39
2º
semestre
2020

INTERAÇÕES

sociedade e as novas modernidades

INTERAÇÕES
sociedade e as novas modernidades

39
2º semestre 2020

Prefácio

O volume abre com um artigo de Esther Jové sobre o desdobramento do sistema espanhol de cuidados de longo prazo, o seu processo de reestruturação iniciado em 2008, as suas fragilidades e desafios futuros. A partir da análise de um caso de estudo, o estudo foca-se em quatro dimensões de análise, nomeadamente, natureza e princípios, acesso, prestação e organização de serviços, gestão e financiamento. O artigo assume um interesse relevante pois abre uma discussão sobre a provisão pública dos serviços de cuidado de longo prazo que, face ao processo de envelhecimento da população, adquire uma importância particular no contexto europeu. Utilizando uma metodologia mista, a autora conclui que a evolução do sistema espanhol de cuidados de longo prazo conheceu uma primeira fase de expansão no período 2008-2010, seguindo-se uma fase de contração assente na contenção de custos, no reforço da natureza familiar do sistema e num processo de re-familiarização e de re-mercadorização, originando a desregulamentação do mercado de cuidados.

Magnus Nilsson aborda a questão da organização do bem-estar e dos cuidados a idosos na Suécia. Face às transformações que o Estado de Bem Estar sueco tem conhecido nas últimas décadas, através da introdução de uma lógica de mercado e da contração das políticas sociais públicas, um número cada vez menor de idosos tem acesso a um sistema de cuidados. Através da análise das reações a um documentário televisivo que foram publicadas em diversos meios de comunicação social no mês seguinte à sua emissão, o autor parte de uma perspetiva psicológica discursiva, focando-se naquilo que é tido como garantido na forma como os cuidados a idosos devem ser organizados e nos conflitos que estão por detrás dos diversos artigos publicados na imprensa. Nilsson conclui que a discussão sobre os cuidados a idosos não pode ser desligada das questões de cidadania, identidade, migração e da legitimidade do sistema político e legal.

O artigo de Bruno Costa utiliza a Análise Temática Crítica de Lawless e Chen para estudar o modo como a marca Dove integra a discussão de estereótipos na campanha publicitária #MostremNos. Através da análise crítica sobre o papel da publicidade e dos processos adotados pela Dove no projeto #MostremNos, Bruno Costa explora a relação da marca Dove com o conceito publicitário de *Femvertising* e a forma como os estereótipos de género são desconstruídos. Enquanto no plano teórico o seu estudo assenta na perspetiva interdisciplinar feminista, ao nível empírico parte da análise a quatro anúncios da Dove, utilizando o método de Análise Temática Crítica. Segundo o que o autor conclui, a estratégia da Dove fundamenta-se na "apresentação de padrões de beleza impostos por diferentes sociedades e na desconstrução das consequências associadas a esses processos históricos, sociais, culturais e económicos na vida de cada menina e mulher".

A análise exploratória a plataformas digitais de verificação de *fake news* é o objeto do artigo seguinte de Fábio Ribeiro e Daniela Fonseca. Embora o fenómeno das "notícias falsas" não seja novo, como os autores realçam, a sua popularização está relacionada com a atenção que políticos e académicos lhe têm dado, desde a eleição de Donald Trump, em 2016. O artigo combina a utilização de uma amostra probabilística definida por conveniência com a análise qualitativa dos factos sociais e mediáticos para estudar o fenómeno tecnológico da desinformação. Os autores focam a sua análise nas plataformas digitais *Checazap, Fátima, NewsGuard, Polígrafo e Snopes* construídas para combater as notícias falsas. As conclusões do seu estudo mostram que as plataformas digitais de verificação, apesar da existência de relatórios de confiabilidade e do interesse crescente dos académicos no seu estudo, enfrentam ainda um desconhecimento do público em geral, sendo ainda prematuro afirmar a sua eventual relevância no futuro.

Kamoru Salaudeen e Mariam Omotosho analisam a perceção dos estudantes universitários de Osogbo, no sudoeste da Nigéria, sobre a promoção de vendas on-line. Os autores utilizaram uma metodologia qualitativa, tendo organizado várias sessões de discussão em grupo de foco com quarenta estudantes selecionados através de amostragem propositada e em bola de neve. O enquadramento teórico do estudo foi fundamentado na teoria da perceção do consumidor, o que lhes permite explicar as motivações dos consumidores para comprar, ou não comprar, um determinado bem. Os resultados da sua investigação foram categorizados em cinco áreas: perceção, preferência, fixação dos preços e negociação, fatores determinantes de angariação e promoção de vendas on-line e off-line. As conclusões mais significativas do seu estudo revelam que os estudantes universitários confiam na promoção de vendas on-line, usufruindo ativamente dos seus benefícios.

O artigo de Francisco Fontes analisa o discurso que se desenvolve nos espaços de comentário a notícias nos media portugueses, à luz do modelo de democracia deliberativa. A questão de partida que norteia o seu artigo é a seguinte: "Se a tecnologia favorece a participação democrática, de que modo a comunicação através dela cumpre as exigências para que a deliberação tenha as condições necessárias para se desenvolver na esfera pública virtual?". A componente empírica do seu trabalho assenta na análise a 264 comentários de duas peças jornalísticas publicadas em 2018 em dois jornais portugueses sobre a desfiliação do Partido Socialista do ex-primeiro ministro de Portugal José Sócrates. Embora Francisco Fontes considere que os espaços de comentário às notícias nos jornais tenham um elevado potencial de diálogo, a conclusão do seu estudo mostra que os comentários às notícias analisadas ficam bastante aquém da democracia deliberativa, tal como foi idealizada por Habermas.

O artigo de Kwasu David Tembo encerra o presente número com chave de ouro, propondo uma leitura crítica da figuração simbólica do vampiro no cinema. Embora as aparições desta criatura folclórica na película cinematográfica remontem aos tempos do filme mudo, ao longo das últimas décadas, têm assumido uma proeminência inegável em diversos meios audiovisuais, constituindo um importante fenómeno da cultura popular. Através do estudo de caso do filme Fome de Viver (1983), e tendo por base um enquadramento conceptual fundeado no pensamento político e filosófico de Karl Marx, nomeadamente na metáfora do capital como criatura vampírica, Tembo reflete sobre o tempo como o derradeiro luxo, produzindo uma inflexão na perceção do vampiro "de monstro psicoespiritual a consumidor capitalista perfeito cuja mortalidade, em última análise, significa que a figura do vampiro pode consumir sem fim". Um final que acaba por encerrar potenciais (re)começos, abrindo as portas a novos e diversificados caminhos indagativos da sociedade contemporânea.

Henrique Vicente
Inês Amaral
Maria João Barata
Vasco Almeida

Preface

The volume opens with a paper by Esther Jové on the deployment of the Spanish long-term care system, its restructuring process which began in 2008, its shortcomings and future challenges. Based on the analysis of a case study, the study focuses on four dimensions of analysis, namely, nature and principles, access, provision and organization of services, management and funding. The paper is of relevant interest as it opens a discussion on the public provision of long-term care services which, in view of the ageing process, is of particular importance in the European context. Using a mixed methodology, the author concludes that the evolution of the Spanish long-term care system underwent a first phase of expansion in the period 2008-2010, followed by a phase of contraction based on cost containment, the reinforcement of the system's family-base nature and a process of re-familiarization and re-commodification, resulting in the deregulation of the care market.

Magnus Nilsson addresses the issue of welfare and elder care organization in Sweden. In view of the changes that the Swedish Welfare State has undergone in recent decades, through the introduction of a market logic and the contraction of public social policies, fewer and fewer elderly people have access to a care system. Through the analysis of reactions to a TV documentary that were published in various media in the month following its release, the author starts from a discursive psychological perspective, focusing on what is taken for granted in the way elder care should be organized and the conflicts that are behind the various articles and opinion pieces published in the press. Nilsson concludes that the discussion on elder care cannot be detached from the issues of citizenship, identity, migration and the legitimacy of the political and legal system.

The article by Bruno Costa uses Lawless and Chen's Critical Thematic Analysis to study how Dove brand integrates the discussion of stereotypes in the advertising campaign # ShowUs. Through the critical analysis of the role of advertising and the processes adopted by Dove in the project #ShowUS, Bruno Costa explores the relationship of Dove brand with the advertising concept of *Femvertising* and the way gender stereotypes are deconstructed. While at the theoretical level its study is based on the feminist interdisciplinary perspective, at the empirical level it starts from the analysis of four Dove's advertisements, using the Critical Thematic Analysis method. According to what the author concludes, Dove's strategy is based on "the presentation of beauty standards imposed by different societies and the deconstruction of the consequences associated with these historical, social, cultural and economic processes in the life of each girl and woman".

The exploratory analysis of digital fake news verification platforms is the subject of the following paper by Fábio Ribeiro and Daniela Fonseca. Although the phenomenon of " fake news" is not new, as the authors point out, its popularization is related to the attention that politicians and academics have given it since the election of Donald Trump in 2016. The article combines the use of a probabilistic sample defined for convenience with the qualitative analysis of social and media facts to study the technological phenomenon of misinformation. The authors focus their analysis on the *Checazap, Fátima, NewsGuard, Polígrafo* and *Snopes* digital platforms built to combat false news. The conclusions of his study show that digital verification platforms, despite the existence of reliability reports and the growing interest of academics in its study, still face a lack of knowledge of the general public and it is still premature to state their possible relevance in the future.

Kamoru Salaudeen and Mariam Omotosho analyze the perception of university undergraduates in Osogbo, Southwest Nigeria, about online shopping sales promo. The authors used a qualitative methodology and organized several focus group discussion sessions with forty students selected through purposive and snowball sampling. The theoretical framework of the study was based on the consumer perception theory, which allows them to explain the motivations of consumers to buy, or not to buy, a certain good. The results of their research were categorized into five areas: perception, preference, pricing and negotiation, factors determining patronage and online and offline sales promo. The most significant findings of their study reveal that university undergraduates trust on online sales promotion, actively enjoying its benefits.

Francisco Fontes' article analyses the discourse that develops in the spaces of commentary to news in the Portuguese media, in the light of the deliberative democracy model. The starting point that guides his paper is the following: "If technology favors democratic participation, how does communication through it fulfill the requirements for deliberation to have the necessary conditions to develop in the virtual public sphere?". The empirical component of his work is based on the analysis of 264 comments on two journalistic pieces published in 2018 in two Portuguese newspapers about the disaffiliation from the Socialist Party of the former Prime Minister of Portugal José Sócrates. Although Francisco Fontes considers that news commentary spaces in newspapers have a high potential for dialogue, the conclusion of his study shows that comments on the news analyzed fall far short of deliberative democracy, as idealized by Habermas.

The article by Kwasu David Tembo closes this issue with a golden key, proposing a critical reading of the symbolic figuration of the vampire in the cinema. Although the appearances of this folk creature on film date back to the times of silent movies, over the last few decades they have assumed undeniable prominence in various audiovisual media, constituting an important phenomenon of popular culture. Through the case study of the film The Hunger 1983) and based on a conceptual framework anchored on Karl Marx's political and philosophical thought, namely the metaphor of capital as a vampiric creature, Tembo reflects on time as the ultimate luxury, producing an inflection in the vampire's perception "from psycho-spiritual monster to perfect capitalist consumer whose immortality ultimately means that the figure of the vampire can consume without end". An end that ultimately closes potential (re) beginnings, opening the door to new and diverse paths of inquiry in contemporary society.

Henrique Vicente
Inês Amaral
Maria João Barata
Vasco Almeida

doi: 10.31211/interacoes.n39.2020.a1

The Spanish Long-Term Care System: Deployment, Restructuring Processes and Future Challenges

Esther Albesa Jové
Universidad de Barcelona - albesaje@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper examines in-depth the case of the Spanish long-term care system (LTCS) restructuring processes and its shortcomings owing to the 2008 economic 'shock', and its future challenges. It focuses on four analysis dimensions: nature and principles, access, services provision and organisation, management and funding. And three levels: workers and recipes of public services, legislative reforms, and social and institutional impact of the crisis. The outcomes display a double process of expansion-contraction: the first, during the system's deployment (2008-10) followed by a second phase (2010-17) centered on the cost-containment, the reinforcement of the system's family-based nature, and a process of a re-familiarisation and re-commodification. Despite that the Dependency Law contributed to a 'paradigmatic change' by modifying the nature of the former care policy, from the second phase onwards the system's shortcomings became obvious due to a shortfall of resources and organisational issues. The mechanisms aimed at downsizing the system were restricting the access criteria and delaying the system's deployment, and curtailing the provision of services and payment of cash benefits. Moreover, the widespread provision in cash-benefits entailed a re-familiarisation and a re-commodification of the new Spanish LTCS contributing to the proliferation of an unregulated care market.

Keywords: Spanish long-term care system, austerity measures, economic crisis impact.

O Sistema Espanhol de Cuidados de Longo Prazo: Desdobramento, Processos de Reestruturação e Desafios Futuros

Resumo

Este artigo examina em profundidade o caso do processo de reestruturação do sistema espanhol de cuidados de longo prazo (LTCS) e as suas deficiências devido ao "choque" económico de 2008, e os seus desafios futuros. Centra-se em quatro dimensões de análise: natureza e princípios, acesso, prestação e organização de serviços, gestão e financiamento. E três níveis: trabalhadores e receitas dos serviços públicos, reformas legislativas, e impacto social e institucional da crise. Os resultados mostram um duplo processo de expansão-contração: o primeiro, durante a implantação do sistema (2008-10), seguido de uma segunda fase (2010-17) centrada na contenção de custos, no reforço da natureza familiar do sistema e num processo de re-familiarização e de re-mercadorização. Apesar de a Lei da Dependência ter contribuído para uma "mudança paradigmática" ao modificar a natureza da anterior política de cuidados, a partir da segunda fase as deficiências do sistema tornaram-se óbvias devido a uma escassez de recursos e de questões organizacionais. Os mecanismos destinados a reduzir o sistema estavam a restringir os critérios de acesso e a atrasar a implantação do sistema, bem como a reduzir a prestação de serviços e o pagamento de benefícios pecuniários. Além disso, a ampla provisão de benefícios pecuniários implicou uma re-familiarização e uma re-mercadorização do novo LTCS espanhol, contribuindo para a proliferação de um mercado de cuidados não regulamentado.

Palavras-chave: Sistema espanhol de cuidados de longo prazo, medidas de austeridade, impacto da crise económica.

INTRODUCTION

The Long-term care (LTC) is a broad concept, largely used in scientific and international literature. This implies an autonomy restriction prompted by any kind of disability, along with a dependency situation in which individuals need care for carrying out daily life activities (DLA). Despite the fact that this situation can be given in any stage of life, it is the elderly who already have and will require a higher level of supports in the future, given that dependency is directly associated with age-related disabling chronic illnesses, and loss of physiological functions. Thus, fragility, chronic illness or disabilities can lead to limiting conditions in various spheres in the DLA, and LTC has become an established term covering the heterogeneous range of 'care' provisions that can help and support people in these dire situations. Services can include nursing care, personal assistance, domestic help, and social support, but also supervision and care management (Österle & Rothgang, 2010). In this vein, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has defined LTC as the care of people who need support in multiple facets over a long period of time which refers to DLA, such as bathing, dressing, entering and leaving their home carried out by relatives, friends, unqualified caregivers or nurses (OECD, 2011).

Over the last years LTC has become the forefront of the welfare state. Many countries have implemented new LTC policies that move away from traditional characteristics of fragmentation and assistance-based models. The novelty of LTC as a welfare state (WS) issue has encouraged thinking beyond traditional development paths, while developments remain deeply rooted in the traditional principles and ideas of particular WS models or regimes (Esping-Andersen, 1990, 2000; Österle & Rothgang, 2010). LTC involves a high degree of complexity due to its extensive repertoire of actors, multilevel structure of management and resources (Bettio & Plantenga, 2004).

Since the 1990s, unlike the classic social policies (health care, pensions, unemployment and education), European LTCS have been one of the social policy sectors that expanded the most (Pavolini & Ranci, 2013). Often this spread of LTCS in post-industrial European societies has been attributed to the so-called *New Social Risks* (NSR). Sociodemographic changes and progressive aging population driven by the scientific and medical advances would have contributed to the extension of life expectancy, despite of people suffering from highly incapacitating chronic diseases. From this point of view, changes would be considered the outcome of the LTC systems' adaptation to the new societal needs. The transformations within family structures and current demands of the labour market would also explain the inability of families to deal with the care needs of their dependent members. Integration of women into the labour market (traditionally in charge of family care) has radically contributed to the modification of the traditional informal support structure, provoking a situation of *informal care crisis* (Urgerson, 2005; Bettio, Simonazzi, & Villa, 2006). Yet, along with this increase in care needs, and the downsizing of informal care supports, we also encounter restructuring processes such as: re-familiarisation, re-commodification, costs containment or de-institutionalisation of care which have been undertaken by governments in order to tackle financial strains, and to ensure economic sustainability.

Most of the studies on Spanish LTCS are centred on the features of the former system or the transition from a residual social care system to the current model (since the Act 39/2006 came into force) rooted in a universal right. Little is known about the changes during the system's deployment, and what have been the restructuring processes occurred within the Spanish LTCS owing to the economic crisis. Because of that, the main purpose of this article is to discuss in-depth the development and the restructuring processes occurred in the Spanish LTCS from its inception, converging with the 2008 economic crisis until 2017. This paper is structured in five sections. The first contains the main theoretical concepts related to the 'social care' dimension, also the relevant research and literature related to changes and restructuring processes within the European LTC framework. The second section focuses on the Spanish LTC policy sector, demographic trends, family and the financial and economic crisis impact. In the third, the methodology framework is showcased. The remaining sections concentrate on the assessment of changes and restructuring processes following the three analysis levels and dimensions, discussion of findings, and the setting out of conclusions.

1. LONG-TERM CARE WITHIN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

From the point of view of the welfare mix, Anttonen & Sipilä (2005) distinguish three principal care providers: the public sector, the market (private sector), and the family and voluntary sector. Care can also be analysed on the basis of two major areas of provision: formal and informal. The former is defined as the care provided by public or private labour contract with individuals, family or caregivers. Whilst informal care is carried out by the family or social environment, without any kind of economic compensation, or despite being covered by some kind of public transfer (such as subsidies for supporting non-professional caregivers), this one is not subject to any formal labour contract (OECD, 2011). In addition, there are three main provision types: (a) direct financing by means of cash benefit payments or tax relief, and indirect financing, consisting in subsidies that may be received by the caretakers, the dependent person, the family or an institution; (b) service provision which includes a large number of services and providers (public, semi-public, private or non-profit organisation), and an array of objectives, cost and regulatory models; (c) work permits such as flexible and reduced working hours, or free disposal hours (Daly, 2012). However, Daly also points out that all these types of provision, which aimed at encouraging care work at home, contribute to care *re-familiarisation* and *re-commodification* by providing incentives for job creation, labour market expansion, and by increasing the care of people within the family environment.

On an international scale scholars have also defended specific *care regimes* when it comes to elucidate institutional care settings. Daly & Lewis (2000) classify care arrangements according to whether the obligation of care provision is assumed by the state or by the family (*de-familiarisation*). From this point of view, these authors assemble four care regimes: the Nordic, the continental European, the liberal welfare and the non-caring states. The nature of the first model is universal; meaning that the state provides care to all people in need. Mainly through services in order to minimise the family burden and to hold the state responsible for care. This type of regime is usually represented by countries which uphold a *dual bread-winner* family-model which includes Sweden, Finland or Denmark. The continental European regime (Germany, France and Belgium) holds a contributory-based nature. The cornerstone of this regime is the promotion of care through the family and voluntary organisations financed by public funding. In the liberal regime (well-known as assistance-based model) Ireland and the United Kingdom (UK) are the most striking cases in Europe. In these latter countries there is a significant shortage of public services, and territorial differences in provision (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Lastly, in the non-caring state regimes, a feature of Southern European countries (Italy, Greece, Portugal and Spain), there has historically been a significant lack of services, and the care responsibility falls upon the family, especially the women. This last regime has also been called *implicit family-based model* in which public policy provision has focused on economic transfers to reinforce family care commitments (Leitner, 2003).

Pavolini & Ranci (2008) have evaluated public innovation and mechanisms used to reform LTCS over the last three decades. The main reforms discerned by these authors have been the emergence of a new private care market and the bolstering of the users' purchasing power through economic benefits in order to purchase private services. Thus, the governments have led to a shift in the balance between public-private provision whilst transferring the management responsibility from central to local level, hand in hand with cost-containment by shifting responsibility from the institutional (public) to the family (private) sphere, and by promoting the *de-institutionalisation* of care. In order to explain the type of changes, Pavolini & Ranci (2013), following Hall (1993), have highlighted a set of mechanisms with ensuing *first and second-order changes* (rather than *paradigmatic or third-order changes* aimed at modifying the basic objectives and principles of social care policy) meaning a broader use and modification of social policy instruments such as: raising contributions or co-payment to beneficiaries; introducing new requirements; reducing benefits; restricting access among other options. These authors also warn that the increase of cash benefits and the re-orientation of provision towards the family environment (ageing in place) have entailed a *re-familiarisation* in which the responsibility of care is transferred from the public sector to the family setting (Esping-Andersen, 2000).

An array of studies focuses on the balance between family, market and state (welfare mix) under socioeconomic constraints and political changes where the market has become predominant. The main goal of this *re-commodification process*

(Pierson, 2001) is to displace care coverage from the public realm towards the market sector (Daly & Lewis, 2000; da Roit & Le Bihan, 2010; Rodriguez Cabrero, 2011). For these scholars the cost containment process, as a consequence of financial and economic strains, would have also pursued to avoid entries in institutions (de-institutionalisation) and thus, lowering the cost of care. This *de-institutionalisation* policy that has put emphasis on care in or by the community rather than within an institution is a long-term trend across South European countries (Deusdad, Lev, Pace, & Vell, 2017). Because of the political concerns about increasing care needs and long-term sustainability of current care regimes, the most high-income economies are seeking to minimise the use of institutional care, expanding formal home-care whose consequences are the growing role of family care-givers (Kodate & Timonen, 2017). According to the World Health Organisation (WHO), this de-institutionalisation has not always materialised in the best interest of older people, mostly because ageing in place requires services and facilities located close to the homes of the elderly, which have to be affordable and known to potential users by means of clear information (WHO, 2007). Moreover, in the Mediterranean WS the strains, put on families, and the low public coverage have led to a rapid growth of an informal care market, made up of female immigrants over the last decades. The introduction of the cash for care and the free choice in countries like Spain, where there are no care labour regulations, have favoured a submerged care market, mainly in the elderly sector integrated by female immigrants, and connected to the new care work global dynamics (Martínez, 2006; Oso & Parella, 2012).

According to Spasova et al. (2018), drawn from a comparative LTC policy analysis between 2008-2018 and carried out by the European Social Policy Network (ESPN) in 35 European countries, all the countries faced significant LTCS challenges over the last ten years. There are four challenges common to all: adequate access to LTC provision, quality of home-care and residential care, employment of informal care, and financial sustainability of the national systems. Access and adequacy are linked to the stunted growth of publicly funded formal LTC services; quality of care is at risk due to the significant increase in demand and lack of quality control in many countries; employment of carers, women in particular who are often informal carers and may need to quit their jobs due to caring responsibilities; and financial sustainability due to population ageing and increasing public spending on LTC. The authors have also identified three broad trends during the last ten years: the readjustment of the LTC policy mix, namely the move-away from residential care towards home care and community-care; measures addressing financial sustainability whilst introducing budgetary restrictions, in particular during the crisis' period; and reforms aimed at improving the access and affordability of provisions including increased LTC funding, improving eligibility conditions and benefit levels, tackling interinstitutional and territorial LTC fragmentation, and recognition and improvement of the status of informal carers.

In the framework of the COST Action 1102 "Social services, welfare state and places 2012-2015" Deusdad, Comas-d'Argemir & Dziegielewski (2016) have analysed the LTC restructuring process in Spain linked to the impact of the economic crisis on social policies. These scholars have explored the social service strategies to deal with the increase in care needs as well as community-based responses. They concluded that fueled by the economic crisis, so many relatives were unable to cope with the care burden. Services became more limited, thus services available were not enough to reduce the pressure of caring activities on the family caregivers which could lead to stress and, in some cases, to elder abuse. The economic crisis also affected social workers' working conditions, placing great pressure on them to solve generalized social problems. Another important feature highlighted was the increase in marketisation where citizens have to fully pay or co-pay for care services.

Economic crisis of 2008 also had an inequal impact over European countries and their LTCS. Spain and England represent the countries in which the crisis hit the most, for their principal economic sectors were tightly linked to the crisis (larger financial and real estate market sectors). On the contrary, the crisis had a smaller impact on those countries with a larger productive sector, high levels of exports and production linked to great investments in research and development, as the cases of Sweden and Germany. So England and Spain, where the crisis had a more dramatic impact, their LTCS have also endured major contractions, whereas Germany and Sweden's LTCS did not contract or contracted less. Between 2008-17 in these countries a further tendency has been the widespread expansion of legal LTC rights (except in England). But, in reality, only the German LTCS has benefited from a real and overall expansion (Jové, 2020).

Over the last years LTC policy has also become part of the European political agenda. In 2003 the Council and the European Commission drafted the first reports on LTC in which, along with health and public pension systems, LTC policies are analysed within the framework of the European Social Model (Consejo de Europa, 1998; Council of the European Commission, 2003). The research work, conducted by social researchers on this subject, have predicted that the European Social Model has faced a complex process of convergence in recent years. According to Rodriguez Cabrero (2007) the tension between convergence in social protection policies in the countries and their respective "path dependency" or national traditions is particularly reflected in LTC policies. In 2017, given the effects of the 2008 economic crisis and the difficulties the European Union citizens have been confronted with, the European Union Council, European Parliament and European Commission (2017) signed off the so-called European Pillar of Social Rights during a social summit.

