen by the majority (95/150), followed by “to be free to choose political leaders” (29/150) and “to have conditions of choosing what to consume as food, clothing, dwelling” (26/150). All of the answers reflect a paternalistic vision about the relation State-Civil Society, yet with traces of what Carvalho (2009: 83) calls “citizenship in negative” a condition that encourages people political action only “in reaction to what is considered authority discretion”.

Regarding the main duties of a citizen, “to help the ones who have less than me” represents 74% of the answers (291/394), “to preserve environment” was the answer given by 16% and 10% considered “to participate in political life – to vote, to have a political party”. It is interesting to notice a relative similarity between what is considered “a right” and what it is said to be “a duty” of the citizen, respectively “to have free health and education services” and “to help the ones who have less than me”. Answers that may lead us to analyze as “contradictory” ones, but that on a second thought can be interpreted as “complementary” once they are related to two opposite aspects – right and duty. In the limit, these two propositions refer to “receiving/giving material support” – to be helped and to help – an understanding still very distant from a citizenship conception approaching political participation, sharing social inheritance and the possibility of living civilized life according to the standards of the society in question.

From the perspective of social dynamics, above all, rights concern to the way social relations are structured [...] in so far as they are recognized, rights establish a kind of sociability governed by the recognition of the other one as subject of valid interests, relevant values and legitimate demands (Telles, 1994: 91).

For the respondents consumption is “a necessity” (92/150), “a right” (52/150) and “a vice” (6/150). The characterization of consumption as a “necessity” demonstrates the understanding that “without consuming we do not live” signifying complete insertion into the context of consumer society. Going further in the definition of consumption as “the arena itself, in which culture is the object of struggles that gives it form” (Douglas and Isherwood, 2004: 103), more than having access to utilitarian goods, saying that consumption is a “necessity” points out the recognition of the importance of establishing a space of power, even though it may be always relative as it is based on possessing “finite” goods.

Next option, consumption is “a right”, complements the previous one once that if it is a “right”, it is a “necessity”, moreover, if it is a “right”, one shall be “free” to enjoy it or not, being free not only to choose what to consume, but decide if it is necessary to consume. Consumer culture is characterized, among other aspects, by the stimulus to adopt “a non-utilitarian attitude regarding goods, choosing with care, arranging, adapting and exposing the goods [...] in way to produce a specific stylistic affirmation, able to express the individuality of the owner” (Featherstone, 1995: 160), and it is from this perspective that I assume the narrow relationship between consumption and citizenship in the wide sense.

From an imaginary perspective, consumer culture has a narrow relation with modernity, implying key-changes in identity formation, changes concerning mainly the “multiplication of referents, ranging from those with which the subject identifies him/herself as such, once the loss of center is also the loss of individuals, that now live a partial and precarious interaction with the multiple dimensions to what they become accustomed” (Martin-Barbero, 2006: 60).

From such results, we can say, derives a negative interpretation of consumer practices, generalized as “consumerism“, having in mind that the possibilities of identities inherent to the late modernity have as key bases a condition of distinction by adherence to belonging symbols, the brands among them (Quessada, 2003). A kind of belonging disseminated by publicity, which can be translated as confrontation between true and false, reference and checking, value of use and value of exchange in so far as the insertion “of the masses” in the dynamics of consumption occurs mainly through publicity.

A kind of publicity that becomes meaningful by the symbolic aspects attributed to objects, following their usage values, turning them into “pseudo-events” that are made real “in the everyday life through the adhesion of the consumer to their discourses” (Baudrillard, 2007: 134). A kind of publicity designed to propagate individuals’ wishes, ambitions and frustrations, more

than their necessities. For all practical purposes, “the department stores had a pedagogic function, acting on consumers’ socialization, teaching them new ways of consuming, [...] also bringing consumption (acquisition of what is necessary) close to leisure (acting for the pleasure)” (Taschner, 2010: 47).

Using the open question “do you feel like a Brasília citizen? Why?”, I collected the CSD, and again I came across the relation consumption-citizenship, now set out by possession of a house, of family constitution (and consequently all that is necessary for that), of formal education, of opportunity of professional growth.