The European Pillar of Social Rights (EPSR) represents a wider effort to build up a more inclusive and sustainable growth model by improving Europe's competitiveness and making it a better place to invest, create jobs and foster social cohesion. The EPSR contains 20 key rights that are organised into three main categories targeted at solving the acute challenges of the present: unemployment, poverty and discrimination. Special attention is drawn to the specific problems of the young, older people and the disabled. In view of this document, these challenges can be tackled by securing well-functioning labour markets and welfare systems. Specifically these 20 key rights and principles provided for by the document are: rights to education and long-life-learning, gender equality, equal opportunities, active support for employment and good employment conditions, social dialogue, work-life balance, work environment, childcare, social protection, unemployment benefits, minimum income, old age income and pensions, health care, inclusion of people with disabilities, long term care, housing and assistance for homeless, as well as access to essential services (water, sanitation, energy, transport, financial services and digital communications). Regarding old age income and pensions, EPSR claims that workers and the self-employed in retirement have the right to a pension commensurate to their contributions and an adequate income ensuring life with dignity; that women and men shall enjoy equal opportunities to acquire pension rights. And everyone has the right to affordable LTC services of good quality, in particular home-care and community-based services (Council of the European Union, 2017).

2. PUBLIC INNOVATION WITHIN THE SPANISH LTC POLICY SECTOR

South European countries have been considered to represent a differentiated model from the rest of the European WS as it showcases a particular *Mediterranean* or *Latin* modernisation pattern (Ferrera, 1996). One of its main features has been the shortage of public family care supports, due to the high family solidarity level that has inhibited the care responsibilities from the state and handed them over to the family sphere. Equally the Spanish LTCS has historically been characterised by a high feminisation of care levels (Flaquer, 2002; Rodríguez Cabrero, 2009). The Act 39/2006 on the Promotion of Personal Autonomy and Care for Dependent Persons (LAPAD, for its acronym in Spanish) was considered as an undeniable advance of social rights in Spain. Previously there was no comprehensive regulation on LTC in the Spanish State. An array of fragmented sectorial social policies coexisted; some still have a contributory and subjective nature, and others were assistance-based; only accessible on the grounds of the government budgetary availability, and connected to the applicants' economic capacity. Until the end of 2006 this pre-reform LTCS was structured into two formal care levels: The Social Security System and the Personal Social Services System. The LAPAD is the outcome of a long-term process which after a broad debate crystallises in 2003 with the reform of the Toledo Agreement, the development of the White Paper on Care of Dependency by the Institute for the Elderly and Social Services (IMSERSO, 2005), and the agreements signed by the political and social forces in 2005 (Marbán, 2012).

The Care Act 39/2006 enactment represented the coverage and the institutionalisation of dependency risk in Spain. It defines dependency as "the permanent state in which people who, for reasons of age, illness or disability and the lack of physical or mental autonomy, require considerable support in their DLA" (p. 9). At least, from a theoretical (legally) approach, this Act represents a 'paradigmatic' or 'third-order change' (Hall, 1993) in which there has been a modification of the fundamental objectives and important changes within the 'nature' of social policy with respect to the previous one; because the LTCS goes from an assistance-based model for people, which lacks financial resources, towards a universal-based care model based on a subjective right. The Law regulates the conditions for guaranteeing the equality in the exercise of the universal and subjective right to promote personal autonomy and care for all dependent citizens, irrespective of the region in Spain in which they live. The subjective right (according to the Decree 142/2010 of Social Services) states that public authorities have to provide care for all dependent people.

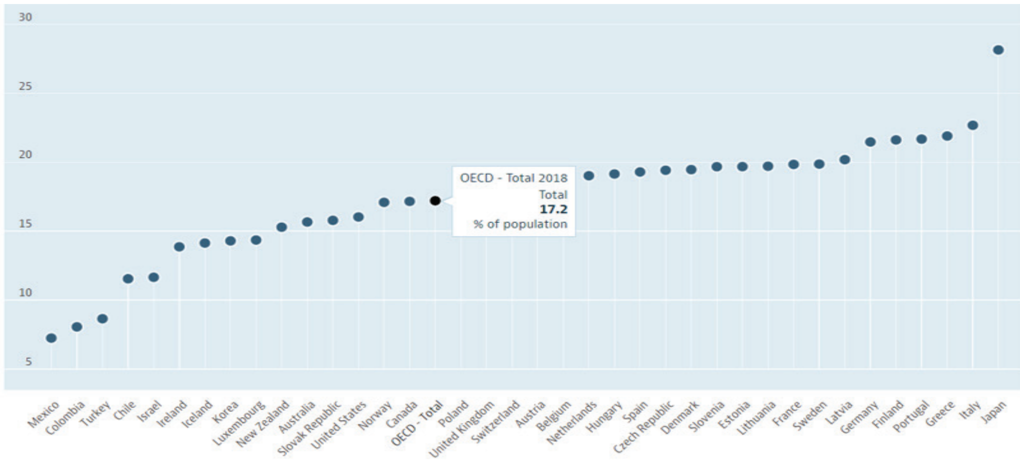
The universality of the right is translated into the access to services and benefits for the entire dependent population, regardless of their economic capacity. Therefore, the subjective right of access can be demanded by law if not complied with. The principles inspiring the Act are: comprehensive and personalised care; prevention; rehabilitation; social and mental stimulation; autonomy; keeping the person within his/her family environment, and preferential attention towards people with higher degrees of dependency. The LAPAD and the Royal Decree 174/2011 determine three dependence degrees: moderate (I), severe (II) and high dependence (III). The regional governments are competent for the assessment by means of specialised territorial teams. The allocated resources are subject to: the type of resource, the geographical availability and the waiting lists within every region, especially regarding residential services. Benefits might be of economic or service nature. The highest regulatory body is the Territorial Council of the System for the Autonomy and Attention of Dependence. The Central Government is liable to warrant the subjective right of care for all dependent people; regions are responsible for planning, coordinating, evaluating, inspecting and managing the system and the resources. Municipalities are competent in the elaboration and follow-up of the individual care plan.

2.1. Demographic trends and challenges

LTC need is growing in line with population ageing. Due to the disability among older people, the loss of family ties and growing female labour-market participation entail the growing need for care for frail and disabled seniors. This growth in older age cohorts is one of the main drivers of increased demand for LTC across OECD countries, and policy concern is also framed within the pressures arising from ageing societies. Less than 1% of the global population was aged over 80 years in 1950. In OECD countries the share of those aged eighty and over is expected to increase from 4% in 2010 to nearly 10% in 2050 (OECD, 2011). OECD has also highlighted that the demographic trends entail a hose of implications for government, economic growth and welfare. The total average on elderly population, people aged 65 and over across OECD countries (37 members) in 2018 was 17.2%. As is evidenced by figure 1, Southern European countries have been one of the highest affected by the demographic changes. The population over age 65 in 2018 in Italy was 22,7%, 21,9% in Greece, 21,7% in Portugal and 19,3% in Spain (OECD, 2020). These figures will probably increment in the coming years because of low birth rates and an increase in life expectancy which will imply the need of more services and social supports to maintain elderly people independence.

Figure 1

Total average on elderly population across OECD countries in 2018



Sources: Elderly population OECD (2020).

In 2016 life expectancy at birth on average across OECD countries, which measures how long people would live on average, based on a given set of age-specific death rates, reached 80.6 years; an increase of more than ten years since 1970. Life expectancy at birth now exceeds 80 years in two-thirds of OECD countries, with Japan, Spain and Switzerland at the top of the ranking. The gains in longevity can be attributed to a number of factors, including an improved lifestyle, better working conditions and education, as well as progress in health care. Life expectancy at birth also varies by gender; at 83.3 years for women compared to 77.9 years for men in 2016 on average across OECD countries. This also depends on the socio-economic status of a person. Higher education levels do not only provide the means for improving the socio-economic conditions in which people live and work, but may also promote the adoption of healthier lifestyles and facilitate access to appropriate health care. On average, among 25 OECD countries women and men with the highest level of education at age 30 can expect to live four to seven years longer than people with the lowest level of education (OECD, 2019).

According to the Spanish National Statistic Institute (INE, 2016) the population structure by age shows a slump in the groups under 20 years. That would fall from 20% of the total population in 2016 to 15% in 2066. As well as the group of age between 20-64 that would decrease from 61% to 50% in the very same period. Conversely, a significant growth in the number of people within the 65-and + age group is expected (as we can see on table 1).

Table 1

Structure of the population by age in Spain between 1959-2066

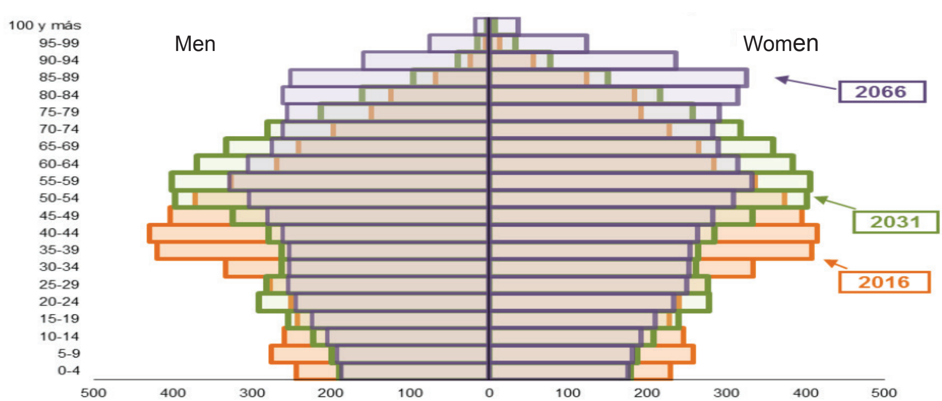
Age group	1959		2016		2066		Var. 2016-2066
<20	—	—	9,2	20%	6,4	15%	-5,0%
20-64	—	—	28,0	61%	20,4	50%	-11%
+64		8,1%	8,7	19%	14,1	35%	+16%

Source: compiled by the author from INE projections (2016).

As figure 2 shows, population ageing in Spain is also clear. The average on life expectancy at birth was 83,58 years in 2019: 80,86 years for men and 86,22 years for women (INE, 2020a). Related to the total Spanish population, in January 2020, population aged 65 + over was 19,58% and 6,03% was the oldest, aged 80 + over (INE, 2020b). Thus, in conjunction with the increase of the ageing and over-ageing population, a higher level of care supports will be required in a near future in order to meet people's care needs due to disabling chronic illnesses, and the loss of physiological age-associated functions (for instance Alzheimer disease).

Figure 2

Population projections by age and gender in Spain (1959-2066)



Source: Spanish Statistic Institute (INE, 2016).

2.2. Changes within the family structure and informal care

Along with demographic changes, alterations within the traditional or informal care model, and the growing idea of personal care as social risk, have led to the Spanish WS to build up this new branch of social protection. The former care system has traditionally been based on the unpaid informal work of women carers, which is socially hardly valued. This model of informal care has transformed in the last years; first, in the Nordic social welfare regimes (70s and 80s), then in the continental countries (from the 90s on); finally, the Southern European countries are incorporated to these dynamics, converting an individual into a social risk. This change of model has meant a relative defeminisation of the burden of care, and of opportunity costs as a reflection of the overall women integration into the labour market. The traditional Spanish LTC model has abruptly changed due to the coincidence of the rapid ageing population and the increasing incorporation of women into the labour market, as well as profound alterations within family roles (Rodríguez Rodríguez, 2005). This change is not only based on gender, but also on social differentiation, since it is middle-class working women who have driven the change by buying care services from other working women (especially immigrant) on the market (Bettio, Simonazzi, & Villa, 2006; Rodríguez Cabrero, 2007).

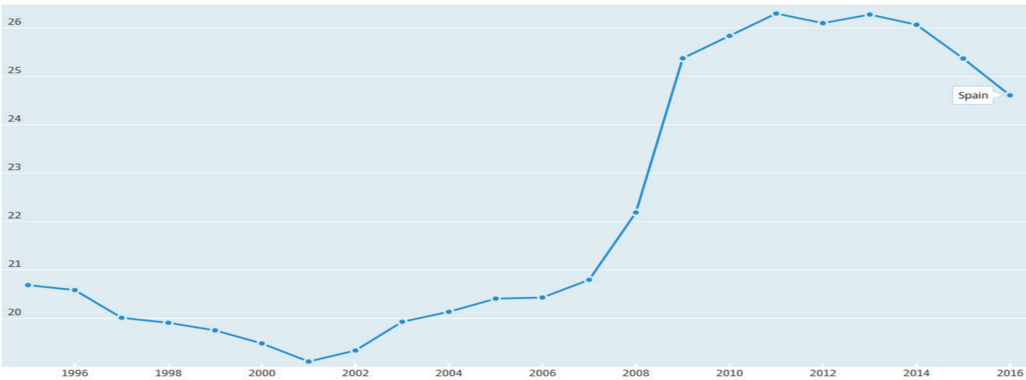
2.3. Financial and economic pressures

Spain has been one of the strongest European countries stricken by the economic crash. During the period 2000-08 the Spanish economy boasted a spectacular growth, because of the building industry and the housing prices, stemming from low interest rates and long-term mortgages (Carreras & Tafunell, 2010; Sánchez & García, 2011). With the outbreak of the 2008 economic crisis the country faced a double downturn: the global financial and economic crisis, and the one originated by the real-estate bubble burst. According to OECD, between 2008-10 the GDP slumped -3,42% and -0,39% in 2012. The labour market was particularly affected by the collapse of the construction sector. In 2013 unemployment topped 26%. The alleviation of the debt burden to financial entities by the government entailed a public deficit of 11 % in 2009 and a public debt of 118.5 % of GDP in 2014 (Castells, 2014).

As most of the European countries, in the first phase of the crisis 2008-10, and despite the drastic slump of all socioeconomic indicators, the Spanish public social protection expenditure increased from 20% to 26% between 2009-11, respectively (see figure 3).

Figure 3

Spanish social public spending as a percentage of GDP



Source: OECD.

As the previous figures show and Vis, van Kersbergen, & Hylands (2011) also pointed out there was not a major onslaught against neither the European WS nor the Spanish one in the immediate aftermath of the crisis, but quite the opposite: The initial counter policies evolved, generally speaking, more in line with *Keynesian intervention* and *compensation hypothesis* rather than a retrenchment and curtailing of the WS (Vaughan-Whitehead, 2015). But the authors warned about the advent of more austerity periods in order to re-establish the balanced budgets lost in the first phases of the crisis. From 2010 on, hefty fiscal consolidation measures to cope with the economic pressures, were put in place and were particularly tangible in countries in which the economic circumstance was worse and labour market pressures were greater (Greve, 2012). In 2011 the Spanish economy slumped into a new recessive period that lasted until 2012. The increasing public deficit compelled the government to announce austerity measures of budgetary control demanded by the European Union. Thus, a phase of austerity began in which social benefits were gradually dismantled, pensions and retirement schemes were put into hold and even reformed in order to increase the retirement age.

3. METHODOLOGY

The methodological approach in this research is the *case study* analysis which includes a mix of quantitative-qualitative techniques. The analysis of LTC changes and restructuring processes is mainly conducted within three analysis levels: the public services provision; legislative reforms; the social and institutional impact of the economic crisis according to the interviews conducted to key informants which extended to front-line professionals and managers (see Appendix details about the participants profile, institution and sector). The empirical study also includes an overview of indicators, such as the elderly population across OECD countries, the structure of population by age, life expectancy at birth and aging population in Spain (INE). In the first analysis level, quantitative indicators such as: variability of workers within the public LTC sector, and beneficiaries of residential and home-care services between 2009-16 (last data available during the study) are scrutinised. The data include workers affiliated to Social Security according to OECD database and Spanish Social Security Treasury and who work in the realms of people affected by any kind of disability and elderly dependents (these databases are listed in the reference). The shortage of data hindered to include a greater number of indicators. Unlike the first analysis level (which only allows to approach the object of study from a general perspective) the second and third analysis levels, of qualitative nature, enable to deepen into the detection of changes within the institutional and formal settings (legislative changes) as well as in their application within the care field (according to key informants). The legislative reforms examined and implemented in the wake of the 2008 economic crisis until 2017 are: The Royal Decree-Law (RD-L) 8/2010 of Adoption of Extraordinary Measures for the Reduction of the Public Deficit; the RD-L 20/2011 of Urgent Measures in Budget, Tax and Financial Subjects for the Correction of the Public Deficit; and RD-L 20/2012 of Measures to Guarantee the Budgetary Stability, and of the Promotion of Competitiveness.

The revision of changes is focused on four dimensions and ensuing categories: (a) *Natural and principles*: refers to the changes undertaken amidst the conditions of access to social protection (universal, contributory or assistance-based). The principles (elements that guide public actions) analysed are community care, prevention, equality and quality. (b) *Access procedure and recognition of rights*: In this dimension the referring changes within all formal procedures related to LTC access from the beginning to the end have been scrutinised in light of ensuing categories*: Waiting* *lists* or time that individuals have to wait to be assessed in order to be eligible to the dictates of official bodies, or to obtain economic benefits and services. These changes in the access may also arise due to the tightening of the *eligibility criteria* and the modification of the *care needs assessment scale* that makes, more or less, accessible the entrance to the system. (c) *Services provision*: It implies changes in the provision of community (day care and home-care) and residential services, and categories such as: the lack of services provisioning; restrictions in the access to certain services, as for instance, residential ones; changes within the assistance models; downgrading of the quality of services or the predominance of one provisioning over others. (d) *Organisation, management and funding*: The analysis of changes in this dimension encompasses global system financing, privatisation or outsourcing processes, changes in the balance of the contributions between different agents, for example, users' co-payment as well as changes in the labour care market conditions.

Finally, the third level of analysis captures the perceptions of the main actors in the care field related to system deployment, changes, and social and institutional impact of the crisis in the aforementioned dimensions. Semi-structured interview to key informants made out the principal instrument for collating empirical material. A total of 15 semi-structured interviews to key actors, working in the LTC sector, were carried out, along with a sample of participants formed by two types of profiles: front-line professionals (mainly social workers) and managers. The participants' profile had been chosen beforehand in order to ensure maximum diversity of point of views and direct knowledge of the care sector. Based on this criterium, participants linked to the elderly and disability services, both with technical and managers profile, and with dispersed levels of responsibility in the decision-making process, were selected. Social workers were crucial to obtain first-hand information, since they are in charge of care needs evaluation and follow-up of the individual care plan. First contact with the interviewees took place by means of e-mail in September 2017 via a brief professional introductory letter, explaining the objectives of the research, and inviting them to participate. Anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed. Most of the interviews were conducted in person between September 2017 and February 2018; others, when this was not possible, were carried out by videoconference. Most of the interviews were recorded and transcribed.

Two models of interview-guidance were elaborated as a guide. The scripts were structured in four sections: in the first section the interviewee was asked about his/her professional profile, the job, the running and organisation of the service or the overall

LTCS functioning, depending on the profile. This first section aims at understanding the interviewees' professional profile and obtaining more accurate knowledge on the LTCS deployment, the service's organisation and functioning. The second section was elaborated according to the dimensions and categories of analysis in order to compile the interviewees' opinion in relation to the changes implemented because of the economic crisis impact. The third section inquired the impact of these alterations on the users. Finally, the questions in the fourth section were designed to explore the reforms' causal or explanatory factors based on the interviewees' perception.

4. RESTRUCTURING PROCESSES AND DISCUSSION OF CHANGES

4.1. Public services provision

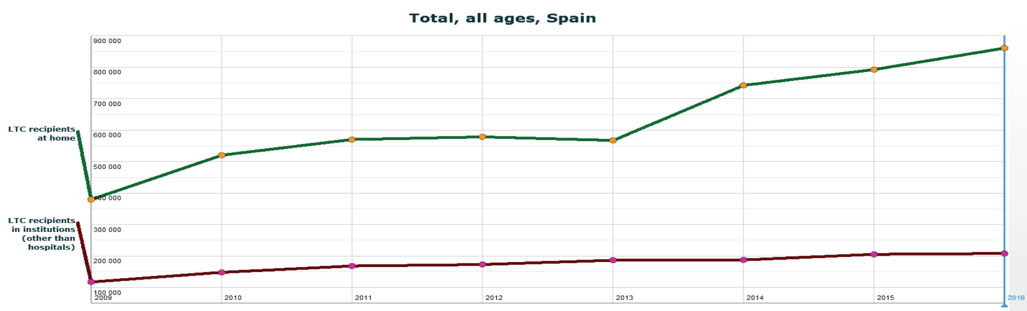
According to OECD database the *total number of workers and caregivers* in the formal care sector, both in residential and community services, grew unabatedly by 21.7% between 2009-16, with the exception of the years 2010 and 2011, when it went down 0.5 % and 0.6 %, respectively. The total *number of beneficiaries of residential care services* during the same period increased 77.3 % (going up from 117,346 to 208,108) and the number in home-care service peaked 126.8 % (rising from 379,564 to 860,859). During the first years of the system implementation, the beneficiaries (recipients) of residential care services increased by almost 40%, and by 50% of home-care services, respectively. But in 2011 this upward trend came to a halt and even decreased 2% between 2012-2013.

Nevertheless, from an overview, these indicators demonstrate a straight and widespread LTCS expansion. And on a closer look, a slight decline by 1.1% between 2010-11. As scholars mentioned in section 2, two phases are distinguishable: A first phase of growth during the crisis's immediate aftermath (2009-10), and a second phase of cutbacks and austerity measures undertaken by the Government between 2010-13. By contrast, despite the steady slump of the social protection expenditure from 2013 onwards (see figure 3), one may perceive a steady increase in the number of workers and recipients within LTC from 2013 on; particularly in terms of recipients at home. This fact is an obvious example of the opposite trend amongst '*the new social risks*' represented by Spanish LTC policies, and the '*old social risks*' represented by classic WS social policies whose expenditure endured a serious decline after 2013.

Another conspicuous tendency since the outset of the LTCS is the predominance of beneficiaries at home over residential recipients (see figure 4). Conversely, the slight rise in residential services and the decline in home-based services between 2011-13, the spectacular growth in home care-services from 2013 onwards is clearly apparent. Thus, the graph plainly shows the expansion of the Spanish LTCS since the application of the LAPAD, and the predominance in the provision of community and domiciliary services over residential services. This can be construed as an unequivocal vocation and commitment towards care within the family environment, and therefore the continuity of a clear-cut family-based model.

Figure 4

Evolution of recipients at home and in institutions between 2000-16



Source: *Long-term care recipients (indicator),* OECD (2017).

4.2. Legislative reforms

The new Spanish care system has been steadily implemented since the coming into force of the LAPAD at the beginning of 2007. This very new system, according to Hall theory (1993), initially implied a paradigmatic or third-order change by means of modifying the basic objectives and principles of the former assistance-based care system (it had been only accessible to people without economic resources) and shifting it into a universal-based system. Yet, the reforms of the Care Act had begun even before it was fully deployed which were taking place between 2010-12, and which were mainly affecting both the '*access procedure and recognition of rights*' and '*the provision of services and economic benefits*' dimensions.

Despite the tweaks undertaken within the LAPAD, these did not affect explicitly or directly the '*nature and principles of the system*' (first analysis dimension) which would have entailed a *third-order change* or *paradigmatic change* (according to Hall); they did so indirectly, for these modifications affected the rights of individuals and prevented people from accessing the system and enjoying their social rights. Even although it was not evident right at the outbreak of the crisis, legislative changes timidly began in 2010 which were justified by the unbalances provoked by the economic crisis. And later on, more acute austerity measures were implemented by means of the Stability and Growth Programme 2012-2015 in order to address Spain's debt and deficit goals.

All amendments towards the Care Act 39/2006 between 2010-12 (*RD-L 8/2010 of Extraordinary Measures for the Reduction of the Public Deficit; RD-L 20/2011 of Urgent Measures for the Correction of Public Deficit; RD-L 20/2012 of Measures for Budget Stability and Competitiveness*) affected '*the access procedure and recognition of rights*' dimension while principally handling three mechanisms: The first geared towards *extending time-limit for the recognition of right*. Since June 2010 the time-limit to resolve requests for dependency evaluation was extended from three to six months since registration of the application date. Also, the recognition of right was prolonged until the date of resolution, instead of the application date as before. Secondly, *delays in the system deployment* were extensively applied. In 2011 the implementation of moderate degree (I) of dependence had been deferred for one year, and it was again deferred in 2012. For persons whom had not been granted benefits prior to January 2012, they were not granted until July 2015. The third and last mechanism consisted of *tightening access criteria* by altering the assessment scale in order to hamper the access to the system. The levels of dependency of each degree were eliminated. Thus, the amount of economic benefits, as well as the hours for homecare services, were downgraded. All these changes prompted a general system retrenchment. In effect and most strikingly, they hindered to satisfy the dependent people`s needs. Thus, many of them were left unprotected for years.

Regarding '*provision of services and economic benefits*' dimension, the mechanisms which were set up to constrain the system consisted in *deferring and suspending the pending payments for non-professional caregivers' benefits (N-PCGB)*. Meaning that in 2010 the monetary amount pending on payment for 'retroactivity' concept was deferred, and in 2012 a time-suspension for receiving this benefit was established. Furthermore, since 2012 N-PCGB were cut back and suppressed during 2 years in conjunction with the special covenant subscribed to the Social Security for non-professional caregivers. The scale assessment modification and the ensuing suspension of dependence levels also implied a 15% slash of the amount of N-PCGB for both, old and new recipients (see table 2).

Table 2

Reduction of the N-PCGB by the RD-L 20/2012

<table>
<tr><th>Degree/Level</th><th>Previously</th><th>Afterwards</th><th>Degree</th><th>Amount</th></tr>
<tr><td>III/2</td><td>520,69€</td><td>442,59 €</td><td rowspan="2">III</td><td rowspan="2">387,64 €</td></tr>
<tr><td>III/1</td><td>416,98€</td><td>354,43 €</td></tr>
<tr><td>II/2</td><td>337,25€</td><td>286,66 €</td><td rowspan="2">II</td><td rowspan="2">268,79 €</td></tr>
<tr><td>II/1</td><td>300,90€</td><td>255,77 €</td></tr>
<tr><td>I/2</td><td>180,00€</td><td>153,00 €</td><td>I</td><td>153,00 €</td></tr>
</table>

Source: compiled by the author from the RD-L 20/2012. Economic benefit reduction among the first and second scale previously and afterwards the RD-L 2012.

With the RD-L 20/2012 (see table 3) the reduction of home-care services (HCS) took place. Ever since the monthly hours of HCS were sharply downgraded according to the dependency degree.

Table 3

Reduction of monthly hours in home-care services since the RD-L 20/2012

Previously to RD-L 20/2012		After the RD-L 20/2012
Degree III	55-90	46-70
Degree II	30-55	21-45
Degree I	21-30	Max. 20

Source: compiled by the author following the RD-L 20/2012.

Lastly, compatibility between services was also removed when RD-L 20/2012 came into force. From that moment on it was not feasible to perceive more than one service, with the exception of telecare and the HCS. It is worth mentioning that between 2010-14, in some regions, legislative changes relating to the 'organisation, management and funding' dimension were undertaken, such as the increase of users' co-payment and the inclusion of users' assets to calculate their co-payment. An economic threshold for being eligible: 19,000€ (degree II) and 24,000€ (degree III) respectively, was established in order to become eligible for economic benefits geared towards the purchase of services. And there was a progressive reduction of the Regions' minimum funding levels by the State as well. Table 4 contains an overview of the most significant legislative changes throughout the scrutinised period.

Table 4

Legislative reforms in the period 2008-17 following the analytical dimensions

Dimensions	RD-L 8/2010	RD-L 20/2011	RD-L 20/2012	Other territorial reforms in 2014
• Access procedure and recognition of the right	• Time-term extension of the right recognition.	• Delays in the system deployment.	• Delays in the system deployment.	
• Provision of services and economic benefits	• N-PCGB Payment deferred for a maximum period of 5 years.		• Tightening the access. • N-PCGB Payment deferred for 8 years • N-PCGB suspension for 2 years. • Reduction of the N-PCGB and services. • Removal of compatibility between services.	
• Organisation, management and funding				• Increase of co-payment. • Establishment an economic threshold to receive benefits. • Reduction of regional funding by the Central Government.

Source: compiled by the author according to the legislative reforms.

4.3. Social and institutional impact of the economic crisis

Most of the interviewees agreed that the Care Act implied a considerable legislative advance in the Spanish social rights for dependants by bringing in the *principle of universality* within the social services. Likewise, they highlighted that the restructuring processes applied, even before having completely unfolded the system, made this principle impossible to implement. The reason was that contractions prompted the ineffective coverage of needs due to cuts, the shortage of public services and the excessive slowness for accessing the system. On top of that, since its incipience, although the law stresses out the promotion of personal autonomy, the system basically focused on the care for dependent situations whilst neglecting the promotion of autonomy and prevention principles. This very negligence of personal autonomy promotion has been one of the most aspects highlighted by the interviewees, especially, by those working in the disability sector.

In relation to the '*access procedure and recognition of the right*' dimension, the professionals point out that the removal of the dependence levels since 2012 has had a strong impact on the users. Not only because of the cuts and downgrading in the provision, but also because of the restriction of access to the system through changes applied in the assessment scale. One of the most affected areas by these restrictions was residential services, since only grades II and III are able to access. The original assessment scale, as expressed by one of the persons in charge of the public dependence assessment agency (SEVAD, for its acronym in Spanish), only evaluated whether a person could perform a task and which supports he/she needed to carry this out. Whereas in the updated scale 'frequency' is introduced: when the frequency to carry out a task is low, the item does not score. Thus, the level of dependency is reduced.

In general terms, interviewees sense that at the onset of the system's deployment the care evaluations were comparatively far laxer and tended to grant higher dependency scores. However, gradually the criteria became much more restrictive. These restrictions of access criteria and assessment scale also exerted a direct impact on the services' providers. A daily centre manager exposed that these kinds of services, characterised by their unambiguous rehabilitation and prevention roles, were compelled to adapt the service with the same economic resources to users with a higher care needs profile, when these restrictions were put into place. A further shortcoming revealed was the unavailability of access due to the waiting lists; above all, in residential services, thus implying that other protection systems were urged to meet the care needs. The consequences of the access restrictions compelled dependant people to stay at home over a long period of time, in spite of suffering from a high health deterioration, and consequently, even some of them passed away before receiving the benefits they were entitled to.

Amidst the *provisions of services and economic benefits* (third analysis dimension), hand in hand with all aforementioned, the historical public services deficit in the Mediterranean Welfare model has induced a deviation towards the cash benefits provision via N-PCGB instead of services since the Law's inception. In light of the services' shortfall, a low care-cost coverage was promoted by the enlargement of this N-PCGB which incentivised care within the family environment (care in place) and reinforced so the family-based nature of the system and its re-familiarisation. It prompted the emergence of new strands of caring within the informal market economy composed by migrant women, too.

Those families who failed to take care of their dependent relatives spend that allowance for buying care in this informal market where labour is cheaper than in the formal sector. Payments' suspension of the caregivers' Social Security also entailed a significant loss of rights, and forced some of the family members to return to the labour market and to assume the double role of worker-caregiver with its ensuing increase in physical and emotional overload. The introduction of the cash benefits for services caused a system's re-commodification as a consequence of the promotion of the private sector by the public bodies. This re-commodification process is also made visible through the strategies employed by the Administration which accredited and granted private entities to provide services.

Regarding the fourth-dimension, interviewees hallmark the precarious system organisation and planning already at the beginning of its deployment in 2007. The shortness of foresight for the needs of dependent people, coupled with the shortage of material and technical resources, led to a chaotic situation during its implementation which lasted until 2012. Concerning the financing, the progressive downgrading in funding from the central Government since 2010 generated a high indebtedness of the Regions, because these had to bear the full weight of the system financing.

The growing tendency towards outsourcing the management and replacing the concept of 'network of public services' with that of 'network of publicly financed services' has also been pointed out. This involves an evident shift inside the management of care services in favour of the profit sector, and hence a re-commodification of the system. Many veteran entities from the non-profit sector, which have been managing care services for years, lose out when a public tender is opened, because private entities offer much more competitive prices in spite of the downgrading of the care services delivered. Since 2012, in some Regions, there has been an upgrading of the user's co-payment, especially within the realm of people with disability. The social workers consider this fact utterly unfair, because co-payments are made by the people with disabilities, and these are pretty high and poorly tailored to their social integration needs.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Despite the fact that Spain's ageing population is one of the highest inside the EU, its LTCS is relatively new compared to other European countries. The reasons therefore have been historically attributed to the high solidarity among family members. This has contributed to shape a LTC policy focused on scarce cash transfers, geared towards the reinforcement of family care commitments, and which was labelled by some scholars as implicit family-based care model (Leitner, 2003). Initially, the enactment of the LAPAD 39/2006 implied, from a theoretical standpoint, a genuine 'paradigmatic change' or 'third-order change' by means of modifying the nature and goals of the former care policy (Hall, 1993). On the basis of Esping-Andersen (1990) modelling, it meant a shift from an 'assistance-based' care, centred on the poorest and with a high level of family burden (characteristic of a 'non-caring state regime'), towards a 'universal-based model' (or 'universal care regime') in which the state provides care to all needy persons, thus releasing family members from the burden of caring (Daly & Lewis, 2000).

But while it is true that the development of the LAPAD clashed head-on with the financial and economic crisis in 2008, according the interviewees the organisational and financial weaknesses of the system were evident from the start when it had been put in place. Despite the fact that all statistical indicators analysed display a considerable increase during almost the entire period, they fail to capture, in detail, the system's evolvement. Although, in truth, there was a relative growth compared to the high level of care needs of the dependant population. During the period analysed two phases or a double process of implementation-expansion (2008-10) and restructuring-retrenchment (2010-17) can be distinguished.

In the first phase of implementation-expansion, even although there is a, more or less, general augmentation in the three analysis levels, the system`s shortcomings became obvious in terms of a lack of economic resources, and organisational issues. As early as from this first stage of development, the deficit in resources led to delays inside the assessment of dependency and the procedures for accessing rights. The scarcity of public services, both in the community and institutional setting, entailed a deviation towards cash benefits provision for carers. Hence, it could be claimed that this focus on cash benefits provision and re-orientation of care towards the family environment would have implied a reinforcement of the former system's family-based nature. As Pavolini & Ranci (2013) also pointed out, it would have also meant a re-familiarisation of the system by transferring the responsibility of care to the family setting.

In the second phase of restructuring-retrenchment, the types of changes implemented corresponded with first and second-order changes. As already mentioned, the mechanisms applied to downsize the system were mainly centred on: restricting the access criteria by means of restricting the assessment scale; delaying the system's deployment in terms of the access to the rights; and curtailing the provision of services and payment of cash benefits. On the other hand, the main restructuring processes applied by the Administrations was cost-containment for reducing the public debt and deficit. All these instruments were implemented in order to downsize the LTCS. And, even although the first and second-order changes are not directed to alter the main objectives of the system's 'paradigmatic change', these very changes hindered the new system to meet such goals.

Thus, the widespread cash-benefits have entailed a re-familiarisation and a re-commodification of the new Spanish LTCS. Its generalisation of the cash benefits also contributed to the proliferation of an unregulated care market, composed of female migrant workers who work full-time and cohabit inside the family. Furthermore, the cost containment process implied a reduction of the entries into institutions, or 'de-institutionalisation' whilst putting the emphasis of the care on the community and family rather than on the institutions, thus lowering the cost of care, as defended by some scholars.

In general terms, it is evident that the expectations, raised by the new universal-based LTCS on a subjective right, have not been fulfilled. In practice, from the start the initial hiccups in the development and the shortage of resources throughout the system`s deployment brought about the ineffectiveness of the actual implementation of the principles and rights upheld by the Law. Already during the implementation phase, organisational problems and the shortage of resources impeded the coverage of the real needs of dependent people. The endemic provision of public services (a feature of the Spanish WS) grants the system a clear market and familiar-based focus, as a result of the bias in favour of the cash-benefits-centred provision for caring within the family realm. The LAPAD was integrated inside the social services system in which there has traditionally been an important lack of public endowment of resources and services. This shortage, along with the outbreak of the crisis, precipitated the restructuring and the cuts of the system, and the inability to meet users' care needs.

Lastly, based on what has been stated so far, the compelling challenges of the Spanish LTCS are to overcome its familiar and assistance-based nature. This is only feasible with a sufficient endowment of economic resources and services to cover the care needs of all dependent people. In order to transcend the family-based tendency of the system, it would be crucial to provide it with a powerful network of high-end public services by means of expanding residential care to those persons who, due to their high levels of dependency or social problems, cannot remain at home. This should go hand in hand with bolstering the community service system. That means: to equip the LTCS with sufficient and professional quality home services. This would imply, both training and improvement of care worker conditions, and to provide the system with a set of procedures which would warrant the quality of care and the rights of dependent people.

REFERENCES

Anttonen, A., & Sipilä, J. (2005). Comparative approaches to social care: diversity in care production modes. In B. Pfau-Effinger & B. Geissler. (ed.), *Care and Social Integration in European Societies* (pp. 115-134). Bristol: Policy Press.

Jové, E. A. (2020). Impact of the economic crisis and contractions within the European long-term care systems [Manuscript submitted for publication]. *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy* (date of acceptance, December 3rd 2020. Pending of publication).

Bettio, F., & Plantenga, J. (2004). Comparing care regimes in Europe. *Feminist Economics*, *10*(1), 85-113.

Bettio, F., Simonazzi, A., & Villa, P. (2006). Change in Care Regimes and female migration: the 'care drain' in the Mediterranean. *Journal of European Social Policy, 16*(3), 271-285.

Carreras, A., & Tafunell, X. (2010). *Historia Económica de la España contemporánea (1978-2009).* Barcelona, Spain: Crítica.

Castells, M. (2014). La crisis económica europea: una crisis política. *EuropeG.* http://www.europeg.com/es/actualidad/noticias?start=30

Consejo de Europa. (1998). *Recomendación Nº R. (98)9 del Comité de Ministros a los Estados Miembros relativa a la dependencia*. http://envejecimiento.csic.es/documentacion/biblioteca/registro.htm?id=51023

Council of the European Union. (2003). *Joint report by the Commission and the Council on supporting national strategies for the future of health care and care for the elderly*. http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/soc-prot/healthcare/elderly_en.pdf

Council of the European Union, European Parliament and European Commission (2017). *European Pillar of Social Rights*. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/social-summit-european-pillar-social-rights-booklet_en.pdf

Da Roit, B., & Le Bihan, B. (2010). Similar and yet so different: Cash-for-care in six European countries' long-term care policies. *The Milbank Quarterly*, *88*(3), 286-309.

Daly, M. (2012). Making Policy for Care: Experiences in Europe and its implications for Asia. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, *32*(11/12), 623-635.

Daly, M., & Lewis, J. (2000). The concept of social care and the analysis of contemporary welfare states. *British Journal of Sociology*, *51*(2), 281-298.

Decree 142/2010, § 5738, (2010, October 11). Approves the Social Services portfolio 2010-2011. https://portaldogc.gencat.cat/utilsEADOP/PDF/5738/1610152.pdf

Deusdad, B., Comas-d'Argemir, D., & Dziegielewski, S. (2016). Restructuring Long-term care in Spain: the impact of the economic crisis on social policies and social practice. *Journal of Social Service Research, 42*(2), 246-262.

Deusdad, B., Lev, S., Pace, Ch., & Vell, S. (2017). Care for older people in three Mediterranean countries: discourses, policies and realities of de-institutionalisation. In *Social Services disrupted. Implications and challenges for a crisis-ridden Europe.* London. UK: Edward Elgar publishers.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Esping-Andersen, G. (2000). *Fundamentos sociales de las economías postindustriales.* Barcelona: Arial.

European Commission. (2007). *Comunicación de la Comisión al Consejo, al Parlamento Europeo, al Comité Económico y Social Europeo y al Comité de las Regiones.*

Ferrera, M. (1996). The 'Southern Model' of welfare in social Europe. *Journal of European Social Policy, 6*(1), 17-37.

Flaquer, L. (2002). Familia y estado de bienestar en la Europa del sur. In L. Flaquer. (ed.) *Políticas familiares en la Unión Europea* (pp. 175-208). Barcelona, Spain: *ICPS.*

Greve, B. (2012). Editorial Introduction: Overview and conclusion. In B. Greve. (ed.). *The Times They Are Changing? Crisis and the Welfare State* (pp. 1-6). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hall, P. (1993). Policy paradigm, social learning and the state: The case of economic policy in Britain. *Comparative Politics*, *25*(3), 275-296.

Institute for the Elderly and Social Services (IMSERSO). (2005). *White Paper on Care of Dependency.* https://www.imserso.es/InterPresent2/groups/imserso/documents/binario/libroblanco.pdf

Institute National Statistic (INE). (2016). Projection of the Spanish population by age group and from 2031 and 2066. *Press Releases*. https://www.ine.es/prensa/np994.pdf

INE (2020a). Life expectancy at birth by sex indicator. Retrieved December 12, 2020 from https://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Datos.htm?t=1414#!tabs-tabla

INE (2020b). Population Structure Indicators. Retrieved December 12, 2020 from https://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Tabla.htm?t=1488

Kodate, N., & Timonen, V. (2017). Bringing the Family in through the Back Door: the Stealthy Expansion of Family Care in Asian and European Long-Term Care Policy. *J Cross Cult Gerontol 32,* 291-301.

Care Act 39/2006. (2006, 14th December). Promotion of Personal Autonomy and Care for Dependent Persons. Jefatura del Estado. *BOE* Nº 299, BOE-A-2006-21990. http://dixit.gencat.cat/ca/detalls/Article/20061214LLEI392006

Leitner, S. (2003). Varieties of familism: The caring function of the family in comparative perspective. *European Societies*, *5*(4), 353-375.

Marbán, V. (2012). Actores sociales y desarrollo de la ley de dependencia en España', *Revista Internacional de Sociología*, *70*(2), 375-398.

Martínez, R. (2006). El cuidado de ancianos: Un nicho laboral para mujeres inmigrantes y un reto de gestión para las entidades del tercer sector. *Revista Española del Tercer Sector*, (4), 145-173.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2011). *Help wanted? providing and paying for long-term care.* Paris: OECD. https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264097759-en

OECD (2017). *Social spending (indicator).* http://doi.org/10.1787/7497563b-en (accessed August 9, 2017).

OECD (2017). *Long-term care recipients (indicator).* Retrieved October 28, 2017 from https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=HEALTH_LTCR OECD

OECD (2019), Life expectancy. *Society at a Glance 2019: OECD Social Indicators*, OECD Publishing, Paris. https://doi.org/10.1787/5d08dbc5-en

OECD (2020), Elderly population (indicator). https://doi.org/10.1787/8d805ea1-en

Oso, L., & Parella, S. (2012). Inmigración, género y mercado de trabajo: Una panorámica de la investigación sobre la inserción laboral de las mujeres inmigrantes en España. *Cuadernos de Relaciones Laborales*, *30*(1), 11-44.

Österle, A. & Rothgang, H. (2010). Long-Term Care. In F.G. Castles, S. Leibfried, J. Lewis, H. Obinger, & C. Pierson (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199579396.003.0026

Pavolini, E., & Ranci, C. (2008). Restructuring the Welfare State: Reforms in long-term care in Western European countries. *Journal of European Social Policy*, *18*(3), 246-259.

Pavolini, E., & Ranci, C. (2013). Reforms in long-term care policies in Europe: An introduction. In C. Ranci & E. Pavolini (Ed.), *Reforms in long-term care policies in Europe* (pp. 3-22). New York: Springer.

Pierson, P. (2001). Coping with permanent austerity, Welfare State restructuring in affluent Democracies. In *the New Politics of the Welfare State* (pp. 410-456). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rodríguez Cabrero, G. (2007). El marco institucional de la protección social de la dependencia en España. *Estudios de Economía Aplicada, (25)*2, 341-372.

Rodríguez Cabrero, G. (2009). El desarrollo de la política social de promoción de la autonomía y atención a las personas en situación de dependencia en España (2007-2009). https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237031975_El_desarrollo_de_la_politica_social_de_promocion_de_la_autonomia_y_atencion_a_las_personas_en_situacion_de_dependencia_en_Espana_2007-2009

Rodríguez Cabrero, G. (2011). Políticas sociales de atención a la dependencia en los Regímenes de Bienestar de la Unión Europea, *Cuadernos de Relaciones Laborales*, 2*9*(1), 13-42.

Rodríguez Rodríguez, P. (2005). El apoyo informal a las personas mayores en España y la protección social a la dependencia. Del familismo a los derechos de ciudadanía. *Revista Española de Geriatría y Gerontología* (40)2, 5-15.

Royal Decree 174/2011, § 3174, (2011, February 11). Approves the scale of assessment of the situation of dependency established by Act 39/2006, of 14th December, on the Promotion of Personal Autonomy and Care for Dependent Persons. https://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2011-3174

Royal Decree-Law (RD-L) 8/2010, § 126, (2010, May 24). Adoption of Extraordinary Measures for the Reduction of the Public Deficit. https://www.boe.es/eli/es/rdl/2010/05/20/8/dof/spa/pdf

RD-L 20/2011, § 315, (2011, December 31). Urgent Measures in Budget, Tax and Financial Subjects for the Correction of the Public Deficit. https://www.boe.es/boe/dias/2011/12/31/pdfs/BOE-A-2011-20638.pdf

RD-L 20/2012, § 168, (2012, July 13). Measures to Ensure the Budgetary Stability and Promotion of the Competitiveness. https://www.boe.es/boe/dias/2012/07/14/pdfs/BOE-A-2012-9364.pdf

Sánchez, M. A., & García, F. (2011). Crisis económicas y cambio institucional en España: de la gran depresión a la crisis de 2008. http://www.ugr.es/~teoriahe/RePEc/gra/fegper/FEGWP211.pdf

Spasova, S., Baeten, R., Coster, S., Ghailani, D., Peña-Casas, R., & Vanhercke, B. (2018). Challenges in long-term care in Europe. A study of national policies, European Social Policy Network (ESPN), Brussels: European Commission.

Urgerson, C. (2005). Gender, Labour market and care work in five European Funding Regimes. In B. Pfau-Effinger & B. Geissler (ed). *Care and Social Integration in European Societies*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Vaughan-Whitehead, D. (2015). The European Social Model in times of crisis: An overview. In D. Vaughan-Whitehead (ed.) *The European Social Model in crisis: Is Europe losing its soul?* (pp. 1-65). Geneve: Edward Elgar Publishing and ILO.

Vis, B., van Kersbergen, K., & Hylands, T. H. (2011). To what extent did the financial crisis intensify the pressure to reform the Welfare State? *Social Policy & Administration*, *45*(4), 338–353.

World Health Organization (WHO). (2007). Global age-friendly cities: a guide. https://www.who.int/ageing/publications/Global_age_friendly_cities_Guide_English.pdf?ua=1

APPENDIX

PARTICIPANTS	PROFILES	INSTITUTIONS	SECTORS
FORNT-LINE PROFESSIONALS	Social workers in care services	Municipal Social Services	Public
	Social worker specialized in people with disabilities	ONCE	Third sector
	Speech therapist specialising in dementia	Association of Alzheimer's sufferers in Gavà	Third sector
	Legal advisor on disability	Full Inclusion-Dincat	Third Sector
MANAGERS	Residence Director and President of the ASCAD	Association of Directors of Care for Dependent Persons (ASCAD)	Third sector
	Responsible for dependency assessment services	Badalona Care Services SEVAD	Public
	Responsible for the area of social welfare	ECOM Federation	Third sector
	Responsible for pendency evaluations	Department of Labour, Social Affairs and the Family of the Generalitat	Public
	Social worker reference of dependence	Department of Labour, Social Affairs and the Family of the Generalitat	Public
	Residence manager	Redòs Foundation	Third sector
	Responsible for the care of people with intellectual disabilities	Full Inclusion - Dincat	Third sector

doi: 10.31211/interacoes.n39.2020.a2

Conflicts Around Elder Care in Mass Media: A Case Study of a Swedish TV-Documentary and the Reactions to it in Public Discourse

Magnus Nilsson

Linköping University - magnus.nilsson@liu.se

Abstract

Public opinion regarding the organization of welfare and elder care are issues which have mainly been studied as expressions of individual attitudes or conflicting ideologies. By contrast, and departing from an understanding of the importance of context and societal rhetoric, this study explores a media event in the form of a Swedish TV documentary about problems in elder care and the reactions to it that were published in printed news media. The study departs from a discursive psychological perspective and focuses on what is taken for granted with regard to how elder care should be organized, and which conflicts are articulated in the different articles and opinion pieces that were published during the month following the broadcast.

The study also shows how elder care is not a singular issue, but always interconnected with issues such as citizenship, identity, migration, and the legitimacy of the political and legal system. It was found that right to formal care for older people to a large extent was articulated as a right by virtue of citizenship.

Keywords: Elder care, citizenship, mass media, discourse analysis.

Conflitos em Torno da Assistência a Idosos nos Meios de Comunicação Social: Um Estudo de Caso de um Documentário Televisivo Sueco e as Reações ao Mesmo no Discurso Público

Resumo

A opinião pública relativamente à organização do bem-estar e dos cuidados a idosos são questões que têm sido estudadas principalmente como expressões de atitudes individuais ou ideologias conflituosas. Em contraste, e partindo de uma compreensão da importância do contexto e da retórica social, este estudo explora um evento mediático sob a forma de um documentário televisivo sueco sobre problemas na assistência ao idoso e as reações a ele que foram publicadas nos meios noticiosos impressos. O estudo parte de uma perspetiva psicológica discursiva e concentra-se no que é tido como garantido no que diz

respeito à forma como os cuidados aos idosos devem ser organizados, e que conflitos são articulados nos diferentes artigos e pareceres que foram publicados durante o mês seguinte à emissão.
O estudo também mostra como a assistência a idosos não é uma questão singular, mas sempre interligada com questões como cidadania, identidade, migração, e a legitimidade do sistema político e legal. Constatou-se que o direito a cuidados formais para pessoas idosas foi em grande medida articulado como um direito em virtude da cidadania.

Palavras-chave: Cuidados ao idoso, cidadania, meios de comunicação de massas, análise do discurso.

INTRODUCTION

Sweden is a Nordic welfare state with comparatively extensive welfare arrangements for older people (Chung, Hrast, & Rakar, 2018). In Sweden, health care and social services are primarily, but not exclusively, financed through taxes and guaranteed by law for all citizens through the Social Services Act (2001). Until the early 1990s, both health care and social services were provided almost exclusively by public sector providers. Since then, however, there have been substantial changes to the organization of the Swedish welfare state. Notably, the welfare sector has gone through a marketization with an increased emphasis on private providers and market solutions. A market logic has been introduced, and official discourse has come to emphasize the role of the consumer over that of the citizen (Blomqvist, 2004; Meagher & Szebehely, 2013; Nilsson, Jönson, Carlstedt, & Harnett, 2018; see also Clarke & Newman, 1997).