YES. I built my family in Brasília. Here I have my own house. I have constituted my family and got a professional job. I conquered my economic independence, built my financial life. This is the city of opportunity. It is the city where I live. I got my rights here. I feel I am a Brasília citizen because I have been living here for many years and because I have a job. Here there are more conditions of work. The city is good. It has many options of work. It is the capital of opportunities, of work and of education. Being a citizen is also having a job and the right to express oneself. The city (Brasília) offers people opportunity of having a job.¹

What is clear in this collection of discourses is the relationship between “citizen-build”. Apparently a contradiction as the answer to the closed question was that “to be a citizen” means “to be given free health and education services” and, when they were asked to express themselves freely, citizenship was related to individual work, if that much, to family re-union, without mentioning the importance of the financial-economical aspect, of having a job, a profession. Relations that reinforce the central importance of the intersection consumption-citizenship if we take into account what Marshall explains about the social rights in the XX century:

the civil rights gave legal powers which use was drastically damaged by prejudice of class and lack of economic opportunity. The political rights gave potential power, that to be exercised demanded experience, organization and a change of ideas regarding the functions of the official government itself. [...] Social rights comprehended a minimum and were not part of the concept of citizenship (Marshall, 1967: 89).

The answers simply confirm consumption to be a central social activity of contemporaneity, “not only because we dedicate great part of our economic resources, time and emotions, but also because great part of our identities is created and structured by it” (Alonso, 2006: 30).

¹Actual interviewees’ words.

From the scenery outlined by the understanding of “consumption as a right”, we can infer some rationality when individuals consider themselves “citizens” due to opportunities of having a job, a dwelling, constituting families, once we still live in a society where “the voluntary and legal attempts” aim “to reduce the poverty onus without changing the standard situation of inequality”, from which poverty is, still, the most unpleasant consequence (Marshall, 1967: 88).

In such a context, social identities have become much more fragmented, as well as sensibilities and perceptions, by different social groups, have been multiplied due the fact of consuming and the social and cultural effects looked for the consumption practices themselves (Alonso, 2006: 67).¹

Another group of interviewees consider themselves “citizens” either because they were born in Brasília or because there they have constituted their families, having been living in the Federal District till today. An understanding close to the one previously commented, with emphasis on territorial space occupation (the dwelling), indicating a perspective that goes beyond the explicit relation derived from practices. The words “we get dignity” and “I have the right of choosing” led me to relate citizenship to belonging rights more straightly, belonging that today regards consuming, even if by means of fluid identities establishment.

ORIGIN. I do not see myself far from Brasília. I know the city well and my family lives here. Here we get dignity. I have the right of choosing. I feel to be a Brasília citizen because I was born in Brasília.

If on television serialized fiction belonging and identity meanings are strengthened, daily life representations serve as a driving force for the plots, enchanting millions daily, going beyond the “small screen” limits, reaching digital, virtual screens, interweaving the nation dialogs, where they also circulate and from where perceptions and conceptions about living in society, being a citizen and being a consumer come out.

In the consumer context, I point out the telenovela as a diffusion vehicle of fashion trends by means of the characters, seen by the audience, feminine as a rule, as icons of style and sophistication. The presence and the effectiveness of the telenovela can be realized from the quotations in social networks and fashion blogs, where the characters’ clothes and accessories are commented, besides the contacts registered every day by Rede Globo Audience Department, from people searching information about the telenovelas and the

¹In original: En tal contexto, las identidades sociales se han vuelto mucho más fragmentadas, y se han multiplicado las sensibilidades y percepciones que, desde diferentes grupos sociales, se le da al hecho de consumir y a los efectos sociales y culturales buscados en las prácticas mismas de consumo (ALONSO, 2006, p. 67).

products shown in them. Not to mention the site Globo Marcas, a virtual shop where one can find: a) products that are effectively used by telenovela characters, or that appear in the sceneries; and b) products that carry the mark of the program (as a strategy of promoting the telenovela or serial been exhibited).

Besides being a publicity strategy for the telenovela itself, it is also an opportunity for clothing and accessories industries, as well as for distribution shops, some of them partners of the broadcasting station, and profiting from the opportunity of having their products shown on programs with high audience ratings. Some examples are clothes collections shown in telenovelas as the case of the brands Areia Dourada, Anna Marcolina and Avohai, that invested in the northeastern culture and, for that reason, were chosen to be part of Flor do Caribe (Rede Globo, Walther Negrão, 2013) clothing selection. Avohai, supplier of nearly 400 pieces for this telenovela, informed that soon after the first chapters were on air, they were already receiving shopkeepers' solicitations from several cities in the country (Agency Sebrae, 2014).¹

In the context of citizenship, which is drawn, still regarding Rede Globo, is a conception very close, almost exclusively, to the social feature, obviously a more relevant position attending to the "the requirements of media as a cultural industrial organization, caring more about the competing organizations than to the communities' demands" (Dourado, 2011: 332). Because of that, the broadcasting station appeals to, among other elements, social merchandising advanced strategies, about what I exemplify some themes present on the telenovelas: childhood and adolescence rights; prejudice and sexual discrimination; labor rights; traffic of people; corruption; anti-tobacco alerts, etc..