In parallel to this development, there has been a retrenchment of the welfare state in general, and increasingly fewer people now have access to the elder care system. There has been a reduction in places at nursing homes, and the threshold for admission has crept upwards. The share of people above the age of 80 residing in nursing homes decreased from 20 percent in 2001 to 13 percent in 2013 (Socialstyrelsen, 2016). The residents of nursing homes have extensive care needs and the majority have dementia (National Board of Health and Welfare, 2013). The median age for moving into a nursing home is 86 years (National Board of Health and Welfare, 2016). Even though the next of kin – apart from a spouse – do not have a legal obligation to care for older relatives, there is growing pressure on them to do so as the welfare system is pulled back. The marketization of welfare services has not been without conflict, and there have been frequent protests.

Among scholars there is a fear that the retrenchment of welfare services and the increased pressures on the individual, together with a changing demography and a challenged economic situation, may increase competition for resources among groups in society (Chung et al., 2018). Social problems risk becoming even more individualized (van Oorschot, 2006). It has also been suggested that this may strengthen arguments for even more welfare cutbacks and increased pressure on families and civil society, as well as arguments for more individualized market solutions as the public systems fail to live up to people's expectations. In Swedish public opinion, support for the marketization of welfare services has been weak. Instead, as Svallfors (2011) has shown, there has been strong and stable support for tax-funded, publicly provided welfare services. However, trust in the performance of the welfare system – including elder care – has decreased (see also Holmberg & Weissbilder, 2018).

Public opinion and conflicting ideas about the organization of welfare and elder care are issues which have mainly been studied through questionnaires, as studies of individual attitudes and opinions. By contrast, and departing from an understanding of the importance of context and societal rhetoric, this study is designed as a case study (Yin, 2003; Baxter & Jack, 2008) that explores a media event in the form of a Swedish TV documentary and reactions to this documentary published in printed news media. The aim of this approach is to be able to be attentive to the significance of the context of utterances and how these utterances relate to each other as positions regarding elder care are developed in relation to established societal narratives. The documentary was produced by the Swedish public broadcasting company *Sveriges Television* (SVT), and depicted the plight of two women as they struggled to care for their loved ones and how formal elder care failed them. The documentary was widely discussed in the mass media during the following weeks. The documentary and the ensuing reactions in the mass media provide an opportunity to study the rhetorical landscape of public discourse concerning the role of society and the individual in organizing care for older people. In order to study how different positions and arguments are played out the main focus of the analysis is on the reactions that were published as reactions to the documentary.

This study's specific focus on the rhetorical landscape in the mass media is based on the fact that the mass media is a central part of contemporary society and, as Chamberlain and Hodgetts (2008, p. 1111) argue, "plays a role in setting, sustaining and undermining political structures and social policies". Even in today's fragmented media landscape, the national mass media provides shared resources for understanding society, how it functions, and which issues are relevant and have a status as serious and problematic issues, as well as how people should relate to one another (Westlund & Weibull, 2013; Chamberlain & Hodgetts, 2008). Society and politics have become 'mediatized', that is, society has become imbued with the presence of the media, and part of the performance of institutions is now measured by how they are represented in the mass media (Marcinkowski, 2014). A documentary such as the one used here taps into established narratives in order to tell a story, while also functioning as a foundation for the further development of narratives of society, community and justice. In relation to this, the aim of the paper is to analyse 1) what is taken for granted with regard to how elder care should be organized in Sweden, and 2) which conflicts are articulated in the different articles and opinion pieces that were published during the month following the broadcast.

FROM WELFARE ATTITUDES TO THE RHETORICAL LANDSCAPE OF THE MASS MEDIA

There are two main approaches to studying public opinion on welfare arrangements for older people. The approach that is most commonly referred to is the self-interest perspective, which starts from the hypothesis that support for welfare arrangements is based on the idea that people support programmes they themselves benefit from, in the short or the long term, directly or indirectly. For example, women's stronger support for public provision of elder care is often explained as an outcome of self-interest, since a lack of support from formal elder care will likely increase the care burden on them. Self-interest is also said to increase the risk of intergenerational conflict, as people are assumed to look out for themselves above others, even though there is a lack of studies confirming this empirically (Prinzen, 2014; Daatland, Veenstra, & Herlofson, 2012).

The second approach focuses on the importance of norms and values for the support of different welfare arrangements. Here, the foundation for opinions and attitudes towards welfare and societal support for different groups is the socialization into the way that society is organized. This approach is based on a view that normative ideas of reciprocity, justice and obligations influence the way people understand their rights and responsibilities as members of a political community (i.e. 'society'), and that there is – or should be – a correspondence between these sentiments and the rules and economic organization of welfare (Kohli, 1991; Svallfors, 2008; Mau, 2004; Minkler & Cole, 1992). According to Bode (2007, p. 203), this perspective on the relationships between welfare institutions and regulations implies that "institutions of the welfare state must (at least partially) be seen as an expression of moral rationales". The working of the institutions of society, and especially welfare institutions, is thus cast in a moral light. This implies, as shown for example by van Oorschot (2006), that support for welfare arrangements is influenced by ideology and how one sees the responsibility of the individual, the state and other institutions in society, and their respective roles.

These two approaches are unified in that they aim to tap into the thinking of the individual and treat the positions of individuals as rather stable across contexts. As a complement to this, the present study focuses on the rhetorical landscape of public discourse as a field that is part of the shaping of attitudes and policies. In order to describe the approach adopted in this paper, I will use the notion of deservingness as an example. Research has shown that the notion of deservingness is central to the understanding of how people relate to, support or reject welfare state support for different groups (van Oorschot, 2000; Will, 1993; Jönson & Nilsson, 2007; Slothuus, 2007; Crepaz, 2008; Petersen, Slothuus, Stubager; & Togeby, 2011). Van Oorschot (2000, p.36) identified five criteria that organize the perception of deservingness. He found that a person is seen as more deserving if he or she is perceived not to be responsible for his predicament. The greater the need, the more deserving one is perceived as. The more one is seen as one of 'us', the more deserving one is of help and assistance compared to someone who is perceived as an outsider. The more grateful or compliant one is, the more deserving. Lastly, deservingness is based on the degree to which one is perceived to have contributed to society. For example, according to van Oorschot (2000), someone who has worked and paid taxes is seen as more deserving compared to a person who has made their living from crime.

This study departs from the position that how deservingness is associated with certain social characteristics or groups, such as older people, depends on how their situation and characteristics are framed in discourse. This may vary from context to context and over time. Categories such as 'older people' or 'pensioners' are themselves the result of processes of social construction. Their meanings and values change across contexts, and who is included in these categories is often defined by the context of articulation. One example that highlights this is the category 'older immigrants', who are sometimes – but not always – included in the general concept of 'older people'. Van Oorschot (2006) showed that immigrants were not as easily seen as deserving, as they are not seen as one of 'us'. However, the degree to which immigrants are seen as 'others' varies between groups of immigrants. It also depends on the rhetoric in society, for example the relative success in recent years of the political tactics of right-wing populist movements and parties of branding Muslims as 'criminals', 'terrorists' and so on. Hence, how and why particular categories fit the criteria of 'deserving' is a matter of active articulation in relation to the understanding of a 'we' and 'society' as a totality (cf. Nilsson, 2017). Thus, as Will (1993) indicates, deservingness is dependent on the way that claims are embedded in a narrative context. A study by Chung et al. (2018) on how people reason and argue regarding the welfare of older people in different European countries also emphasizes the very contextual nature of these arguments, and how they are related to the political discourse as well as the specific welfare regime. So instead of aiming to study the attitudes of individuals, this paper focuses on what I call the rhetorical landscape and the narratives of elder care in public discourse.

DATA AND ANALYSIS

The decision to study a TV documentary and subsequent reactions to it in the mass media is treated as a qualitative case study. A qualitative case study is characterized by the fact that it provides an opportunity to study phenomena as they unfold through different interrelated practices. This is also why the focus of the analysis is on the reactions to the documentary that were published in news media. A case study is, according to Yin (2003), relevant when the focus is on questions of 'how' and 'why', if one is unwilling or unable to manipulate or intervene in the process that is studied, when contextual aspects are relevant to the issue, and when the context itself plays a part in what is articulated (see also Baxter & Jack, 2008).

The relevance of the data is based on two assumptions. First, the analysis proceeds from the assumption that the TV documentary was created using established narratives of elder care in Sweden. Second, the documentary makes claims regarding the problems and solutions of elder care in Sweden. However, it does not dictate the reactions or how it will be used by other actors in public discourse, or by people in general. The documentary and its narrative are used in different ways in the newspaper articles. These include reporting on the documentary, accusations against politicians who are seen as responsible, suggestions for improvements, and so on. A range of meaning-making and claims-making tasks are carried out with reference to the documentary, and the reactions can show taken-for-granted assumptions about both what is right, what is possible, and how society is understood to work. The documentary is thus treated both as a statement that needs to be described and analysed in itself, and as an event that gives rise to reactions in the form of other mass media texts. The documentary can be used in a variety of ways by different media actors, but provides an anchoring point for the articulation of meaning. The interplay, or intertextuality, between the documentary and subsequent media items highlights cultural resources and taken-for-granted meanings in public discourse.

News items in the form of articles, opinion pieces and letters to the editor published in Swedish newspapers were collected using the database *Retreiver Mediearkivet* by the author. The database collects articles from all major newspapers and magazines, as well as smaller, more regional publications from across Sweden. A search of the database was carried out using the title of the documentary, *Hem till varje pris* (*Home at any cost*), as a search term. The dates for the search were set from the day the documentary was aired (16 January 2016) until one month later. In total, the documentary was mentioned in 73 newspapers across Sweden. However, the majority of those were short listings for the documentary in the TV schedules. Twenty newspapers and news outlets published articles relating to the documentary. The public broadcasting company SVT also published several articles on both its national website and its regional pages. Most of the newspapers represented in the data are local newspapers. Only one of the newspapers has national coverage. One of the magazines included in the data is a membership magazine called *Veteranen* (*the Veteran*) for one of the national pensioner's organizations. In total, 52 original pieces were published during the studied period and were all included in the study.[1]

The largest category of items is news articles, with 23 items. This category includes interviews with politicians. Together, opinion pieces (six items) and letters to the editor (18 items) accounted for 24 items. This shows that the documentary generated many reactions from different actors in society. The data also contains many more re-

1 Significantly more articles on elder care in general were published during the period. It is possible that some of these are related to the documentary, but since it is not mentioned by name they have not shown up among the items collected for this study.

actions from 'ordinary people', since both SVT and *Veteranen* called for their readers to send in their own experiences of elder care for publication on their websites. Each of these was counted as one item, as they were published as such. SVT published 43 individual stories and *Veteranen* published 13.

The data was categorized and analysed by the author. In order to refine the categorization and analysis the data was reread and re-coded several times in order to refine the analysis.

The analysis draws on the insights from discourse analysis, particularly discursive psychology, as this field has developed extensive tools for analysing language use in action and the rhetorical aspects of language use (Wheterell & Potter, 1988; Potter, 1996). Despite its name, discursive psychology is not interested in what people 'really think' or how an analysis of language can be used to understand the psychology of language users. Instead, the focus is rather on how people construct arguments and use language in order to attend to some context-specific discursive business.

One concept that is central to this study, and that is vital to discursive psychology, is the that of *interpretative repertoire* (Wetherell & Potter, 1988). Language is used constructively, and what is appropriate to the context varies, as it affects what one aims to achieve in the situation. In order to be intelligible and comprehensible, language use needs to attune to established repertoires of meaning. These are called interpretative repertoires. Interpretative repertoires of meaning are used by social actors, both in constructions of utterances and in their interpretation. Potter (1996, p.116) describes interpretative repertoires as "systematically related sets of terms, often used with stylistic and grammatical coherence, and often organized around one or more central metaphors". Here, it is also important to note that actors draw on the established terms, metaphors and narratives of certain repertoires when constructing statements. Analytically, it is the regularities in the variation and context-boundedness of language use that point to these interpretative repertoires, as they cannot be analytically constructed from a single utterance. The analytic construction of interpretative repertoires in the data can point to what is taken for granted and which themes are available for different ways of articulating the moral underpinnings of elder care. What interpretative repertoires are found is therefore always generated by the analysis and cannot be predetermined by the researcher. Interpretative repertoires are important here, as they show what is taken for granted regarding, in this case, elder care, whose responsibility care is and what the problems of elder care are seen to be, as well as what the points of contention or conflict are within public discourse.

In line with Wetherell and Potter (1988), frequency does not define the importance or relevance of an interpretative repertoire in the analysis. Rather, the analysis focuses on mapping the interpretative repertoires that are used and the arguments that are developed with them. It should also be pointed out that this type of analysis can reveal which interpretative repertoires are represented and used by actors in the mass media, but it does not claim to show how the audience will interpret and use the texts (Chamberlain & Hodgetts, 2008).

The next section of the paper will describe the documentary and the way it constructs the problems of elder care in Sweden. After that, the analysis will proceed to the newspaper articles.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

"Home at any cost" – the documentary

According to Lewis (2006, p.315), the structure of news and reporting on public issues has "the function to generate heat rather than light" and accordingly media reports on elder care generally centre on problems and deficiencies (Markström, Ljuslinder, & Sjöström, 2011). In the mass media, there is a tendency to favour the dramatic and engaging over the mundane (Lewis, 2006), as well as reporting on abuses of power and mismanagement (cf. Jönson, 2016). This is also what characterizes the documentary.

The documentary was aired on 19 January 2016 by Swedish public broadcasting television. The documentary was 28 minutes long and titled "Home at any cost". The title of the documentary alludes to the general principle in Swedish elder care that one should continue to live in one's ordinary home for as long as possible with the help of home help and home nursing. However, the title also alludes to the more specific theme of the film; that it has become increasingly difficult to get a place in a nursing home in recent decades. This is one of the issues addressed by the documentary. The second issue is a specific policy stating that, after discharge from hospital, the person returns home and an evaluation is carried out of whether home help is enough or a place in a nursing home is needed. This is a local policy, not a national policy. In line with a general dramaturgical strategy of the mass media using individual cases as examples of wider issues (Lewis, 2006), the situations of two women are used to illustrate the issues.

The problem of people in need of care being sent home from hospital is personified and exemplified by the situation of Linnea. She was admitted to hospital after a stroke, but has now been discharged. She has been sent home, but still needs extensive care. It is explained that she is so weak she cannot use the home help alarm she wears on her wrist. The person who speaks for her is a friend, as she cannot speak herself. Linnea's story is told by her friend over images which first show the delivery and assembly of a hospital bed in Linnea's apartment, followed by the transport car taking her home from hospital. She is rolled out from the car on a stretcher, placed in a wheelchair and finally put to bed by the staff.

The problem of getting access to a nursing home is exemplified by the plight of Wiwi Heggblad. She is in her early 70s and takes care of her husband who suffers from dementia. During the daytime he attends a day care centre run by the municipality as part of its elder care services. As well as taking care of her husband, Wiwi also cares for her mother who has been refused a place in a nursing home and has now moved in with her. This story is told over images of Wiwi caring for her husband and her mother. She helps her husband put his clothes on and use the bathroom, and she holds her mother and helps her eat breakfast.

Wiwi also organizes a protest against the closure of her husband's day care centre. She invites politicians and ordinary citizens. The strength of the documentary is not only in the presentation of the problems, but also in the way it is edited and how sound and music are used. The criticism against the politicians is given a prominent role, while the politicians' responses are truncated by the editing and the background music is turned up as they speak. Their response to the criticism is thus made inaudible and becomes a buzz. In this way, the protest against the specific event of closing the day care centre blends into a general criticism of elder care in Sweden. The documentary frames Wiwi's plight and protest as that of the ordinary citizen against the system, and against the politicians. This shift from the particular to the universal is made possible not least by the presented narrative of the history of Swedish elder care, its high ambitions and the closure of Swedish nursing homes in recent decades. It is also made possible by the omission of certain events. Before the documentary was aired, the petition and the public protests had already made Wiwi a person of interest for the local media, and according to interviews her mother had, after being denied a place at a nursing home in her municipality of residence, applied for a place at a nursing home in a neighbouring municipality and been admitted to a nursing home there. This also points to the difference in practice between municipalities

(Trydegård & Thorslund, 2010; Szebehely & Meagher, 2018), which is downplayed in the documentary. Instead, the film gives the impression of elder care in Sweden facing an ongoing and escalating crisis.

Reactions in the mass media

In this part of the paper, the interpretative repertoires used in the reactions to the documentary will be described.

In order to understand the different points of contention and how the documentary was used in public discourse, it is necessary to point out what is taken for granted in the different articles. Here, what is taken for granted functions as a foundation, or as a starting point for discourse. The problem description set out in the documentary is unchallenged in the reactions. There is also no criticism of tax funding of elder care or public responsibility for elder care, and there are no suggestions for further marketization of elder care, or that the market could provide any solution to the issues described as problems. There are no arguments for an increased familiarization of elder care or demands for financial support for family carers in the face of the perceived failure of formal elder care. In other words, there are no arguments in favour of individualized elder care solutions or statements that family carers provide the best care. Professional carers are thus treated as the most suited for elder care. When family care is brought up in the newspapers, it is as a criticism against what is seen as the failure of formal care to deliver on its promise. Elder care and the rights of older people to welfare are thus treated as an issue that belongs to public authorities. Publicly organized and tax-funded elder care is seen as a right of citizenship (cf. Svallfors, 2011). Additionally, even though politicians at both national and local levels are heavily criticized for the situation, the system of governance is treated as given and not criticized. The law that regulates elder care (Social Services Act, 2001) is, with a few exceptions, not criticized. In general, it is instead the failure to apply what is perceived as the rights granted by law that is criticized. It is from this position that accusations, suggestions and discussions ensue.

Who is at fault? What is at fault?

The documentary and the reactions to it largely revolve around who is at fault, what constitutes the problem, what should be done in order to prevent similar events, and attempts to downplay the depicted events as a problem. In other words, public discourse on the documentary is organized around the issue of *accountability* (Edwards & Potter, 1992; Potter, 1996). The question of accountability revolves around who, or what, is responsible for the situation, and for the actors who are ascribed responsibility it is a matter of taking responsibility but also disclaiming responsibility. The issue of accountability also extends beyond the direct responsibility for elder care to the issue of the status of older people in society in general, where the situation in elder care is seen as a result of this.

There are four main interpretative repertoires in the articles, and they all revolve around the issue of accountability. The first of these, which is mainly articulated by politicians, places the morality of actions and the elder care system within the system of laws and regulations. The law is regarded as the origin of rights. Through this, it is possible to deflect the politicians' responsibility. The second interpretative repertoire is in opposition to the above. Here, the law is treated as an instrument for the realization of rights of citizenship and the right to care, which is seen as given with age. The third interpretative repertoire points instead to aspects of Swedish culture and society as the cause of the perceived failure of elder care. Here, it is argued that older people have a low social status in Sweden, and increasingly so, and that this is reflected in the quality of elder care. The fourth interpretative repertoire is central to the understanding of the rhetorical landscape, but it is not represented to such a high degree as the three above. This interpretative repertoire uses a populist logic, where immigrants are seen as favoured over older people by politicians. The term 'older people' is here partly used to signify Swedishness and being ethnically Swedish.

The interpretative repertoires are described and illustrated below.

The deflection of accountability: the law as the origin of rights

The documentary framed the failures of elder care as the result of the rules and regulations set by the municipality: the strict guidelines for a place at a nursing home and the 'home and try' policy after being discharged from hospital. The film's severe criticism of the lack of access to short-term nursing home places and the difficulty of getting a place at a nursing home suggested that local politicians were responsible. Politicians were thus attributed with accountability. For the politicians interviewed in relation to the documentary, the issue was with the management of accountability. A defensive interpretative repertoire is primarily used here in order to deal with accountability. This interpretative repertoire rests on stressing the legitimacy of decisions made by elected bodies and the grounding of rights in the Social Services Act (2001). Questions of morality and what is right are ascribed to these institutions instead of being attributed to individual politicians, or to the decisions of individual politicians. This is illustrated below.

The Norrköping local newspaper *Folkbladet* published several articles in the days after the documentary was broadcast. Here, politicians from the ruling majority and officials were made to answer to the situations described in the documentary. Below are excerpts from one of the articles in which the politician responsible for elder care issues in Norrköping Municipality is interviewed. She says:

> The principle of 'home and try' is a decision that's been in effect for several years, says Eva-Britt Sjöberg. It's an agreement across the county, that applies to all municipalities in the county, not only to Norrköping.
> /…/
> According to Eva-Britt, Norrköping was used as an example because the documentary was produced in Norrköping. She emphasizes that Norrköping is not described as unique in the documentary.
> Compared to other municipalities, we are in the middle when it comes to access to a nursing home place. (Norgren, 2016)

The politician, Eva-Britt Sjöberg, is represented as disclaiming responsibility for the policy. This is done by distancing herself from the decision, referring to the decision as having been taken several years previously. This could also be interpreted as an attempt to establish the efficacy, and hence the morality, of the policy. She is also represented as deflecting responsibility by referring to the policy as the result of a consensus among several municipalities. It is also an argument against Norrköping being any better or worse than other municipalities. This argument is developed in the second part of the extract above, where she describes Norrköping as merely metonymical in discussions on elder care in Sweden. The argument that 'we just do what everybody else does' is a common way of disclaiming accountability in the articles. What is alluded to above is that accountability is managed by stressing the legitimacy of the Social Services Act and that regulations follow legislation. Here, the law is treated as the origin of the right to care as well as what defines the right. This is also highlighted in another interview with a local politician, who responds to the fact that a court of appeal overturned the decision by the municipality to admit an older person to a nursing home. She says:

> Something that is very important for us is to make sure that it is not more difficult to get a place at a nursing home in Norrköping than in the rest of the country, and without precedents or test cases it will be more difficult to know. (Pettersson, 2016)

The law is established here not only as the baseline where the municipality must provide care, but also as the baseline which should set the norm for admission to a nursing home. Accountability is deflected by both using and arguing for the legitimacy of the law and the courts to decide on the legal lower limit, thus equating it with the moral baseline for access to a nursing home. Questions of morality and accountability are side-lined or made irrelevant in this interpretative repertoire. This interpretative repertoire rests on the established legitimacy of the law, as well as trust in the fairness of society's institutions.

The basic feature of this interpretative repertoire relies on an articulation of the legitimacy of the law and regulations of elder care, as well as treating them as the seat of morality. The rights of the individual as a citizen are treated as being grounded in these institutions. In this case, this makes it rhetorically possible for politicians to deflect responsibility for the problems of elder care articulated in the documentary.

Citizenship and age as the basis for rights

However, the accountability of politicians is not only dealt with in interviews and articles where politicians are represented as speaking. A large proportion of the articles consist of letters to the editor and opinion pieces. One theme that runs through these is the accountability of politicians and the legitimacy of decisions they have taken. In contrast to the interpretative repertoire described above, morality and amorality are here attributed to individual politicians and to politicians as a group. The right to care and welfare is not seen as grounded in the Social Services Act, but in citizenship and as something that comes with age. To be old is to have the right to care, and the law is treated as an instrument rather than the foundation of rights. One example of this is found in a letter to the editor published the day after the documentary was aired. The main argument is that people above the age of 80 should have the right to a nursing home place without a needs assessment, but the article begins by ascribing responsibility to politicians, at both local and national levels, for the situation described in the documentary.

> Municipal politicians who mismanage elder care in your municipalities ought to be ashamed. The national parliament that decides on laws that allow this mismanagement ought to be ashamed.
> I felt sick when I saw SVT's documentary 'Home at any cost'. I was upset and could not understand that what was once a benevolent desire to let older people continue to live in their homes has turned into misery. (Hansson, 2016)

The "benevolent desire to let older people continue to live in their homes" refers to the ambition to give care and support to the person in need in their ordinary home for as long as possible. In contrast to the way that laws, regulations and practices tend to be treated by politicians when they are interviewed as responsible, these are articulated as the result of the desire and the agency of politicians. Instead of treating the law as the measure of what is right, it is here the individual who is the bearer of rights based on age. This is why it is also possible to, as in the letter to the editor above, demand a right for people aged 80 years and over to get access to a nursing home place without a needs-based decision from a needs assessor.

Other important aspects of this interpretative repertoire where politicians are held accountable are the simultaneous criticism of politicians and their actions, and an expressed belief in the system of governance and the ability of politicians to influence the quality of elder care. Some of the articles also include suggestions for how to change rules and regulations, as in the example above, in order to strengthen the right to care and access to a nursing home place. Politicians, both locally and nationally, are criticized as immoral, ignorant and insensitive. However, the political system – or the politicians who should be responsible – is not criticized. The criticism is that the system does not deliver what is articulated as expected, and that the existing rules are not followed. The charge is that politicians need to live up to what is seen as the right of the individual in old age. This is illustrated by another letter to the editor.

> But the worst thing about this dismantling [of elder care] is that our decision-makers have cut themselves off from reality to such an extent that they have forgotten to live according to the golden rule. Anything that you want others to do for you, you shall do to them. […]
> We need a paradigm shift where our politicians and decision-makers start a process towards good elder care. Where the starting point is to see to the care needs of every individual. […]
> To have dignified final years, that gives me the possibility of different experiences and community and security without worry. We have knowledgeable home care staff. Give them the opportunity to do the good work. Build more nursing homes! (Andersson, 2016)

The basic features of this interpretative repertoire are that, in contrast to the previous interpretative repertoire, the law and regulations are treated as instruments for the realization of morality and the right to care. The right to care is treated as a function of being a member of society, a citizen, and elder care is a right by virtue of age. This makes it possible to criticize and judge decisions taken by politicians and other officials. It is a challenge to the repertoire above, where the law is instead treated as the origin of rights.