Final Considerations

Meanings are built from social interactions. Nothing is naturally given; there is not an innate meaning, or a fixed one. Without fear of falling into common sense, I support that we live a new sensorium (in Benjamin sense), provided by technologies (new and traditional ones) and by the decisive establishment of globalization. These are the issues and their implications that have been leading us to sceneries qualified as: liquid, spectacular, multiple, hybrid. Without mentioning 'planned' phenomena, outlining the same scenery: scale production, media democratization and enlargement in the access to goods (material and cultural).

A new sensorium is being under development, changing the parameters of life in society, to the point of being able to support a 'new' culture: the consumer culture (Slater, 2002: 32), that has been defining social practices, cultural values, aspirations and identities for some time, in place of traditional

¹Empresas potiguares vestem Astros de novela da Rede Globo. Disponível em: <<http://www.agenciasebrae.com.br/noticia/19967036/ultimas-noticias/empresas-potiguares-vestem-astros-de-novela-da-rede-globo/>>

dimensions such as work, citizenship, religious cosmology, familiar context, political participation. To understand this ‘new’ society focused on the market, material and symbolic, constitutes a challenge more extensive and complex at each day as far as more dimensions are gathered: education, social well-being, and social relationships.

The new consumer would be a cultural representative of post-modern late capitalism. “He/she is a social actor (not simply economic) that, somehow, recovers a certain power and looks for his/her identity expression in consumer culture; without being completely rational, he/she looks for strategies of mobilization of his/her social, informative and economic powers” (Alonso, 2006: 102).¹ To sum it up, still in Alonso, consumer society died to give place to consumers’ society.

Each day, communicational practices intersect meaning constructions and the establishment of daily life social identity dimensions. However, despite currently media central position and the relations between the interviewees’ perceptions on citizenship and what is spread by Brazilian main broadcasting station, as already pointed out, we cannot return to the apocalyptic image of a “passive” audience. The context is different. “To participate in media society” and “to be a consumer of material goods and services” have become cultural activities, even under naturalized hegemonic strains; it is undeniable that we live a situation of an incontestable insertion of the contemporary individual-subject into citizenship situation.

The understanding of “being a citizen” does not include the political condition yet, being restricted to a social thing – the assistance condition - and to a communicational act – get knowing about social deficits - cases of exclusion, impunity, fragility. People do not feel part of the whole yet, being responsible for it. They believe that their actions have no repercussion, giving space for unending mobilization campaigns, without effective change results. However, we will reach a minimally solid knowledge, attending to conceptualizations and comprehensions aiming the praxis if there is not some strong arrangement for reformulations and reinventions, of searching for new possibilities of expression and knowledge.

It is necessary to make an effort to work on formal education looking closely at the presence, and importance, of media in society, not from a negative point of view, thinking about punishing producers and advertisers, but as a challenging study object, inserting the themes dealt with on the screens and printed pages into the effective discourses carried out in classrooms and social discussions. As well as identities (Tondato, 2011: 159), collective actions only exist where there is space for individual actions. However much as we are ‘exposed’ to dominant interests, to symbolic and real struggles, in the complexity that society has become, breaches for the expression of the subjects turned into agents of their daily lives are created, or, at least searched. And it is

¹In original: Es un actor social (no simplemente económico) que, de alguna manera, recupera un cierto poder y busca su expresión de identidad en el consumo; sin convertirse en completamente racional, sí busca estrategias de movilización de sus poderes sociales, informativos y económicos” (Alonso, 2006: 102).

in this hegemonic context that we must look for and understand the new conceptual referents of citizenship and consumption, trying to exceed the partial and precarious relations with which we are faced in our discussions.

Slater (2002, p. 18) presents the consumer culture as “a system in which consumption is dominated by goods consumption, and where the cultural reproduction is generally understood as something being carried out through exercise of personal free will in the daily life private sphere”. This “daily life private sphere” are “actions and meaning loaded of expressions built by the individuals themselves who are producing, realizing and interpreting them, in the course of their lives and consumer culture as a social agreement mediated by the market”, defining cultures (Martin-Barbero, 1997: 193).

To have thought the relations pointed from communication as methodological and instrumental resource using Collective Subject Discourse, brought us near of a citizenship notion understood as social representation resulting of ideas sharing, from which societies come true. Such a process will only get completed and into effect as television contents, characterized by dominant cultural capital resulting from a complex process of negotiated exchanges allows, at least, to tolerate the hegemonic base but accepting the meanings the audience recognizes from their daily lives.

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