Holding Swedish culture accountable

The third interpretative repertoire concerning accountability in the articles is a self-reflective and self-critical critique of Swedish 'society' and 'culture', and how older people are treated in society. Accountability is also central here, although deficiencies in elder care are not attributed to specific decisions by politicians or the organization of elder care, but as a result of a culture where older people are not recognized as being of equal worth as other age groups. This interpretative repertoire is present in both articles that are critical of politicians as a minor element and articles where this is the main line of reasoning. One example of this is taken from a letter to the editor:

> Sweden is slowly building up age apartheid. Old people who are no longer productive have no worth anymore. (Johnson, 2016)

In the excerpt above, the lack of social worth is attributed to the notion of older people being “no longer productive” and hence being seen as not contributing to society. This is often taken as a position that is argued against, implicitly or explicitly, in texts asserting the social worth and rights of older people, both in the data for this paper and in previous research (van Oorschot, 2000; Nilsson 2008).

To illustrate this cultural critical interpretative repertoire, I will provide examples from an item where the editor-in-chief wrote a longer piece about the status of older people in society. He begins his piece as follows:

> “It is a shame how we treat older people in Sweden today. Those who built the country, the prosperity, that we younger people now enjoy are being treated as something the cat dragged in, like a piece of meat that can lie and rot at home.” (Kustvik, 2016)

These lines echoes existing arguments in favour of the rights of older people. As other research has shown (Jönson & Nilsson, 2007; van Oorschot, 2000, 2006), referring to previous contributions to society (“Those who built society”) is a way of legitimizing the rights of older people in the present. It is a line of reasoning that accepts the premise that social worth is based on economic productivity, but in this case sees previous contributions as a basis for social status and the right to welfare in the present. This argument is also seen in the fourth interpretative repertoire, and will be explored further in relation to that repertoire.

The article continues with the author giving examples from the life of his mother-in-law, who has dementia, lives alone in her own apartment, and sometimes wanders astray. Still, he claims, she is denied a place at a nursing home by the municipality where she lives.

> The problem can be found throughout Swedish society, not just with politicians and officials. We treat older people badly. In many other countries it is natural to venerate the elderly, to treat them with respect and dignity and put them in focus at family gatherings and other occasions. In Sweden, it is the young we worship. Mostly the small children, we rake, sweep and kiss the ground they

> crawl and walk on, while the elderly should be happy to be even invited to family occasions. When later on they can't take care of themselves, they are locked into their apartments with an alarm on the door. (Kustvik, 2016*)*

This extract is based on two oppositions in terms of how it articulates criticism against the status of older people in Swedish society. First, the author makes a distinction between "Swedish society" and "many other countries", and argues that older people in other countries have a higher status as they are treated with "respect and dignity". This is a common trope. Second, the author also articulates a contrast between the treatment of older people and children, specifically small children. What the article above also illustrates is what Nilsson (2008; 2017) has called *including othering*. This means that older people are treated as members of society as an object of care, but are excluded as actors of public discourse. The 'we' that is used here, and in other instances of including othering, articulates a community of non-old as members of the public among whom discussions are held on how older people should be treated and how to define what "respect and dignity" mean in relation to older people. The contrast between children and older people underlines this, as both these categories are generally seen as dependent on the middle-aged 'we' of rational actors.

The basic features of this interpretative repertoire rest on an understanding of social worth and status as based on being economically productive. The rights of older people as a group are seen as grounded in previous contributions to society in the form of work and paying taxes. A central conflict here is that older people are described as not being treated with due respect because of a culture that does not value them as members of society. Problems and deficiencies in elder care are hence not treated as a result of the decisions taken by politicians or attributable to certain political ideologies, but to a general cultural and societal devaluation of older people.

The anti-immigrant repertoire

A range of actors used the documentary and the narrative of the decline of elder care as a rhetorical tool to further their own agenda. What stands out here is that what on the surface may appear to be about elder care, justice and the rights of older people can be interpreted as being primarily about something else. The articles that use the documentary as a tool to legitimize claims include political opponents criticizing each other. An article in a local edition of a national newspaper describes their municipality as the best when it comes to elder care based on the statistics provided in the documentary. Elder care employees argue for better working conditions. Another article argues that a previously highlighted trade union corruption scandal pales in comparison with cuts in elder care, so it should no longer be talked about, and so on. In terms of content or rhetoric, these instances are not attributable to a certain interpretative repertoire or a certain theme beyond the ones described above.

As has been shown in previous research (Nilsson, 2008; 2017; Jönson & Nilsson, 2007), discussions about elder care and the rights of older people are often intertwined with themes such as immigration and citizenship. This is often articulated by populists and right-wing extremists, both in Sweden and elsewhere in Europe. In these cases, arguments for the rights of older people largely appear more as rhetorical tools for making anti-immigrant claims. However, it is also the case that the two issues often appear side by side, where both anti-immigrant arguments and arguments for the welfare of older people are part of the same discourse. This is at the centre of the fourth interpretative repertoire. This repertoire is related to the one above, where politicians are treated as accountable, but the sharp focus on migration makes it different.

There are some rhetorical features of the texts using this repertoire that set them apart from the ones described above. It is not an established practice to describe one's political affiliation in letters to the editor when they are written by a private citizen. However, the writers of the texts detailed here often describe themselves as unpolitical citizens or as people who have never voted for the right-wing populist party the Sweden Democrats. This party is mostly concerned with arguing against immigration and especially Muslims. In this group of letters to the editor, it is more common for the author to be anonymous and use pseudonyms, as in the examples below. It is also common to refer to the authors' feelings as citizens and as individuals. They describe themselves as "sickened", "worried", "sleepless" and "afraid" as a result of the perceived elder care situation.

Ageing and belonging to the category 'older people' are articulated in this repertoire as political in themselves. There is an accentuation of the relationship between older people and the state as established through the morals of the pension system. The grounding of rights in the present by prior contributions is central here ("have built the country"). In Sweden, it is also often – but not always – an expression that characterizes older people as ethnically Swedish and white (Nilsson, 2017). Below I will show how the issues of elder care and immigration have been entangled in this repertoire.

> Why is there no money for elderly care, for the disabled and poor pensioners? Yes, the question is easy to answer if you dare to pull your head out of the sand and see the results from our generous immigration policy, where everyone gets benefits from the first day that we don't have ourselves. There are old people who can't afford their medicines or to go to the dentist. And there aren't any nursing home places, since 32,000 places have disappeared over the years. […] I'm almost ashamed to call myself Swedish. (Vakna upp och skäms [Pseudonym, meaning "wake up and be ashamed"], 2016)

> Foolish as I am, I thought that taxes should go towards a secure old age, but it looks bad on that front. Instead, they seem to go towards an oversized refugee policy, high wages and benefits, and expensive trips and parties for politicians. Is that right? I hope the TV programme is rerun! Recommended! (*Åxå* trött [Pseudonym, meaning "also tired"], 2016)

As described above, this interpretative repertoire rests on a populist and anti-immigrant rhetoric. Politicians are described as willingly and knowingly favouring immigrants and refugees at the expense of older people. This interpretative repertoire uses elements that are already established in general public discourse and politics, such as the grounding of the rights of older people on previous contributions. This is, however, articulated through a populist logic that divides society into 'the people' and 'the elite'.

This can be seen here as the same arguments and claims used by the two previous interpretative repertoires. However, these are articulated and emphasized differently. The self-critical, cultural-critical interpretative repertoire and the anti-immigrant interpretative repertoire, for example, are both based on the argument that previous contributions to society in the form of work and paying taxes mean older people deserve reverence and welfare in the present. However, the argument is used differently, with the anti-immigrant repertoire claiming that older people are denied their due rights by politicians in favour of immigrants and refugees, while this argument is not present in the cultural-critical repertoire. Just as in the second interpretative repertoire, where politicians are held accountable for the elder care situation, old age is seen as an issue of citizenship. Here, it is developed as an antagonistic narrative between what is described as legitimate and illegitimate members of society where immigrants are described as favoured by politicians. Elder care is not an isolated issue, appearing more as an example of how people are denied what they see as belonging to them as Swedish citizens.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The use of a TV documentary and the reactions to it in the mass media as a case study have provided an opportunity to analyse and show some of the wealth of arguments, descriptions and points of contention that exist in Swedish public discourse around elder care. Even though the results of this study resonate with previous research there are limits to the generality of the results.

The focus on interpretative repertoires has made it possible to focus on and highlight the rhetorical landscape in the form of established narratives and taken-for-granted assumptions, what the problems of elder care are, and who or what is articulated as being responsible. The study shows how the issue of accountability is central to developing the arguments and the interpretative repertoires found in the reactions to the documentary. This is a highly salient result of this study, but may not be indicative of how these issues are dealt with across different contexts and political conjunctures in Sweden. The issue has not been studied through this lens before. That accountability structured the way that the responses were devised in the articles may be related to how the documentary framed the issue, and the rhetorical force of the production, it can also be due to other factors in for example the wider public discourse.

One of the main features of the analysis is that it can identify different interpretative repertoires and how each of these are linked with other issues of public concern. 'Old age' and the welfare of older people emerge not only as issues associated with generational relations, as studies in this field tend to focus on, but also as entangled with issues of morality, politics, belonging and identity, citizenship and what it means to be a member of society (cf. Bode, 2007; Nilsson, 2017). Together with other studies (for example van Oorschot 2006; Nilsson, 2017) this points to that the issue of elder care and how people relate to it should not be understood in isolation from other social and political issues. It is interconnected with other issues. Examples from this study include the legitimacy of laws and regulations, and how they are seen as either the origin of rights or instruments for the realization of rights, in this case the right to care based on citizenship and being a legitimate member of society.

This is not least highlighted by the anti-immigrant interpretative repertoire, where the entanglement is to such a degree that the issue of the right to elder care and the anti-immigrant stance have become part of the same (cf. Jönson & Nilsson, 2007). However, just as these different interpretative repertoires are part of how elder care is constituted, they should also be treated as simultaneously active ingredients in the constitution of more general discourses on society, belonging and citizenship.

One narrative that runs through the interpretative repertoires is that elder care no longer provides the level of care that it once did or that it should. An exception to this is the repertoire used by politicians in order to deflect accountability. The retrenchment of the Swedish welfare state is, in other words, a fundamental narrative that structures the rhetorical landscape on elder care. Scholars have voiced a concern that welfare retrenchment and a changing demography may strengthen arguments for the further individualization of welfare systems, as it may seem that competition among different groups is increasing (e.g. van Oorschot, 2006). The narratives that were present in the interpretative repertoires found in this study do not show this. The absence of the notion of the consumer in the totality of the data and the focus on citizenship and the rights that come with being a member of society instead point to a possible rift between how public discourse and the rhetorical landscape is organized and, on the other hand, the direction of change in the welfare system. Nevertheless, the emotionally charged references to citizenship can be seen as being in line with what Svallfors (2011) and Holmberg and Weissbilder (2018) saw as a lack of trust in the ability of the welfare system to perform and live up to what is articulated as a promise by the public.

REFERENCES

Andersson, L. (2016, January 28). Ett hem till varje pris. *Hallandsposten.*

Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers. *The qualitative report, 13*(4), 544–559.

Blomqvist, P. (2004). The choice revolution: Privatization of Swedish welfare services in the 1990s. *Social Policy & Administration, 38*(2), 139-155.

Bode, I. (2007). New moral economies of welfare: The case of domiciliary elder care in Germany, France and Britain. *European Societies*, vol. 9, no. 2, 201-227.

Chamberlain, K., & Hodgetts, D. (2008). Social psychology and media: critical considerations. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass,* 2/3, 1109-1125.

Chung, H., Filipovic Hrast, M., & Rakar, T. (2018). The provision of care: Whose responsibility and why? In P. Taylor-Gooby, & B. Leruth, (eds.) *Attitudes, Aspirations and Welfare. Social Policy Directions in Uncertain Times.* Cham: Palgrave MacMillan.

Clarke, J., & Newman, J. (1997). *The managerial state: Power, politics and ideology in the remaking of social welfare*. Sage.

Crepaz, M. M. L. (2008). *Trust beyond borders: Immigration, the welfare state, and identity in modern societies*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Daatland, S.V., Veenstra, M., & Herlofson, K. (2012). Age and intergenerational attitudes in the family and the welfare state. *Advances in Life Course Research, 17*, 133-144.

Edwards, D., & Potter, J. (1992). *Discursive psychology* (Vol. 8). London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage publishing.

Hansson, R. (2016, January 21). Alla över 80 borde ha rätt till äldreboende. *Sydsvenskan.*

Holmberg, S., & Weissenbilder, M. (2018). *Betyg på offentlig verksamhet 2017*. SOM-rapport nr 2018:4. Gothenburg: SOM-Institutet.

Johnson, T. (2016, January 26). Åldersapartheid är en värre kommunalskandal. *Arbetet.*

Jönson, H., & Nilsson, M. (2007). Are old people merited veterans of society? Some notes on a problematic claim. *Outlines. Critical Practice Studies, 9*(2), 28-43.

Jönson, H. (2016). Framing scandalous nursing home care: What is the problem? *Ageing and Society, 36*, 400-419.

Kohli, M. (1991). Retirement and the moral economy: An historical interpretation of the German case. In Meredith Minkler & Caroll L. Estes (Eds.), *Critical perspectives on aging: The political and moral economy of growing old*. New York, Baywood Publishing.

Kustvik, K. (2016, January 23). Vi behandlar äldre för dåligt. *Östgöta Correspondenten*.

Lewis, J. (2006). News and the empowerment of citizens. *European Journal of Cultural Studies. 9*(3), 303-319.

Marcinkowski, F. (2014). Mediatisation of politics: Reflections on the state of the concept. *Javnost – the public, 21*(2), 5-22.

Markström, C., Ljuslinder, K., & Sjöström, S. (2011). Konsensus och personifierade konflikter: problembeskrivningar av äldreomsorg i svensk dagspress. *Sociologisk forskning, 5,* 23.

Mau, S. (2004). *The moral economy of welfare states: Britain and Germany compared* (Vol. 5). Abingdon, Routledge.

Meagher, G., & Szebehely, M. (2013). *Marketisation in Nordic eldercare: A research report on legislation, oversight, extent and consequences*. Department of social work, Stockholm University.

Minkler, M., & Cole, T. R. (1992). The political and moral economy of aging: not such strange bedfellows. *International Journal of Health Services, 22*(1), 113-124.

Nilsson, M. (2008). *Våra äldre: om konstruktioner av äldre i offentligheten* (Doctoral dissertation, Linköping University Electronic Press).

Nilsson, M. (2017). Nationalism and the moral economy of ageing. In I. Loffeier, T. Moulaert, & B. Majerus (Eds.), *Framing Age: Contested knowledge in Science and Politics*. Abingdon, Routledge.

Nilsson, M., Jönson, H., Carlstedt, E., & Harnett, T. (2018). Nursing homes with lifestyle profiles–part of the marketisation of Swedish eldercare. *International Journal of Care and Caring*, *2*(1), 49-63.

Norgren, S. (2016, January 20). "Ett exempel på en felbedömning." *Folkbladet*.

Petersen, M. B., Slothuus, R., Stubager, R., & Togeby, L. (2011). Deservingness versus values in public opinion on welfare: The automaticity of the deservingness heuristic. *European Journal of Political Research, 50*(1), 24-52.

Pettersson, Tommy (2016, February 3) *Äldreomsorg* till varje pris. *Norrköpings-Magazinet.*

Potter, Jonathan (1996). *Representing reality. Discourse, rhetoric and social construction.* London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Prinzen, Katrin (2014). Intergenerational ambivalence: new perspectives on intergenerational relationships in the German welfare state. *Ageing and Society, 34*, 428-451.

Slothuus, R. (2007). Framing deservingness to win support for welfare state retrenchment. *Scandinavian Political Studies, 30*(3), 323–344.

Social Services Act (2001). Socialtjänstlag 2001:453. http://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/svensk-forfattningssamling/socialtjanstlag-2001453_sfs-2001-453

Socialstyrelsen (National Board of Health and Welfare). (2013). Äldre –vård och omsorg den 1 oktober 2012 – Kommunala insatser enligt socialtjänstlagen samt hälso- och sjukvårdslagen.

Socialstyrelsen (National Board of Health and Welfare). (2016). *Statistik om särskilt boende*, https://www.socialstyrelsen.se/globalassets/sharepoint-dokument/artikelkatalog/statistik/2016-12-5.pdf

Svallfors, S. (2008). The generational contract in Sweden: Age-specific attitudes to age-related policies. *Policy & Politics, 36*(3), 381–96.

Svallfors, S. (2011). A bedrock of support? Trends in welfare state attitudes in Sweden, 1981–2010. *Social Policy & Administration*, *45*(7), 806-825.

Szebehely, M., & Meagher, G. (2018). Nordic eldercare–weak universalism becoming weaker? *Journal of European Social Policy, 28*(3), 294-308.

Trydegård, G. B., & Thorslund, M. (2010). One uniform welfare state or a multitude of welfare municipalities? The evolution of local variation in Swedish elder care. *Social Policy & Administration, 44*(4), 495-511.

Vakna upp och skäms. (2016, February, 9). Inte värdig behandling efter ett långt liv. *Västerbottenskuriren*

van Oorschot, W. (2000). Who should get what, and why? On deservingness criteria and the conditionality of solidarity among the public. *Policy and Politics. Studies in local government and its services,* 28(1), 33-48.

van Oorschot, W. (2006). Making the difference in social Europe: deservingness perceptions among citizens of European welfare states. *Journal of European social policy*, 16(1), 23-42.

Westlund, O., & Weibull, L. (2013). Generation, life course and news media use in Sweden 1986–2011. *Northern Lights: Film & Media Studies Yearbook, 11*(1), 147-173.

Wetherell, M., & Potter, J. (1988). Discourse analysis and the identification of interpretative repertoires. In C. Antaki, (Ed.) *Analysing everyday explanation: A casebook of methods*, *1688183.*

Will, J. A. (1993). The dimensions of poverty: Public perceptions of the deserving poor, *Social Science Research, 22*(3), 312–332.

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 3rd ed., London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Åxå trött. (2016, February 11). De äldres pengar går till annat. *Hallandsposten.*

doi: 10.31211/interacoes.n39.2020.a3

Dove e a Desconstrução de Estereótipos: Uma Relação de Simbiose

Bruno Miguel Frutuoso da Costa
Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra - bruno_frutuoso_costa@hotmail.com

Resumo

A publicidade, além de constituir a organização sociocultural de economias de mercado, apresenta-se como um elemento fundamental para a comunicação das marcas. Essa comunicação não se finda na promoção de bens e serviços, como se verifica pela sua capacidade veicular representações sociais, ideais e conceitos estereotipados. A publicidade contemporânea estrutura-se em torno do conceito de *Femvertising*. O empoderamento do género feminino e a representação da sua diversidade são apresentados através de desconstruções de estereótipos e do fomento de discussões em torno das várias dimensões da mulher na sociedade. Este estudo pretende analisar à luz da Análise Temática Crítica de Lawless e Chen (2019), a forma como a Dove integra a desconstrução de estereótipos na campanha publicitária #MostremNos. Os resultados sugerem que a estratégia se edifica na apresentação de padrões de beleza impostos por diferentes sociedades e na desconstrução das consequências associadas a esses processos históricos, sociais, culturais e económicos na vida de cada menina e mulher. Se, por um lado, a promoção de uma representação mais responsável, inclusiva e diversificada deve ser uma responsabilidade dos *media* e da publicidade, como é referido nos diversos anúncios, por outro, a Dove apresenta um produto do pós-feminismo que lhe permite manter uma relação de simbiose com altos níveis de popularidade.

Palavras-Chave: *Dove*, publicidade, poder simbólico, estereótipos de género, misoginia.

Dove and the Deconstruction of Stereotypes: A Relationship of Symbiosis

Abstract

Advertising is not only the socio-cultural organization of market economies but is also a fundamental element for brands communication. This communication is not limited to the promotion of goods and services, as can be seen by its capacity to promote social representations, ideals and stereotyped concepts. Contemporary advertising is structured around the concept of Femvertising. The empowerment of the female gender and the representation of its diversity are presented through the deconstruction of stereotypes and the promotion of discussions around the several dimensions of women in society. This study aims to analyse in the light of Lawless and Chen's (2019) Critical Thematic Analysis, how

Dove integrates the deconstruction of stereotypes in the advertising campaign #ShowUs. The results suggest that the strategy is built on the presentation of beauty standards imposed by different societies and the deconstruction of the consequences associated with such historical, social, cultural and economic processes in the life of each girl and woman. If on one side, the promotion of a more responsible, inclusive and diversified representation should be a responsibility of the media and of the advertising, which is referred in the various advertisements, on the other side, Dove presents a product of the post-feminism which allows her maintaining a symbiosis relation with high levels of popularity.

Keywords: *Dove*, advertising, symbolic power, gender stereotypes, misogyny.

INTRODUÇÃO

Atualmente, vivemos numa era global e localmente contextualizada por mudanças sociais e políticas cujas desigualdades sociais, económicas, culturais e políticas permitiram o desenvolvimento de novas formas de violência, ódio, misoginia, racismos, xenofobias, fundamentalismos e extremismos que mantêm as mesmas lógicas do passado (Curiel, 2018). Com a sociedade em rede e um meio de comunicação aberto e interativo (Castells, 2006, 2009) rapidamente se assistiu à formação de novos significados através de diversas formas de apropriação (Carlão, Maia, & Santos, 2017; Silva, Nichel, Martins, & Borchardt, 2011). A globalização tecnológica, comercial e económica aproximou as pessoas, mas a emergência de redes de comunicações globais e plataforma digitais não estão livres de riscos, uma vez que as relações humanas e respetivas manifestações são complexas (van Mill, 2017).

Se, por um lado, o digital permite o acesso à informação, novas formas de comunicação e formação de identidades individuais (Henry & Powell, 2014, p. 84), exploração individual da sexualidade (Döring, 2000; Waskul, 2014), atuação e visibilidade do ativismo feminismo (Citron, 2015; Hines, 2019), por outro lado, permitiu a utilização das tecnologias digitais para facilitar comportamentos hostis, perpetuação de agressões sexuais e o surgimento de novas práticas de violência contra mulheres (Henry & Powell, 2014, 2015, 2018). Investigações demonstram que as vítimas são maioritariamente mulheres e jovens adolescentes (Citron & Franks, 2014; Franks, 2016; Hall & Hearn, 2019) e, nessa direção, impede-se o alcance da justiça e igualdade de género.

Para compreender as formas de violência que se insurgem na atualidade contra as mulheres, torna-se impreterível abarcar práticas de discriminação mais antigas, porque contribuem para a perpetuação do círculo de violência. A discriminação da mulher na sociedade difere consoante o grau de desenvolvimento de cada país, que apresenta uma determinada visão do mundo e do corpo (Le Breton, 2002). Contextos históricos e sociais contribuíram para a produção de saberes, crenças, sentidos e valores sobre os sexos que convergiram na legitimação de divisões sociais baseadas no sexo (Amâncio, 2003, p. 687). Por outras palavras, a cada sexo biológico são atribuídos determinados papeis e comportamentos sociais através de processos de estereotipagem (Hall, 2013). Os estereótipos de género intervêm na construção social e cultural da identidade individual e coletiva do corpo e, portanto, intercedem no imaginário social.

Nesse sentido, a publicidade acaba por refletir as diferenças existentes entre a mulher e o homem na sociedade. Significa que a integração implícita de formas de discriminação em forma de estereótipos de género nos produtos culturais, como é o caso dos anúncios, condiciona as mulheres no alcance da igualdade de oportunidades, ou seja, a igualdade de género (Geis, Brown, Jennings, & Porter, 1984). Num primeiro momento, Furnham e Mak (1999) demonstraram como a dimensão conservadora portuguesa era intensificada e preservada nos anúncios televisivos. Investigações publicitárias mais recentes demonstram que, embora os estereótipos de género estejam menos acentuados, estes mantêm-se na publicidade portuguesa mesmos após as várias conquistas feministas e com o reposicionamento do papel da mulher na sociedade (Januário, 2016; Pereira & Veríssimo, 2008; Pereira, Veríssimo, Diaz, & Correia, 2013). Estes estudos indicam que:

1. Existem dois grupos distintos de enquadramentos da mulher e do homem.
2. A mulher é frequentemente enquadrada em contextos de integração social relacionados com atividades familiares. Os discursos transmitem confiança nas modas emergentes, nomeadamente na escolha, eficácia e qualidade de produtos para a resolução de problemas da esfera privada.
3. O homem surge maioritariamente associado a dimensões sociais simbólicas relacionadas com o prestígio, o estatuto social e atividades de lazer. A presença do ideal de masculinidade "homem ação", o homem produtivo

e o homem público, que faz, seduz e age, confirmam resquícios de ideais patriarcais e da dominação masculina.
4. Os estereótipos de género estão essencialmente ligados a produtos e respetiva utilização. Enquanto os produtos femininos estão associados à esfera familiar e doméstica, os produtos masculinos relacionam-se com a projeção socioeconómica.
5. O ideal da juventude é um elemento de marginalização de pessoas acima dos 40 anos de idade, vistas como menos produtivas e menos atraentes.
6. A ausência de minorias étnicas sugere a persistência da dominação "branca".

A publicidade contemporânea que se estrutura em torno do recente conceito de *Femvertising* procura o empoderamento do género feminino e representação da sua diversidade, quer através de desconstrução de estereótipos e desigualdades de género, quer mediante o fomento de discussões sobre as dimensões das mulheres na sociedade. A Dove, uma das marcas pioneiras, tem conseguido captar a atenção do público feminino para os seus produtos, e desenvolver uma imagem com elevados níveis de popularidade (Nascimento & Dantas, 2015; Polga & Silva, 2017).

Nesse sentido, este estudo tem o intuito de analisar criticamente o papel da publicidade e dos processos adotados pela Dove na veiculação de imagens e discursos, que visam a desconstrução e a promoção do rompimento de estereótipos femininos na campanha mais recente da marca. Lançado em 2019 numa parceria conjunta com a *Getty Images* e a *GirlGaze*, o projeto #MostremNos é constituído pela primeira biblioteca de fotografias publicamente acessível para "dar a conhecer as mulheres tal como são" (DOVE, 2019). O *corpus* de análise é constituído pelos quatro anúncios publicados na página de *Youtube* da Dove Portugal. A análise qualitativa seguiu o método de Análise Temática Crítica (Lawless & Chen, 2019) que permite codificar e interpretar discursos através das análises das inter-relações entre os discursos com práticas sociais, relações de poder e ideologias. Por outro lado, a investigação sustenta-se na perspetiva teórica interdisciplinar feminista, onde o género adquire uma maior importância analítica e política para investigar os diferenciais de poder (Curiel, 2018). Doravante, as questões de fundo que norteiam esta investigação são as seguintes:

RQ1: Qual á relação da marca Dove com o conceito publicitário de *Femvertising*?

RQ2: Como é que os estereótipos de género são desconstruídos na campanha #MostremNos?

DISCURSOS DE GÉNERO NA PUBLICIDADE

A produção de conhecimento sobre a atuação da atividade publicitária é uma preocupação tão antiga quanto a própria prática. Nas palavras de Antonio Caro Almela (2008, p. 81), o conhecimento existente tem insistido na dimensão mais superficial da publicidade enquanto atividade intencionalmente orientada a um público específico com o intuito de alcançar objetivos previamente estabelecidos, e negligenciado a natureza implícita das diferentes finalidades e diversos efeitos sociais, culturais, psicológicos, económicos e institucionais. Segundo Caro (2008), a análise explícita e implícita que carateriza a omnipresença do fenómeno publicitário é intitulada pelo autor de Dispositivo Operacional Publicitário. Inicialmente situado e por definição de forma vertical e interdependente com a Internet emergiu uma revolução comunicacional horizontal e interativa. Nesse sentido, procurámos sintetizar os diversos níveis operacionais da publicidade contemporânea através do Quadro 1.

A publicidade pode desempenhar diferentes identidades e revestir-se de diversas formas consoante os objetivos definidos previamente para as campanhas. Considerada por muitos "a técnica das técnicas" da indústria cultural, esta representa um instrumento de comunicação de marcas e a sua evolução permitiu adquirir técnicas e modelos distintos (Peixoto, 2014). O esforço da publicidade para acompanhar as mudanças sociais peca, na opinião de Carla Cerqueira, por continuar a fazer uso de visões limitadores e estereotipadas sobre questões de género. "Se por vezes parece empoderar os sujeitos/públicos, encerra nos discursos uma visão paradoxal que sedimenta valores culturais tradicionais e a ordem social dominante" (Cerqueira, 2014, p. 8).

Fernando Peixoto preconiza que a publicidade não vende, quanto muito promove, comunica e seduz. Norteia-se pelo princípio do impacto, compreende as dimensões culturais onde se insere, e possui duas caraterísticas essenciais para comunicar e potenciar a mensagem (verbal, não verbal ou mista) de uma forma eficaz com o *target*[1]: a sedução e, posteriormente, a assertividade. Enquanto agente sedutor da construção social da realidade, a atividade publicitária desempenha um papel sociocultural importante, nomeadamente ao nível da representação, baseando-se e constituindo-se "não raras vezes" sob a forma de plataformas ideológicas (Peixoto, 2014). Esta visão vai ao encontro da definição de *media* introduzida por Silveirinha (cit. em Cerqueira,

1 Designação de público-alvo (Peixoto, 2014).

Quadro 1

Processos, explícitos e implícitos, e componentes da atividade publicitária a partir dos contributos de Caro (2008, pp. 85-88)

Marco 1. Económico: venda e contratação de produtos e/ou serviços. 2. Institucional: organismos da administração pública, partidos políticos, associações desportivas, organizações sem fins lucrativos.	Enquanto atividade instrumental, a atuação da publicidade encontra-se situada num marco, assim como o(s) objetivo(s) e os resultados. Correspondência direta: Anunciantes.
Operativo Semiolinguístico Publicitário 1. Estrutura superficial: natureza linguística. 2. Estrutura profunda: natureza semiótica.	Linguagem publicitária expressa-se através de uma construção semiolinguística. Correspondência direta: Agências de publicidade (departamentos estratégico, criativo, realização e produção).
Comunicação Publicitária 1. Planeamento instrumental. 2. Comunicação mediada. 3. Interação com destinatários ou recetores.	A interação da construção semiolinguística com os recetores da mensagem impulsiona diferentes comportamentos. Correspondência direta: Meios de comunicação - recetores
Efeitos 1. Culturais. 2. Sociais. 3. Psicossociais.	Os efeitos estão relacionados com o objetivo publicitário, mas a sua complexidade depende da expansão e relação social. Correspondência implícita.
Função Ideológica-Institucional 1. Institucional: organização da coesão social. 2. Ideológica: subjacente ao ato de consumo.	A omnipresença da publicidade permite o desenvolvimento de marcas comerciais e corporativas com associação a referências simbólicas. Correspondência implícita.

2014, p.8) como "lugares sociais e políticos de construção de identidades. Por eles perpassam e constroem-se definições e ideologias de diferentes grupos etários, étnicos, de classe, de cultura e de sexo" .

Roland Barthes, pioneiro no campo da semiótica com o desenvolvimento do estudo dos sistemas de signos proveniente da desconstrução da linguística de Saussure, enfatizou a relação do poder com a linguagem, os seus significados e efeitos sociais

(Barthes, 1964, 2009). O mundo dos significados é o da linguagem, sendo a mesma constituída por signos que só existem se forem reconhecidos, permitindo a sua perpetuação. O problema reside no fato de que "em cada signo dorme este monstro: um estereótipo. Nunca posso falar senão recolhendo aquilo que se arrasta na língua" (Barthes, 2009, p. 15).

Segundo Stuart Hall (2013), a estereotipagem não é mais do que uma prática representacional, um processo de produção de significados que promove a redução das pessoas em torno de caraterísticas simples, essenciais, facilmente e amplamente reconhecidas. Essas caraterísticas desenvolvem-se mediante processos de naturalização, onde se fixa uma diferença marcada pelo exagero e a simplificação. Nesse sentido, os estereótipos apresentam-se como parte estrutural da manutenção da ordem social e simbólica, através das práticas de fechamento e exclusão. Simbolicamente, estabelece-se uma fronteira entre o "normal" e o "outro patológico" (Hall, 2013, pp. 190-192).

O género é fruto de um processo de construção social. As culturas transmitem mensagens sobre o significado de cada sexo, edificando determinados papéis e comportamentos, os estereótipos de género. Essa construção está presente em diversos produtos culturais como leis, educação ou nos discursos veiculados pelos meios de comunicação e pela publicidade. Os estereótipos moldam, portanto, a experiência de cada ser humano e as relações que se estabelecem com o outro (Barker & Scheele, 2019).

DIVERSOS FEMINISMOS, UM MOVIMENTO SOCIAL FEMINISTA

A perspetiva teórica e social do feminismo é uma proposta interdisciplinar que nasce do movimento social feminista e da crítica académica. Descodifica estruturas e mecanismos ideológicos e culturais que permitem a reprodução da discriminação e da exclusão de que as mulheres enquanto grupo social são alvo, embora as mesmas análises possam ser utilizadas para compreender outras realidades sociais. O género e a sexualidade passaram a incorporar uma maior importância no campo das ciências sociais como categoria analítica e política a partir do feminismo. Assistiu-se à desnaturalização do que significava ser mulher e à compreensão de que as desigualdades e as hierarquias entre sexos e os papéis de género não eram uma questão natural, mas social e histórica. Por outras palavras, estruturas sociais mais amplas materializam sistemas de representação, por exemplo, de género, raça, etnia, sexualidade e classe que são incorporadas e expressas mediante as identidades (Curiel, 2018, pp. 217-220; Garland-Thomson, 2002).

É possível afirmar que existe um movimento social feminista com diferentes tipologias de femininos, correntes feministas, que podem ser enquadradas em três vagas (Januário, 2016, p. 72; Tong, 2009, pp. 46-47):

1ª Vaga, Feminismo Liberal: Génese data os séculos XVIII e XIX e pretendia a eliminação da subordinação e segregação feminina, assim como o alcance da justiça e igualdade de género. Atuava no interior do sistema tendo em vista a mudança de pontos de vista e valores.

2ª Vaga, Feminismo Radical: A partir do final dos anos 60 do século XX, surge a crítica radical sobre o modelo de feminilidade e de família nuclear na sociedade. Considera que a repressão das mulheres se deve ao sistema vigente em instituições sociais e culturais: o patriarcado. Reivindicava-se um sistema totalmente novo num contexto de modernização marcado pela revolução industrial, o papel dos *media* e de movimentos sociais, como o feminismo que impulsionou transformações estruturais tradicionais estabelecidas na sociedade ocidental. A mudança de vínculos, valores e crenças culminou no acesso das mulheres ao mercado de trabalho, direito à cidadania e denúncia de formas de dominação masculina.

3ª Vaga, Feminismo Marxista: Relação entre os fundamentos ideológicos marxistas e o feminismo. A partir da década de 90, preocupação com a divisão do trabalho que mantém as mulheres na esfera privada do lar e os homens no local de trabalho e com a organização económica capitalista.

Desde a década de 70, os estudos de género na publicidade têm ilustrado a tendência da atividade publicitária como uma prática genderizada (Cerqueira, 2014). Destes estudos destaca-se o de Goffman (1987) quando apresentou um estudo pioneiro onde identificava em fotografias de anúncios a forma como os sinais não verbais comunicavam discrepâncias de poder entre homens e mulheres; a objetificação das mulheres e uma representação passiva em relação aos homens. Na opinião de Erving Goffman, a análise das expressões "naturais" de género representadas pelos anúncios publicitários permitia identificar ideias de conceção do sexo feminino e masculino e respetiva relação estrutural. Argumentava que a publicidade influenciava a forma como cada um constrói as suas ideias genderizadas de masculinidade e feminilidade. "Natural expressions are commercials performed to sell a version of the world under conditions no less questionable and treacherous than the ones that advertisers face" (Goffman, 1987, p. 84).

> O feminismo como movimento social fortalece-se na década de setenta. Embora a partir de distintas correntes, a maioria das feministas concordavam, que aquelas posições que naturalmente tinham sido socialmente atribuídas às mulheres, como mães, esposas, dependentes, não eram naturais, mas antes uma questão cultural e social, ainda que nesta segunda onda, se entendesse que o sexo era algo biológico e o género uma construção social. (Curiel, 2018, p. 222)

Na década de 90, com o surgimento da terceira vaga, a igualdade de género era considerada como um dado adquirido, e sugeria-se que o feminismo poderia ter ido longe de mais à custa dos homens. Investigadoras como Rosalind Gill e Christina Scharff constataram o surgimento de um feminismo instituído na crença de que as mulheres já possuíam poder e direito de escolha. Enquanto sujeitos autónomos, as mulheres praticam a liberdade de escolha sem desigualdades, dado que os padrões anteriores foram "efetivamente" combatidos. Verifica-se, neste sentido, que o pós-feminismo reivindica o empoderamento, mas nega simultaneamente as condicionantes dessa reivindicação (Barker & Scheele, 2019).

Segundo Soraya Barreto Januário (2016, p. 73), o pós-feminismo enquadra-se para alguns investigadores num feminismo de terceira vaga como resultado do acumular de direitos adquiridos no seio do feminismo da primeira e segunda vagas. Para Januário (2016), as lutas e reivindicações feministas encontram-se atualmente sob a forma de "pós-feminismo". O conceito não deve ser considerado como um marco temporal, mas antes uma reformulação recente de problemáticas e de novas configurações que se insurgem nas relações, outrora reconhecidas socialmente como questões femininas. Ou seja, muitos princípios e direitos femininos conquistados pelas correntes e militâncias feministas mantêm-se ainda no patamar teórico, ainda não são colocados totalmente em prática.

A noção de pós-feminismo tornou-se, por conseguinte, um dos termos mais importantes e contestado no seio das análises culturais feministas. Apesar da ausência de um consenso sobre a sua definição, Rosalind Gill (2007) perspetiva o pós-feminismo como uma nova sensibilidade, onde coexiste a representação de discursos feministas e antifeministas, cujo objeto é a cultura mediática e a relação do feminismo com ideologias neoliberais.

Os estudos desenvolvidos por Gill (2003, 2007, 2008) permitem compreender as modificações ocorridas no campo da representação mediática feminina com o surgimento da terceira vaga do feminismo. Inicialmente, a noção de feminilidade demonstrou uma cultura mediática obcecada com a definição e escrutínio de ideais dos corpos das mulheres tendo como base corpos de celebridades (Gill, 2007). Assistiu-se à transição da objetivação sexual das mulheres para uma subjetificação sexual. A representação objetificada do corpo das mulheres e a celebração do sucesso e do poder do género feminino desencadearam a construção da nova feminilidade contemporânea estruturada na confiança sexual[2] e na autonomia[3] (Gill, 2003). Gill (2008) identificou ainda três tendências nos discursos de empoderamento feminino na publicidade contemporânea: mulher como figura da heterossexualidade ativa, mulher vingativa e a "lésbica boazona". De objetos passivos ao olhar masculino, pouco cultas, desprovidas de conteúdo, as jovens mulheres passaram a ser retratadas como ativas, bonitas, inteligentes, independentes e sexualmente poderosas (Gill, 2008, pp. 52-55).

Numa entrevista dada em 2017, Rosalind Gill considera notável o esforço dos *media* em responder ao ativismo e visibilidade de movimentos trans, dos géneros *queer* e das sexualidades. Os vários estudos desenvolvidos pela autora permitiram-lhe compreender que os meios de comunicação e a publicidade utilizam os ideias feministas de uma forma seletiva, ao construírem novas figuras, como a mulher empoderada, sexualmente desejável e pós-feminista. Muitas das figuras construídas confrontam o patriarcado, a heteronormatividade ou o capitalismo. No entanto, sublinha que a aparência do corpo feminino está cada vez mais tóxica e as novas alfabetizações do padrão de feminilidade direcionam-se ao ínfimo detalhe das imperfeições. Para Gill, os sinais de esperança são percetíveis, mas os sinais de injustiça continuam presentes e deve-se em certa medida à coexistência do feminismo com o antifeminismo. Destaca-se a luta contínua por representações mais igualitárias e justas das mulheres, onde o pós-feminismo continua a adotar a perspetiva crítica necessária para estabelecer mudanças sociais (Matos, 2017).

2 Sujeitos sexuais conhecedores, ativos e desejosos (Gill, 2003).

3 "A jovem sexual, heterossexual, autónoma, que brinca com o seu poder sexual e está sempre à altura" (Gill, 2003, p. 103). Indica uma objetificação sexual mais refinada. Representa apenas algumas mulheres e exclui outras tantas.

A PUBLICIDADE POLITICAMENTE CORRETA, UMA RELAÇÃO DE SIMBIOSE

Em 1984, Geis et al. já constatavam que a exposição de mulheres ao reverso de papéis estereotipados em anúncios poderia modificar a conceção social subentendida que remetia a mulher à esfera privada do lar e mantinham-na afastada das igualdades de oportunidades, nomeadamente ao nível das carreiras profissionais. A mudança iniciava-se na presença de estímulos e de mensagens implícitas de que as mulheres poderiam ser autónomas e importantes cada uma à sua maneira.

Uma grande percentagem da publicidade contemporânea estrutura-se em discursos politicamente corretos sobre temáticas relacionadas com desigualdades de género. Esta estratégia tem permitido que marcas desconstruam estereótipos e fomentem discussões sobre a temática. Conseguem captar a atenção principalmente do público feminino e materializam-na com elevados níveis de popularidade. Nesse sentido, a tendência atual da atividade publicitária é orientada em função do conceito *Femvertising*, no empoderamento do género feminino e na representação da sua diversidade, através da desconstrução de estereótipos e do fomento de discussões sobre as várias dimensões da mulher na sociedade (Nascimento & Dantas, 2015; Polga & Silva, 2017).

Uma análise pormenorizada de *Femvertising* permite identificar a união do movimento feminista e respetivos ideais – ***Fem**inism* – à publicidade – *ad**vertising***. No decorrer da 11ª edição da Advertising Week[4], em 2014, a diretora executiva da SheKnows, Samantha Skey, promoveu um debate em torno do papel da indústria da comunicação na veiculação e perpetuação de estereótipos negativos, e a forma como a publicidade começou a desencadear um movimento em torno do empoderamento feminino. O debate permitiu alertar para o facto de as marcas terem identificado que o público feminino já não se identificava mais com as mensagens veiculadas. Como sentiram a necessidade de demonstrarem um novo posicionamento em relação às mulheres, procederam à incorporação do feminismo no discurso publicitário. A partir de 2015, assistiu-se a um movimento publicitário em torno do conceito e abordam fundamentalmente temas como a liberdade, igualdade, beleza, maternidade, casa-

4 Evento de publicidade internacional de grande notoriedade. Reúne milhares de participantes anualmente desde a sua criação, em 2004, na cidade de Nova Iorque. Durante uma semana, profissionais de renome participam em palestras e mesas redondas para abordar o poder da publicidade, das indústrias coexistentes e envolver os mais jovens no empreendedorismo do meio publicitário (Nascimento & Dantas, 2015).

mento, desconstrução e rompimento de estereótipos (Nascimento & Dantas, 2015; Polga & Silva, 2017).

A Dove, pertencente ao grupo Unilever, está presente em mais de oitenta países e atua no setor da higiene pessoal e beleza. Há dezasseis anos, desencadeou um processo de reposicionamento da sua imagem com o lançamento da campanha *Beleza Real*. No Brasil, a campanha atingiu visualizações na ordem dos sete milhões. Por um lado, este fenómeno deve-se à reestruturação do posicionamento da marca que se apresentou mais inclusiva, ao alargar o seu público-alvo para as classes sociais B e C. Por outro, a campanha descodificava uma padronização excessiva e a impossibilidade de se alcançar a beleza perfeita. Introduziu uma visão mais saudável e democrática sobre a beleza feminina, questionou os padrões de beleza impostos pela sociedade e desconstruiu estereótipos em torno do género feminino. Os discursos veiculados sublinhavam a existência de uma diversidade de belezas reais femininas, propondo às mulheres uma visão menos crítica de si mesmas, uma aceitação de como são, porque cada mulher é maravilhosa à sua maneira. Uma ampla discussão foi desencadeada, a notoriedade da Dove cresceu vertiginosamente colocando-a num patamar de destaque, o que desencadeou muitas investigações académicas sobre esta campanha (Ramalho, Amaral, Calvi, Ulbrich, & Kulack, 2016; Polga & Silva, 2017).

OBJETIVOS E CAMINHOS METODOLÓGICOS

Este estudo pretende analisar criticamente o papel da publicidade, nomeadamente os processos adotados pela Dove na veiculação de imagens e discursos que visam a desconstrução de estereótipos e, posteriormente, o seu rompimento na campanha publicitária mais recente da marca. Divulgado em 2019 numa parceria conjunta com a *Getty Images*[5] e a *GirlGaze*[6], o projeto #MostremNos é constituído pela primeira biblioteca de fotografias publicamente acessível com o intuito de desconstruir os estereótipos de beleza a nível mundial e "dar a conhecer as mulheres tal como são" (DOVE, 2019).

5 *Getty Images* é uma das principais e mais reconhecidas empresas a nível mundial no que diz respeito à criação e distribuição de imagens (DOVE, 2019).
6 *GirlGaze* é uma comunidade global de fotógrafas "que estão a mudar o modo como as mulheres são vistas" (DOVE, 2019).

No *website*[7] oficial do projeto constata-se que o principal motivo da sua génese se prende com o facto de 70% das mulheres ainda não se sentirem representadas na publicidade e nos meios de comunicação. Nesse sentido, apresentam um espaço com 5000 imagens de mulheres, fotografadas por mulheres e indivíduos não binários que se identificam como mulheres. Patenteiam e alvitram à própria indústria criativa uma visão mais ampla de beleza, e uma redefinição da representação mediática atual das mulheres (DOVE, 2019).

A partir das teorias de Foucault (1994a, 1994b, 1994c) considera-se que é necessário impulsionar a escrita de uma nova história da sexualidade. Para tal, é necessário fomentar um olhar crítico sobre o pensamento social vigente e historicamente construído de repressões e condicionalismos históricos sobre as mulheres. Durante vários séculos, os comportamentos sociais das mulheres foram reprimidos e as normas sociais vigentes contribuíam para a sua objetificação. “As fiéis guardiãs do lar” cuidavam da esfera privada doméstica em sociedades dominadas pelos homens (Bourdieu, 2012). Ressalta-se que a dominação masculina como ocorre no terreno das trocas simbólicas é, nesse sentido, uma violência simbólica muitas vezes exercida de forma invisível. Socorre-se de instrumentos simbólicos de comunicação, de conhecimento e de construção social da realidade, onde se inserem os *media* e a publicidade, e perpetuada por instituições como o Estado, a Escola e Igreja (Bourdieu, 1989, 2012).

Tabela 1
Constituição do corpus de análise

Designação	Duração	Link	Publicação
Dove | #MostremNos (1)	15 segundos	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2keDbZaFOzM	06/06/2019
Dove | #MostremNos – Behind the Scenes (2)	1 minuto e 47 segundos	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XHjbRiVoUQc	10/05/2019
Dove | #MostremNos (3)	30 segundos	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YIc9MtNQxj4	09/05/2019
Dove | #MostremNos (4)	2 minutos e 8 segundos	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VXbewr1YDDY	26/04/2019

7 Vide https://www.dove.com/pt/stories/campaigns/mostremnos.html. Consultado a 5 de abril de 2020.

O *corpus* de análise, demonstrado na tabela 1, é constituído pelos quatro anúncios do projeto publicados na página de *Youtube* Dove Portugal, porque é importante a realização de análises e investigações que incorporem outros *media* como a Internet, dado que "a contemporaneidade permite uma constante e crescente rutura de paradigmas sociais" (Januário, 2016, p. 352).

A análise qualitativa seguiu o método da Análise Temática Crítica, desenvolvida por Lawless e Chen (2019), que permite codificar e interpretar discursos através das análises das inter-relações entre os discursos com práticas sociais, relações de poder e ideologias. As experiências partilhadas nos discursos permitem identificar padrões que se encontram vinculados a hegemonias e ideologias maiores. Torna-se possível abordar e desenvolver temas criticamente que são provenientes de um conjunto de subtemas de um primeiro momento de codificação. Por outro lado, a investigação sustenta-se na perspetiva teórica interdisciplinar feminista, onde o género adquire uma maior importância analítica e política para investigar os diferenciais de poder (Curiel, 2018). Nesse sentido, as questões de fundo que norteiam esta investigação são as seguintes:

RQ1: Qual á relação da marca Dove com o conceito publicitário de *Femvertising*?

RQ2: Como é que os estereótipos de género são desconstruídos na campanha #MostremNos?

RESULTADOS E DISCUSSÃO

A codificação foi dividida em duas fases distintas. Primeiro, seguiu-se os critérios da Análise Temática de Owen (cit. em Lawless & Chen, 2019, p. 103) para identificar padrões de discursos recorrentes, repetidos e/ou vigorosos. Esta etapa de codificação aberta permitiu identificar temas emergentes dos padrões discursivos. De seguida, realizou-se o processo de codificação fechada (Lawless & Chen, 2019, p. 100) dos discursos dos anúncios ao questionar aos temas emergentes de que forma se interligavam entre as diferentes alocuções e com ideologias sociais mais amplas. Nesta etapa final, produziram-se dois temas críticos mais amplos a partir de onze subtemas críticos, que articulam ideologias, posições de poder e hierarquias de status como mostra o Esquema 1.

Esquema 1
Temas e subtemas críticos

Temas utilizados para uma abordagem dos padrões de beleza

Grande parte das imagens e situações retratadas são transversais aos quatro anúncios da Dove sobre o projeto #MostremNos. A diferença reside no grau de desenvolvimento consoante a duração de cada vídeo publicitário. O primeiro tema crítico – *padrões de beleza* – é observado com maior intensidade nas imagens do que nos discursos veiculados pelos quatro anúncios (Goffman, 1987). Fazem referência para a existência de uma ordem social dominante (Cerqueira, 2014) edificada em padrões ocidentais na definição de beleza feminina: mulher branca, jovem, ocidental, heterossexual, maquilhada e sem imperfeições (acne e sardas), cabelo arranjado e vistoso, unhas de gel, sensual, esbelta e apresenta um corpo tonificado (Gill, 2003, 2007, 2008; Januário, 2016; Matos, 2017).

A Dove enfatiza que "não podemos ser aquilo que não vemos", sendo que a sociedade está constantemente a incutir nas mulheres e raparigas de todo o mundo como devem ser e agir (Bourdieu, 1989). Salienta que a representação mediática feminina impõe padrões de beleza em todas as culturas (Caro, 2008; Januário, 2016; Peixoto, 2014; Pereira & Veríssimo, 2008; Pereira et al., 2013), e como essa preocupação começa na infância e percorre a vida toda. Representa-se uma diversidade de situações que demonstram mulheres e raparigas infelizes e constrangidas com o que exigem das mesmas.

Uma das situações representadas demonstra uma mulher de mãos dadas com uma criança, que aparenta ter cerca de seis anos, rodeadas de pessoas numa rua movimentada, a olharem fixamente e com um ar apreensivo para uma publicidade dos quatro *outdoors* de um centro comercial. Os *outdoors* apresentam e contribuem para a validação dos padrões de beleza impostos pela sociedade contemporânea que se insere num contexto heteronormativo e capitalista (Matos, 2017). O que as mulheres e raparigas veem molda e influencia a visão que cada tem sobre o mundo e como interagem com o outro. Quem não seguir as condutas socialmente válidas ficará em desvantagem perante o resto da sociedade, e, poderá ser alvo de argumentos discriminatórios e preconceituosos (Barker & Scheele, 2019; Cerqueira, 2014; Hall, 2013).

Três *outdoors* desse centro comercial fazem referência ao uso de maquilhagem, sugerindo que todas as mulheres devem ser bonitas, ao esconder as imperfeições e manchas indesejáveis do rosto, como a acne, sardas e problemas de pele. Todos apresentam mulheres em poses sensuais, elegantes, esbeltas, corpos tonificados e utilizam unhas de gel. Aquele que capta a atenção da mulher e da criança representa um objetificação sensual de uma modelo, deitada num barco no meio do oceano, a publicitar o uso de um biquíni, e, portanto, o contexto heteronormativo está ainda presente e visível. Por outro lado, características que se prendem com o facto de ser-se morena, ter cabelos lisos, olhos castanhos, corpo esbelto, tonificado e sem tatuagens, *piercings* e imperfeições remetem para as novas alfabetizações de um padrão de feminilidade que se direciona para o ínfimo detalhe das imperfeições (Matos, 2017).

Temas implementados na desconstrução e rompimento de estereótipos

O segundo tema crítico identificado – *desconstrução e rompimento de estereótipos* – encontra-se presente de igual forma nos discursos e nas imagens veiculadas. O principal objetivo da Dove é desconstruir e romper com os estereótipos de beleza e de género na representação mediática de mulheres e raparigas (Nascimento & Dantas, 2015; Polga & Silva, 2017). O discurso mais enfatizado no início de cada anúncio é o de que “70% das mulheres ainda não se vêem representadas nos meios de comunicação e na publicidade”. A marca sinaliza constantemente esta preocupação. Mostra que está ao lado das mulheres de todo o mundo e que vai continuar a adotar uma voz ativa nesta luta, uma luta pós-feminista.

Nesse sentido, apresenta uma solução encontrada pela marca para impulsionar mudanças sociais nos meios de comunicação e na publicidade: “Dove e mulheres de todo o mundo estão a construir a maior biblioteca de fotografias de sempre para acabar com os estereótipos de beleza, disponível para todos os meios de comunicação e publicidade” (Dove, 2019). Promove um processo de consciencialização do ramo que se apresenta como o principal agente de construção social da realidade (Bourdieu, 1989; Caro, 2008; Peixoto, 2014): “como profissionais de imagem, temos a responsabilidade de refletir a sociedade de uma forma autêntica e ajudar a fomentar uma mudança social”, ao apresentar uma “visão muito mais ampla de como as mulheres são em todas as partes do mundo. Mostrem-nos um mundo onde todas as mulheres e raparigas se sintam vistas e representadas” (Dove, 2019).

A marca pretende demonstrar que a diversidade cultural é uma riqueza da humanidade, que somos todos iguais e onde a cultura deve ser respeitada. Reconstrói determinadas situações, histórias e apresenta testemunhos de mulheres, conferindo-lhes voz para demonstrar que existem estereótipos de género e padrões de beleza que são definidos por uma ordem social dominante, com novas alfabetizações, num contexto ainda heteronormativo, com consequências diretas na vida das mulheres de todo o mundo (Amâncio, 2003; Barker & Scheele, 2019; Cerqueira, 2014; Gill, 2003, 2007, 2008). As estratégias discursivas subentendem e pretendem transmitir o empoderamento do género feminino através da seleção de alguns ideais do movimento feminista (Matos, 2017).

> És tão nova, mas vês tudo. Não podemos ser aquilo que não vemos. E se te pudéssemos mostrar uma visão de beleza, onde nenhuma rapariga ou mulher se sentisse excluída? Onde todos os tipos de pele sejam bonitos. Onde nos mostrassem exatamente da mesma forma que a todas outras. Onde a feminilidade seja força. Onde a beleza seja não binária. Porque se te mostrarmos um mundo onde todas as mulheres são realmente vistas, então tu vais mostrar-nos a realidade. (Dove, 26 abril de 2019)

Ao utilizar várias vezes a expressão "e se" deixa no ar a incógnita se é mesmo possível desencadear uma mudança social eficaz e reverter a situação atual. As mulheres identificam um tratamento diferencial por não se enquadrarem nos padrões impostos pela sociedade. Através de fotos, testemunhos, recriação de situações e a utilização de voz off, a Dove apresenta uma definição de beleza tangível mais inclusiva e quebra a padronização excessiva. Os anúncios representam uma diversidade de mulheres que se orgulham de ser como são, nomeadamente mulheres que não seguem os padrões de beleza e de género e que por norma não são representadas nos *media*. As mulheres querem sentir-se representadas e sem qualquer tipo de constrangimento: "Mostrem-nos mais mulheres como eu", "mostrem-nos que o bem-estar não depende do tamanho", "mostrem-nos que todos os cabelos são profissionais", "mostrem-nos!". Para além de desconstruir os estereótipos de beleza, a marca também rompe com outras formas de discriminação ao representar a diversidades de orientações sexuais através da comunidade LGBTQ+.

Elle Rose, defensora dos Direitos Transgénero, África do Sul: "Eu acho muito importante que haja pelo menos uma criança que se reveja em mim. As pessoas têm a ideia de que tens de ser corajosa para seres quem és".

Fotógrafa do projeto #MostremNos, de Mumbai, Índia: "Num país como a Índia, se fores gay ou bissexual, as pessoas vão imediatamente julgar-te. Mas a Monisha não se importa".

Fotógrafa do projeto #MostremNos, de Marraquexe, Marrocos: "Se eu conseguir quebrar o estereótipo e mudá-lo com uma fotografia de cada vez, então vou fazê-lo até poder".

CONSIDERAÇÕES FINAIS

Este estudo permite demonstrar as linhas gerais do caminho trilhado pelo movimento feminista e o seu estágio atual. O pós-feminismo veio demonstrar, e criticar ao mesmo tempo, que a igualdade de género não é e nunca poderá ser considerada como um dado adquirido como se reivindica a partir da terceira vaga feminista. Significa que as lutas e reivindicações feministas encontram-se atualmente sob a forma de "pós-feminismo". Ou seja, a reformulação de problemáticas e de novas configurações que se insurgem nas relações, outrora reconhecidas socialmente como questões femininas, deve-se ao facto de vários princípios e direitos femininos conquistados anteriormente mantêm-se ainda apenas no patamar teórico (Januário, 2016). A título exemplificativo, esta realidade tem sido demonstrada em diversos estudos como os de Rosalind Gill (2003, 2007, 2008).

Verificam-se várias mudanças positivas acerca da representação feminina nos discursos mediáticos, mas essas mudanças estão longe de alcançar o patamar desejável e, portanto, continuam a suscitar desafios. A Internet permitiu um crescimento da atuação e da visibilidade dos feminismos (Citron, 2015; Hines, 2019). A partir de um meio aberto e interativo (Castells, 2006, 2009), surgiram novas formas de reivindicação e de partilha de histórias, ideias, preocupações, revoltas e agressões de que as mulheres são alvo a um nível expressivo (Citron & Franks, 2014; Franks, 2016; Hall & Hearn, 2019).

As marcas iniciaram um processo de conscientização sobre a deficitária e estereotipada representação mediática das mulheres nos *media* e na publicidade. Os ganhos associados a processos de reposicionamento têm levado várias marcas de produtos íntimos e de beleza, neste caso em particular a Dove, a uma integração do conceito de *Femvertising* nos discursos publicitários. O empoderamento do género feminino, a representação da sua diversidade através de desconstrução de estereótipos, e o fomento de discussões relativamente às várias dimensões da mulher na sociedade são algumas estratégias adotadas pelas marcas (Nascimento & Dantas, 2015; Polga & Silva, 2017).

Os anúncios do projeto #MostremNos demonstram o propósito do empoderamento feminino. As estratégias discursivas adotadas refletem uma desconstrução de estereótipos e dos padrões de beleza impostos por uma ordem social dominante, com novas alfabetizações, num contexto com resquícios da heteronormatividade, e muitas vezes exercida por uma violência simbólica (Bourdieu, 1989, 2012). A construção dos anúncios com base na recriação de situações e histórias, verídicas ou apenas exemplificativas, e apresentação de testemunhos permitem que as mulheres tenham voz ativa, na denúncia dos constrangimentos e dos impactos resultantes de uma representação mediática desigualitária. Por outro lado, nota-se uma preocupação em apresentar-se como uma marca inclusiva e, portanto, representa a diversidade de orientações sexuais e a comunidade LGBT+. Nesse sentido, a Dove assume-se como porta-voz de todas as mulheres que desejam diversas mudanças sociais, muitas delas já conquistadas na primeira e segunda vagas somente para o patamar teórico (Januário, 2016).

Resumindo, toda e qualquer forma de discriminação é atualmente menos representada na publicidade do que outrora (Pereira & Veríssimo, 2008; Pereira et al., 2013). No entanto, enquanto houver representações sociais estereotipadas na indústria criativa, as mesmas estão a contribuir para a discriminação da mulher na sociedade e a perpetuação de um círculo de violência que hoje assume contornos preocupantes no digital (Henry & Powell, 2014, 2015, 2018). As mensagens publicitárias em torno do conceito de *Femvertising* não são mais do que o pós-feminismo em ação ao utilizarem discursos pós-feministas, que incorporam e repudiam simultaneamente os ideiais feministas e, nesse seguimento, contribuem para o aniquilamento da força política do feminismo (Gill, 2003, 2007, 2008; Matos, 2017). Marcas como a Dove apresentam objetos de consumo, ou seja, vendem o feminismo quando este não pode ser vendido ou comprado. A despolitização e a desarticulação do movimento feminista têm de ser repensadas com o objetivo primordial de desencadear mudanças sociais efetivas numa sociedade cada vez mais desafiante.

REFERÊNCIAS

Amâncio, L. (2003). O género no discurso das ciências sociais. *Análise Social*, *168*, 687-714. http://hdl.handle.net/10071/18123

Barker, M., & Scheele, J. (2019). *Gender: a graphic guide*. London: Icon Books.

Barthes, R. (2009). *Aula* (L. Perrone-Moisés, Trad.). São Paulo: Editora Cultrix. (Trabalho publicado pela primeira vez em 1977).

Barthes, R. (1964). *Elementos de Semiologia* (I. Blikstein, Trad.). São Paulo: Editora Cultrix.

Bourdieu, P. (1989). *O poder simbólico* (F. Tomaz, Trad.). Difel Difusão Editorial.

Bourdieu, P. (2012). *A dominação masculina* (M. Kühner, Trad.). Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil. (Trabalho publicado pela primeira vez em 1998).

Carlão, A., Maia, C., & Santos, M. (2017). Deliberação nos comentários dos leitores de jornais online: Caso da secção de educação do público.pt. *Internet Latent Corpus Journal*, *7*(1), 5-27. https://proa.ua.pt/index.php/ilcj/article/view/571/466

Caro, A. (2008). La publicidad como dispositivo operacional. *Pensar la Publicidad Revista Internacional De Investigaciones Publicitarias*, *2*(2), 81-106. https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/PEPU/article/view/PEPU0808220081A

Castells, M. (2006). A sociedade em rede: Do conhecimento à política. Em M. Castells & G. Cardoso (Eds.), *A sociedade em rede: Do conhecimento à ação política* (pp. 17-30). Imprensa Nacional da Casa da Moeda.

Castells, M. (2009). *Comunicação e poder* (M. Hernández, Trad.). Alianza Editorial.

Cerqueira, C. (2014). Os média, os públicos e os discursos de género: (in)visibilidades, linguagens e protagonistas. Em A. Jorge, C. Cerqueira & S. Magalhães (Eds.), *PubliDiversidade. Representações Sociais e Igualdade de Género na Publicidade* (pp. 7-16). https://issuu.com/publidiversidade/docs/publidiversidade

Citron, D. K., & Franks, M. A. (2014). Criminalizing revenge porn. *Wake Forest Law Review*, *49*, 345-391. https://repository.law.miami.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1059&context=fac_articles

Citron, D. K. (2015). Addressing cyber harassment: An overview of hate crimes in cyberspace. *Journal of Law, Technology & the Internet*, *6*, 1-12. https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/jolti/vol6/iss1/3

Curiel, O. (2018). Género, raça, sexualidade — debates contemporâneos. Em M. Baptista (Ed.), *Género e performance: Textos essenciais vol. I* (pp. 215-238). Coimbra: Grácio Editor. (Trabalho publicado pela primeira vez em 2005).

Döring, N. (2000). Feminist views of cybersex: Victimization, liberation, and empowerment. *Cyber Psychology & Behavior*, *3*(5), 863-884. https://doi.org/10.1089/10949310050191845

DOVE. (2019). Projeto #MostremNos. Disponível a 2 maio 2020 em https://www.dove.com/pt/stories/campaigns/mostremnos.html

Franks, M. A. (2016, 22 setembro). Drafting an effective “Revenge Porn” law: A guide for legislators. *Cyber Civil Rights Initiative*. Disponível a 10 dez. 2020 em https://www.cybercivilrights.org/guide-to-legislation/

Foucault, M. (1994a). *História da sexualidade I: A vontade de saber* (P. Tamen, Trad.). Relógio D’Água. (Trabalho publicado pela primeira vez em 1976).

Foucault, M. (1994b). *História da sexualidade II: O uso dos prazeres* (M. Alberto, Trad.). Relógio D’Água. (Trabalho publicado pela primeira vez em 1984).

Foucault, M. (1994c). *História da sexualidade III: O cuidado de si* (M. Alberto, Trad.). Relógio D'Água. (Trabalho publicado pela primeira vez em 1984).

Furnham, A., & Mak, T. (1999). Sex-role stereotyping in television commercials: A review and comparison of fourteen studies done on five continents over 25 years. *Sex Roles*, *41*(516), 413-436. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1018826900972

Garland-Thomson, R. (2002). Integrating disability, transforming feminist theory. *NWSA Journal*, *14*(3), 1-32. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4316922

Geis, F. L., Brown, V., Jennings, J., & Porter, N. (1984). TV commercials as achievement scripts for women. *Sex Roles*, *10*(7/8), 513-525. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00287260

Gill, R. (2003). From Sexual Objectification to Sexual Subjectification: The Resexualisation of Women's Bodies in the Media. *Feminist Media Studies*, *3*(1), 100-106. https://doi.org/10.1080/1468077032000080158

Gill, R. (2007). Postfeminist media culture: Elements of a sensibility. *European Journal of Cultural Studies, 10*(2), 147-166. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549407075898

Gill, R. (2008). Empowerment/Sexism: Figuring Female Sexual Agency in Contemporary Advertising. *Feminism & Psychology, 18*(1), 35-60. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353507084950

Goffman, E. (1987). *Gender advertisements*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.

Hall, M., & Hearn, J. (2019). Revenge pornography and manhood acts: A discourse analysis of perpetrators' accounts. *Journal of Gender Studies*, *28*(2), 158-170. https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2017.1417117

Hall, S. (2013). O espetáculo do "outro". Em S. Hall, *Cultura e Representação* (pp. 139-231). Editorial: Apicuri.

Henry, N., & Powell, A. (2014). The dark side of the virtual world: Towards a digital sexual ethics. Em N. Henry & A. Powell (Eds.), *Preventing sexual violence: Interdisciplinary approaches to overcoming a rape culture* (pp. 84-104). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137356192_5

Henry, N., & Powell, A. (2015). Embodied harms: Gender, shame, and technology-facilitated sexual violence. *Violence Against Women*, *21*(6), 758-779. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801215576581

Henry, N., & Powell, A. (2018). Technology-facilitated sexual violence: A literature review of empirical research. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, *19*(2), 195-208. https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838016650189

Hines, S. (2019). The feminist frontier: On trans and feminism. *Journal of Gender Studies*, *28*(2), 145-157. https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2017.1411791

Januário, S. B. (2016). *Masculinidades em (re)construção: Género, corpo e publicidade*. Covilhã: LabCom.

Lawless, B., & Chen, Y. (2019). Developing a Method of Critical Thematic Analysis for Qualitative Communication Inquiry. *Howard Journal of Communications*, *30*(1), 92-106. https://doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2018.1439423

Le Breton, D. (2002). *Antropologia del cuerpo y modernidad* (P. Mahler, Trad.). Buenos Aires: Ediciones Nueva Visión. (Trabalho publicado pela primeira vez em 1990).

Matos, C. (2017). Rosalind Gill: "We don't just want more cake, we want the whole bakery!". *MATRIZes*, *11*(2), 137-160. https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.1982-8160.v11i2p137-160

Nascimento, M. C., & Dantas, J. B. (2015). O *Femvertising* em evidência: Estudo de caso #Likeagirl. Intercom – Sociedade Brasileira de Estudos Interdisciplinares da Comunicação. XXXVIII Congresso Brasileiro de Ciências da Comunicação – Rio de Janeiro. http://portalintercom.org.br/anais/nacional2015/resumos/R10-1779-1.pdf

Peixoto, F. (2014). Publicidade, Sedução e Assertividade: A Comunicação de Marca, Hoje. Em Comunicação Global, Cultura e Tecnologia: livro de atas 8º Congresso SOPCOM, 856-864. ISBN: 978-989-20-3877-3

Pereira, F. C., & Veríssimo, J. (2008). A mulher na publicidade e os estereótipos de género. *Observatorio (OBS*) Journal*, *2*(2), 281-296. http://obs.obercom.pt/index.php/obs/article/view/120

Pereira, F. C., Veríssimo, J., Diaz, A. C., & Correia, R. (2013). Estereótipos de género, sexo e violência na publicidade portuguesa e espanhola. *Comunicação e Sociedade*, *23*, 254-273. https://doi.org/10.17231/comsoc.23(2013).1625

Polga, G. H., & Silva, I. A. (2017). *Femvertising*: empoderamento feminino na publicidade contemporânea. Intercom – Sociedade Brasileira de Estudos Interdisciplinares da Comunicação. XXII Congresso de Ciências da Comunicação na Região Sul – Caxias do Sul – RS. https://portalintercom.org.br/anais/sul2017/resumos/R55-1437-1.pdf

Ramalho, E., Amaral, A. R., Calvi, D. R., Ulbrich, T. H., & Hulack, S. M. (2016). Dove e seu posicionamento: Um estudo sobre a importância do simbolismo como estratégia de comunicação. Em O Empoderamento do Indivíduo: Anais do 14º Encontro Científico Cultural Interinstitucional, 1-5. ISSN: 1980-7406

Silva, R. L., Nichel, A., Martins, A. C., & Borchardt, C. K. (2011). Discursos de ódio em redes sociais: Jurisprudência brasileira. *Revista Direito GV*, *7*(2), 445-467. https://doi.org/10.1590/S1808-24322011000200004

Tong, R. (2009). *Feminist thought: A more comprehensive introduction*. Colorado: Westview Press.

van Mill, D. (2017, 1 maio). Freedom of speech. *The Standford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Disponível a 16 nov. 2020 em https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/freedom-speech/

Waskul, D. D. (2014). Techno-sexuality: The sexual pragmatists of the technological age. Em T. Weinberg & S. Staci (Eds.), *Selves, symbols, and sexualities: An interactionist anthology* (pp. 89-107). Sage Publications.

doi: 10.31211/interacoes.n39.2020.a4

O Início de uma Nova Era? Análise Exploratória a Plataformas Digitais de Verificação de *Fake News*

Fábio Ribeiro

UTAD; CECS - Universidade do Minho - fabiofonsecaribeiro@gmail.com

Daniela Fonseca

UTAD; Labcom - UBI - dfonseca@utad.pt

Resumo

A política tornou-se num dos principais instigadores do fenómeno mediático amplamente designado por "notícias falsas", especialmente desde a eleição de Donald Trump em 2016 (Figueira & Oliveira, 2017; Albright, 2017). A popularização deste termo no espaço público também foi acompanhada pelo crescente interesse dos académicos. Por exemplo, hoje discute-se até que ponto a emergência de conteúdos falsos ou manipulados pelos média determina o distanciamento dos cidadãos dos meios de comunicação tradicionais (Tandoc, Zheng & Ling, 2017; Cádima, 2018). Este artigo procura estudar o terreno tecnológico da desinformação, através de uma amostra não-probabilística definida por conveniência (Quivy & Campenhoudt, 1992) e de análise manifesta e latente de factos sociais e mediáticos (Bengtsson, 2016), focadas em diversas plataformas digitais desenhadas para combater as notícias falsas, como *Checazap*, *Fátima*, *NewsGuard*, *Polígrafo* e *Snopes*. Os resultados sugerem que a maioria dessas plataformas ainda enfrenta um problema de visibilidade pública, apesar das diferentes possibilidades de relatórios e confiabilidade.

Palavras-chave: Notícias falsas, tecnologias, média, jornalismo, desinformação.

The Beginning of a New Era? Exploratory Analysis of Fact Checking Platforms Towards Fake News

Abstract

Politics have been the fundamental trigger for the recent dissemination of the expression "fake news", especially since Donald Trump was elected, in 2016 (Figueira & Oliveira, 2017; Albright, 2017). Following the popularization of this concept, academics seem to be keen in the analysis of such phenomenon. In this sense, scholars have been studied if biased or false content promoted by journalists often lead to some citizens' disbelief towards the mainstream media (Tandoc, Zheng & Ling, 2017; Cádima, 2018). This article seeks to address the technological terrain of misinformation, using a non-probabilistic sample defined by convenience (Quivy & Campenhoudt, 1992) and a manifest and latent analysis of social and media facts (Bengtsson, 2016), focused on various digital platforms designed to combat false news, such as *Checazap*, *Fátima*, *NewsGuard*, *Polígrafo* and *Snopes*. The results provided by this critical assessment suggest that most of these platforms are still lacking of a wider public attention, notwithstanding potentialities and innovative perspectives to learn from troubling websites.

Keywords: Fake news, technology, media, journalism, disinformation.

BREVES CONSIDERAÇÕES HISTÓRICAS SOBRE NOTÍCIAS FALSAS

Em 2019, Kamil Mrozowic, um empreendedor social, quis construir na sua cidade natal, Jedwabne, na Polónia, uma livraria comunitária. Esta pequena e pacata localidade foi subitamente transformada num dos palcos do terror da 2ª Guerra Mundial, quando os nazis a escolheram como um dos locais prediletos para assaltar e executar grande parte da comunidade judaica que ali residia, em 1941. Praticamente oitenta anos depois destes traumáticos acontecimentos, o jovem Kamil quis incentivar a discussão sobre o passado tenebroso daquela cidade, sem filtros, nem preconceitos – apenas conversar, com os locais, o que tinha acontecido, num espaço público, aberto a todos, no meio de livros. O jornalista Miguel Carvalho publicaria na revista *Courrier International* os ecos desta história, resumindo-a de um modo muito concreto: "a ideia de Kamil durou apenas um minuto e esfumou-se mais rápido do que um fósforo" (2018, p. 98). Os habitantes receberam a notícia com incredulidade e não quiseram participar na iniciativa. Muitos argumentaram que não fazia sentido desenterrar memórias passadas, outros preferiram ignorar um assunto que apenas traria má fama à cidade. O sonho de Kamil não se concretizou. "Hoje é muito fácil alguém perder-se entre a verdade e a mentira", lamentou. Com esta iniciativa que não passou de um projeto, Kamil acredita que debater o passado tenebroso das sociedades é essencial para se evitar a manipulação de factos históricos, de modo a evitar a expansão de certos movimentos negacionistas como aqueles que têm acontecido com o Holocausto.

Definir a realidade como "verdade" ou "mentira" supõe todo um debate filosófico que não integra os objetivos deste artigo. O viés complexo entre estas duas suposições integra uma grande quantidade de argumentos que tendem a considerar "notícias falsas" como uma expressão modernizada. Contudo, não faltam exemplos, historicamente considerados, que relatam episódios falsos promovidos pelos média. Apesar de ser possível encontrar preocupações com as notícias falsas no século XIX, sobretudo a partir da emergência da imprensa sensacionalista conhecida por *penny press* e *yellow press* (Kovarik, 2011), alguns episódios recentes em torno de grandes conflitos armados, à escala mundial, tornaram a manipulação da informação como um assunto francamente relevante. neste sentido, as duas guerras mundiais foram tremendamente intensas em termos de propaganda, bem como na Guerra do Vietname (1955-1975). A ofensiva dos EUA, em 2003, no Iraque, apresentou dramaticamente ao mundo o chamado Ministro da Informação de Saddam Hussein - Mohammed Saeed al-Sahhaf - enquanto tentava negligenciar as operações militares norte-americanas que estavam a decorrer naquele país. Este caso integra, aliás, o livro de 1921 de Marc Bloch, *Réflexions d'Un Historien Sur les Fausses Nouvelles da Guerre*, em que o autor francês apresenta inúmeros exemplos de como várias políticas de informação enganosas foram executadas durante conflitos em todo o mundo.

Uma das contribuições mais importantes sobre a ontologia das notícias falsas foi o relatório "O problema das notícias falsas", apresentado por Clarence K. Streit, na Assembleia da Liga das Nações, a 1 de novembro de 1932. Streit, que na altura era o responsável pela Associação Internacional de Jornalistas Credenciados na Liga das Nações, disse que todos os jornais deveriam apoiar, sem margem para qualquer dúvida, uma "política editorial baseada nos factos" (Ribeiro & Teixeira, 2018, s/p). Streit, que nessa época era correspondente do *The New York Times* em Genebra, na Suíça, lembrou que as primeiras palavras a serem impressas na famosa imprensa de Gutenberg foram *fiat lux* - «e então veio a luz». Streit mencionou que as notícias falsas não operam isoladas no campo da desinformação: conversas privadas e os rumores interferem diretamente neste processo. Por fim, Streit destacou que o jornalismo deve ter cuidado com as fontes de informação. O valor e a responsabilidade das notícias são decisivos para o consumo dos meios de comunicação, sugeriu Streit.

Além desta discussão sobre alguns apontamentos históricos em torno das notícias falsas, é provavelmente mais relevante continuar com outro tipo de debate. O verdadeiro problema relaciona-se, eventualmente, com a definição exata do que está em jogo para as redações e as consequências para o público que lida, inevitavelmente, com notícias falsas. Isso supõe uma avaliação sobre a forma como os cidadãos se relacionam com os fatos.

Durante uma recente entrevista no *El País*, Noam Chomsky argumentou que a sociedade já não acredita em factos. Chomsky mencionou que a criação de "factos alternativos" é crucial para determinar até que ponto as pessoas se conseguem posicionar quando se trata de crenças. O cientista explicou que esta falta de confiança decorre de uma ampla descrença nas instituições públicas, incluindo políticos e os média. "As pessoas geralmente sentem-se sub-representadas, por causa dos seus empregos precários, por exemplo. Isso leva a um sentimento de raiva, medo e de fuga à realidade dura do quotidiano", disse Chomsky (Ahrens, 2018). José Gil, um dos filósofos mais destacados em Portugal, centrou o "populismo", como ideologia política, no processo de fabricação de notícias falsas (Céu e Silva, 2019): "os critérios para observar a realidade e a sua veracidade foram desmantelados (...) o carisma natural e a identificação do discurso parece ser mais decisivos que a notícia". Na verdade, estes depoimentos reforçam uma das linhas atuais da investigação na área de interseção entre o público e os média, sobretudo na aferição da confiança dos cidadãos perante estas instituições, que tem demonstrado sinais preocupantes (Melro, 2019; Parente, 2019; Marinho, 2000). Risto Kunelis, investigador da Universidade de Helsínquia, na Finlândia, recentemente apontou alguns aspetos decisivos no consumo dos média (Borges, 2019): "os cidadãos estão totalmente sujeitos a bolhas de informações falsas e enganosas, onde as opiniões são apresentadas como factos, fornecidas por anúncios segmentados de maneira preocupante. Esta é uma ferramenta massiva para a eficiência da desinformação".

O PAPEL DA INTERNET COMO FERRAMENTA DE POPULARIZAÇÃO DO TERMO "NOTÍCIAS FALSAS"

A popularização da expressão "notícias falsas" na atualidade mediática relaciona-se inevitavelmente com o destaque que o contexto político tem dedicado a este tema (Cram, 2019). Provavelmente, a disseminação deste conceito tem vindo a impor-se em detrimento de uma certa sistematização em torno do mesmo e o consenso nas abordagens dos académicos parece dispersar-se. Katsirea (2018) responsabiliza as revelações feitas pelo *site Buzzfeed*, sobre alegadas interferências russas nas eleições americanas de 2016, para justificar a emergência do fenómeno.

A popularização do termo convive com a abrangência em considerar como "notícias falsas" uma série de aspetos que visam denunciar a utilização de falácias ou informações claramente falsas como parte do discurso público, político e mediativo. Neste sentido, num relatório de 2018, a Comissão Europeia sugere que se utilize o termo "desinformação" para designar todos os conteúdos propositadamente utilizados para manipular, distorcer ou falsear a realidade. Precisamente neste sentido, Claire Wardle e Hossein Derakhshan (2018) definiram sete tipos de conteúdos no conceito de "desordem informativa": sátira ou paródia (não existe qualquer intenção de ferir suscetibilidades, mas a mentira pode estar presente); enviesamento (sobre personalidades e instituições); manipulação de fontes de informação (utilizando declarações falsas); fabricação autónoma de conteúdos falsos (informações novas e recentes destinadas a enganar propositadamente); relações causais falsas (entre aspetos da realidade, desconexos entre si); contextualizações erradas; manipulação de dados (informações novas e recentes destinadas a enganar propositadamente).

Leite e Canto (2019) definem as notícias falsas como um conjunto alargado de técnicas de comunicação que envolvem sobretudo um apelo às emoções ou crenças individuais. Volkoff (2000) considera que a intenção de manipular a realidade, por alguns setores da comunicação social, está relacionada com a intenção deliberada de suscitar juízos de valor negativos e de ações concretas de condenação pública de agentes políticos e públicos. Num estudo alargado, que compreende 34 artigos académicos sobre esta temática, publicados entre 2003 e 2017, Tandoc, Lim e Ling (2018) estabelecem uma tipologia notícias falsas, que envolve conteúdos escritos num tom de paródia, sátira, bem como informações enviesadas, fotografias manipuladas ou ações de propaganda e relações públicas destinadas a contornar certas realidades.

Além destes breves aspetos conceptuais, a questão que subjaz a este artigo relaciona-se com uma vertente profundamente tecnológica. A internet desempenhou um papel importante na disseminação de notícias falsas (López-Borrull, Vives-Gràcia & Badell, 2018; Roozenbeek & Linden, 2018; Tandoc, Zheng & Ling, 2017). Se recuarmos um pouco no tempo, novamente, e analisarmos o primeiro vídeo "viral" – como referiu a revista *Wired* (Veix, 2018), nos anos 80, em que um homem entediado na frente do computador o esmaga repentinamente - é possível verificar que se tratava de uma situação falsa. Ainda de acordo com esta publicação, as teorias da conspiração sobre este vídeo, intitulado "badday.mpg", inundaram os fóruns da Internet durante várias décadas: "à medida que a partilha de vídeos se tornou mais fácil e mais comum, outros filmaram as suas próprias versões e os vídeos tornaram-se num motivo de paródia. Era difícil não detetar uma manipulação na gravação, no momento em que se destruiu uma impressora num escritório". Este é um exemplo de como um mito urbano pode durar décadas.

As notícias falsas agora estão perfeitamente inseridas numa sociedade pós-tecnológica (Cádima, 2018; Meneses, 2018). A tecnologia e as redes sociais concorreram decisivamente para um entendimento generalizado deste fenómeno das "notícias falsas" (Jankowski, 2018; Tandoc et al., 2017). Os aspetos mais preocupantes relacionam-se com as reais consequências que podem surgir com a consolidação de tais informações enganosas. Como Torres et al. (cit. em Meneses, 2018) lembram, "os bots do Twitter foram usados para repassar uma notícia falsa sobre a substituição do senador Ted Kennedy (…) [assim como] em 2014 com a promoção de uma história sugerindo a quarentena de todo um Texas devido à preocupação do Ébola em solo americano". No entanto, parece ser difícil identificar um período específico para essa tendência crescente, embora uma simples pesquisa no Google Trends indique que a campanha eleitoral presidencial dos EUA em 2016 desempenhou um papel importante nesse sentido (Leetaru, 2017). A mensagem é clara, em direção a esse chamado "infocalipse", conforme referiu Avid Ovadya, especialista nesta área e que trabalha na Universidade de Columbia, nos EUA. "Deveríamos ser capazes de desenvolver sistemas confiáveis e precisos que identifiquem claramente os vídeos falsos", esclareceu.

Em maio de 2018, o jornalista Franklin Fouer escreveu este intrigante título num artigo da revista *The Atlantic*: "A era do vídeo falso começa". Neste sentido, apresentou exemplos de ferramentas digitais que conseguem manipular imagens e vídeos:

1. O software *DeepWark* permite que os utilizadores alterem a direção do contacto visual de alguém;
2. A empresa americana Nvidia criou um sistema capaz de alterar as condições climáticas em torno do vídeo;
3. O software *Face2Face* altera as expressões faciais;
4. Uma equipa de pesquisa da Universidade de Washington criou com sucesso um *software* 3D que alterou partes do discurso público de Barack Obama;
5. O *Voco* da Adobe agora é capaz de alterar partes do áudio, incluindo a introdução de várias expressões que não faziam parte do discurso original;
6. O *Tacotron 2* do Google produz uma voz artificial muito próxima da humana;
7. O *Ultimatte 2* manipula ambientes dentro dos vídeos.

Os recentes eventos associados à pandemia de Covid-19 colocaram ainda mais na agenda do debate público a centralidade da reflexão em torno de informações erradas. Aliás, recorde-se a este propósito que a própria Organização Mundial de Saúde

(OMS) cunhou o termo *infodemia*, para designar o número crescente de conteúdos que, variando entre a imprecisão ou pura inverdade nos factos relatados, procuravam dificultar o trabalho dos jornalistas e condicionam a perceção pública sobre acontecimentos que marcam a atualidade. Esta é a nota dominante de um comunicado[1] divulgado pela OMS, a 25 de agosto de 2020, a propósito da proliferação de conteúdos falsos sobre a pandemia de covid-19.

Patatt e Rocha (2020) sublinham um dado que demonstra eficazmente o interesse que a tecnologia tem vindo a demonstrar no combate à desinformação. De acordo com o relatório do Duke Reporter's Lab, citando dados de outubro de 2020, existiam cerca de trezentos projetos de verificação de factos divididos por mais de oitenta países, o que representava um acréscimo de cem iniciativas novas no espaço de um ano[2]. De qualquer modo, este artigo não defende que a sofisticação tecnológica irá determinar o fim da propagação de conteúdos problemáticos.

Para Deuze e Witschge (2017), o triunfo da vulgarização da ideia de "notícias falsas", que envolve um debate conceptual francamente mais auspicioso do que aquele que se encerra neste artigo, revela que o jornalismo deverá procurar o regresso, de modo mais eficaz e competente, a um dos seus baluartes históricos e eticamente situados e tidos como inquestionáveis: a (procura da) verdade.

METODOLOGIA

Este artigo pretende apresentar e descrever algumas ferramentas tecnológicas que oferecem uma ideia específica: existem esforços concertados de verificação de factos que se baseiam na multiplicação de técnicas digitais. Esta é provavelmente a nota mais ambiciosa de um ativo geral em relação a essas plataformas, mas, pelo menos, podemos entendê-las como tentativas, apreensões de esforços tecnológicos para combater notícias falsas. As referências teóricas e o enquadramento feito por diversos meios de comunicação social foram responsáveis pela popularização de algumas das plataformas mencionadas abaixo, a seguir.

1 Disponível em https://www.who.int/news-room/feature-stories/detail/immunizing-the-public-against-misinformation

2 Disponível em https://reporterslab.org/category/fact-checking/#article-2781

Tabela 1

Plataformas tecnológicas analisadas neste estudo

Plataformas tecnológicas
Checazap
Fátima
NewsGuard
Polígrafo
Snopes

Do ponto de vista da observação que subjaz a esta amostra não-probabilística (Quivy & Campenhoudt, 1992; Lavrakas, 2008; Ayhan, 2014), construída por conveniência, seguimos o entendimento de Bengtsson (2016), que propõe modelos de análise de factos sociais e mediáticos com base em duas técnicas de análise: manifesta (o investigador retira conclusões a partir do discurso apresentado, numa análise tão próxima do texto quanto possível) e latente (o investigador avança para uma interpretação subjetiva do texto). Este artigo utiliza ambas formulações, uma vez que se dedica a analisar a informação concreta e visível nos *sites* das plataformas, ao mesmo tempo que desenvolve interpretações próprias a partir de trabalhos jornalísticos sobre o objeto de estudo representado. Deste modo, as perguntas de pesquisa que orientam este trabalho organizam-se em torno de duas perspetivas: como se podem caracterizar experiências de verificação dos factos, em plataformas tecnológicas desenhadas para esse efeito, em termos da dinâmica das próprias lógicas técnicas?

Neste sentido, esta amostra representa uma tentativa modesta de mapear algumas iniciativas tecnológicas a este respeito, uma vez que outras também podem ser incluídas. Esta análise exploratória foca-se em vários aspetos: equipa de trabalho; país em que a plataforma foi criada; missão e objetivos gerais; empreendimentos tecnológicos e requisitos técnicos; custos para os utilizadores.

Na Tabela 2, é apresentada uma visão geral das plataformas tecnológicas consideradas neste estudo:

Tabela 2
Observação genérica das plataformas estudadas

Plataformas tecnológicas	Fundação	Staff	País	Ferramentas	Custos
Fátima	2018	9	Brasil	Aplicação móvel	Grátis
Checazap	2018	12	Brasil	*Site*	Grátis
NewsGuard	2018	35	EUA	*Plug-in* no browser	Grátis
Polígrafo	2018	16	Portugal	*Site*	Grátis
Snopes	1994	15	EUA	*Site*	Grátis

RESULTADOS E DISCUSSÃO

Como já se referiu, este estudo não pretende representar a totalidade de experiências existentes nesse sentido. Utilizando os parâmetros de observação que constam da Tabela 2, procura-se descrever, sumariamente, a atividade genérica das referidas plataformas, como pretexto de ilustração da temática abordada em termos teóricos e que ensaia a questão da verificação de factos por intermédio de ferramentas tecnológicas. A maioria destas plataformas é exibida numa página web. Uma avaliação específica de cada iniciativa será apresentada seguidamente.

Checazap

O *Checazap*[3] foi fundado em 2009 pelas jornalistas Amanda Rahra e Nina Weingrill, durante uma formação em jornalismo em Capão Redondo, um dos bairros mais violentos nos arredores de São Paulo, no Brasil. O principal ator dessa plataforma é o empreendedorismo social "Énois - Inteligência jovem", uma organização dedicada a promover maiores oportunidades de discutir a importância do jornalismo entre os jovens. A equipa inclui doze membros que trabalham ao lado de estudantes de uma escola de jornalismo no Rio de Janeiro. O *Checazap* tem o seu próprio número do WhatsApp, permitindo que os cidadãos verifiquem se o conteúdo é verdadeiro ou falso. Semanalmente, especialmente à sexta-feira, o *Checazap* publica as informações

3 Disponível em https://enoisconteudo.com.br/checazap/

mais problemáticas partilhadas no WhatsApp, para que os cidadãos saibam o que foi compartilhado que é falso. Para esse resultado específico, o *Checazap* tem uma relação muito próxima com o monitor WhatsApp e a Open Society Foundation. Os utilizadores podem beneficiar dessas informações sem custos associados. Esta agência de verificação de factos possui informações atualizadas verificadas online[4].

Imagem 1

Site do Checazap. Fonte: www.enoisconteudo.com.br/checazap/

Em outubro de 2018, a *BBC* deu conta que o WhatsApp estava a desempenhar um papel significativo na campanha presidencial brasileira: "Uma investigação da *BBC* descobriu que os esforços para apoiar vários partidos e candidatos - cobrindo votos estaduais, federais e do Senado - usaram a técnica de mensagens em massa" (Magenta, Gragnani, & Souza, 2018). Aparentemente, grupos políticos usaram software ilegal para atingir públicos específicos no Facebook, usando dados e contas pessoais. Milhões de brasileiros foram incluídos em grupos específicos do WhatsApp, onde foram partilhadas orientações ideológicas e políticas. Segundo as estatísticas fornecidas pelo *site Statista*, referindo-se a dados de finais de 2017, mais de metade da população do Brasil – cerca de 100 milhões - usavam o WhatsApp (Clement, 2019). Tendo em mente esses dados massivos, não é surpreendente encontrar uma ferramenta tecnológica para combater notícias falsas no WhatsApp.

4 Disponível em https://www.huffpostbrasil.com/author/checazap/

Em janeiro de 2019, a *Recode.net* perguntou: "O WhatsApp está a combater as notícias falsas, limitando a sua potencialidade viral. O Facebook e o Twitter poderiam fazer o mesmo?" . Muito pouco se sabe sobre isso, mas o WhatsApp aproximou-se um pouco, reduzindo a possibilidade de encaminhar mensagens: de 65000 para apenas 1280 pessoas (Wagner & Mola, 2019).

Fátima

Imagem 2

Aplicação móvel Fátima. Fonte: www.aosfatos.org/fatima/

A empresa Aos Fatos decidiu criar um aplicativo móvel - *Fátima*[5] - para ajudar os cidadãos na verificação de conteúdos falsos e enganosos. A equipa - principalmente jornalistas (9) - publica todos os dias uma lista completa das notícias mais relevantes dos média, dando-lhes um selo: verdadeiro; impreciso; exagerado; enganoso; falso. Esta avaliação decorre após várias etapas: 1) escolha de um tópico relevante nas notícias; 2) verificação da fonte original de informação; 3) procura de fontes de notícias confiáveis; 4) análise de declarações oficiais; 5) apresentação do contexto dessas

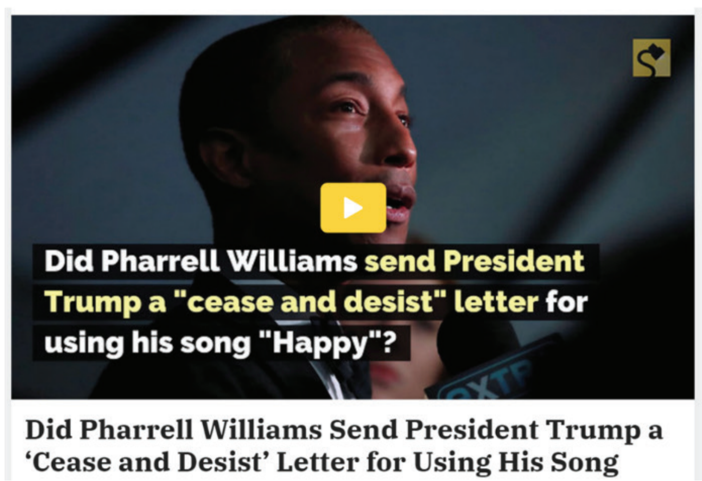
5 Disponível em https://aosfatos.org/fatima/

notícias. Após estas etapas metodológicas, os cidadãos podem procurar no robô da aplicação *Fátima* um esclarecimento sobre uma notícia ou tópico específico, com o carimbo específico.

Esta iniciativa surge após uma parceria entre a Aos Fatos e o Facebook, através de um projeto de alfabetização dos média financiado por esta empresa. Em abril de 2018, após apenas uma semana de trabalho intenso, o *robot Fátima* conseguiu identificar mais de 500 notícias falsas. O acesso a este serviço é gratuito (Fiore, 2018).

Snopes

Imagem 3
Site do Snopes. Fonte: www.snopes.com



Em janeiro de 2019, a *Snopes* decidiu interromper uma parceria de longo prazo com o Facebook. "Depois de contribuir com esse esforço por dois anos, queremos informar os leitores que a Snopes.com optou por não renovar a parceria com o Facebook", explicaram David Mikkelson, CEO da *Snopes*, e Vinny Green, vice-presidente de operações (Funke, 2019). Aparentemente, a *Snopes* discordou do Facebook quanto à definição do conceito de "notícias falsas". A empresa esclareceu que a forma como categoriza conteúdos falsos é complicada e morosa: "[o staff] precisa de inserir manualmente cada *post* falso para depois os sinalizarem numa plataforma. Esta operação leva muito tempo para uma empresa que emprega apenas dezasseis pessoas e não tem uma sede física".

Apesar deste relacionamento tenso, a plataforma *Snopes* continua a ser um site adequado para fins de verificação de factos. Esta iniciativa constrói a "Hot 50 List", com as notícias falsas mais impactantes no espaço político dos EUA, e a seção "Vídeo" adiciona um tópico específico a essa análise, pois a maioria destas plataformas parece não identificar problemas com notícias que envolvam vídeos, principalmente da televisão ou dos média online. O *Seattle Times* descreveu a *Snopes* como o "*site* de desmistificação de fraudes mais popular da América" (Lacitis, 2018). De acordo com a plataforma de *ranking* de *sites* Similar.Web.com, a Snopes.com recebe mais de 32 milhões de visualizações por mês, a partir de computadores e dispositivos móveis, muito acima de seus concorrentes "The Straight Dope" (4 milhões) e FactCheck (3 milhões).

Embora esta análise cubra principalmente iniciativas recentes, a plataforma Snopes.com já conta com uma atividade longa, desde 1994.

Polígrafo

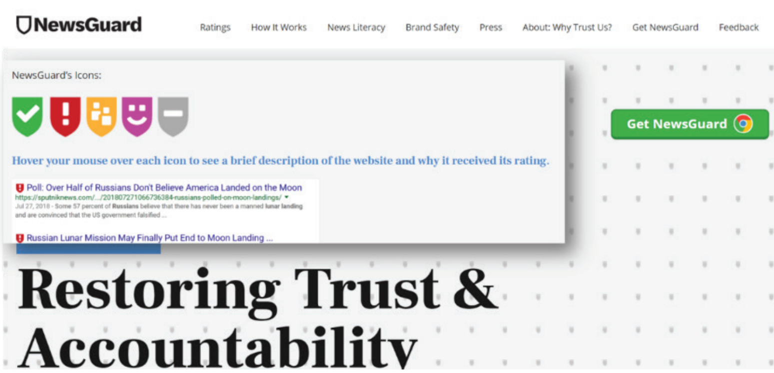
Imagem 4
Site do Polígrafo. Fonte: www.poligrafo.sapo.pt

Fernando Esteves, o responsável editorial pelo *Polígrafo*, apresentou esta nova plataforma na edição de janeiro de 2019 da revista *Jornalismo e Jornalistas* (Clube de Jornalistas, 2019), uma publicação do Clube Português de Jornalistas: "Atualmente, a verificação de factos ocupa uma das áreas mais relevantes do jornalismo". O *Polígrafo* aborda notícias falsas, analisando principalmente declarações de responsáveis públicos, confrontando-as com ações e factos. Esteves define este projeto como "O Google da Verdade, onde as pessoas estão perfeitamente conscientes de que não encontrarão opiniões, mas factos, com base em documentos".

Esta plataforma foi apresentada na Web Summit 2018, realizada em Lisboa, Portugal. Naquela época, Fernando Esteves informou que as instituições públicas eram o principal alvo deste setor de verificação de factos. Diariamente, o *Polígrafo* publica até quatro histórias de verificação de factos. Esteves reconheceu que a eleição de Donald Trump, em 2016, acabou por ser o gatilho definitivo para a criação deste projeto.

Newsguard

Imagem 5
Site do Newsguard. Fonte: www.newsguardtech.com



O *Newsguard* é totalmente diferente dos instrumentos de verificação de factos considerados nesta análise. Em primeiro lugar trata-se de um *plug-in* que facilmente se incorpora em qualquer navegador de internet. Foi desenvolvido para fornecer aos utilizadores um conjunto de informações valiosas em termos da veracidade dos conteúdos lá publicados: "se o *site* publica regularmente conteúdo falso, revela conflitos de interesse, divulga financiamento ou corrige publicamente erros de relatório". Os jornalistas do *Newsguard* revelam que nenhum algoritmo é usado para a validação de *sites*, pois cada um deles é avaliado com base em critérios que englobam nove escalas de fiabilidade dos dados. "Sempre que qualquer *site* não cumpre um dos nove critérios, enviamos um e-mail para que eles possam pronunciar-se sobre uma determinada questão. Os algoritmos não pedem comentários", diz o *Newsguard* online.

Este plug-in é, portanto, exibido junto aos links das notícias, de acordo com um conjunto de parâmetros: "Além dos ícones vermelhos e verdes dos *sites* de notícias e informações, o *NewsGuard* atribui um ícone azul a *sites* que publicam conteúdos gerados pelos utilizadores. *Sites* de humor ou sátira que imitam notícias reais recebem um ícone laranja de "sátira". Um ícone cinza indica que um *site* ainda não foi classificado pela equipe do *NewsGuard*".

Recentemente, esta plataforma chegou às manchetes ao decidir classificar a *Fox News* como "uma parte saudável de sua dieta de notícias". De acordo com o NiemanLab, esta avaliação levantou uma série de preocupações, principalmente sobre a independência desta plataforma, uma vez que as "teorias da conspiração" são exibidas regularmente neste canal de notícias (Benton, 2018). O *Newsguard* explicou que a *Fox News* foi categorizada com sucesso em todos os nove critérios, como "se assemelha à cobertura noticiosa mais tradicional".

NOTAS FINAIS

A atualidade tem vindo a demonstrar, de uma forma consistente e inequívoca, que o combate contra a disseminação de notícias falsas também passa pelo palco político. A este propósito, recorde-se que a Comissão Europeia anunciou, em janeiro de 2019, que cada Estado membro deve identificar um representante oficial para fornecer *feedback* sobre as campanhas de desinformação nos países e como foram abordadas. Em Portugal, o Ministério da Educação organizou uma iniciativa de âmbito nacional para realizar uma ação de formação específica nas escolas, ajudando estudantes e professores a lidar com abusos de informação e desinformação. Em coordenação com o Sindicato dos Jornalistas, estas sessões de treinamento incluem uma enorme variedade de cidades em todo o país e começaram em janeiro de 2019, em 40 escolas.

Este artigo reconhece a escassez de plataformas tecnológicas utilizadas numa amostra que procura, de um modo bastante simples, dar conta de uma parte evidentemente modesta de experiências de verificação de factos que existem. À medida que estes exemplos florescem, torna-se importante acautelar o estudo destas dinâmicas do ponto de vista da investigação. Aliás, estas plataformas fazem agora parte da Rede

Internacional de Verificação de Fatos (International Fact-checking Network, em inglês), ligada ao Instituto Poynter, dos EUA, e que tem sido descrita como um esforço sólido para estabelecer atividades amplas e ambiciosas para promover a alfabetização mediática e noticiosa, a partir do tema das notícias falsas. Apesar de ser preverem resultados positivos sobre estas plataformas e iniciativas, parece ser ainda muito cedo para determinar se estas iniciativas se tornarão mais relevantes no futuro. No momento em que este artigo se debruça sobre esta questão, existem poucos relatos nos média sobre o sucesso/insucesso das plataformas anteriormente analisadas, o que indica que provavelmente o público e os cidadãos podem estar longe de conhecer esta realidade de base tecnológica.

Futuramente, a investigação nesta área poderá abordar a especificidade de cada país neste tópico do combate às notícias falsas. Sem qualquer intenção de representatividade, esta amostra pretendeu lançar alguma luz sobre uma realidade claramente escondida. Aparentemente, os académicos demonstram um interesse cada vez maior na reflexão sobre notícias falsas, mas falta claramente um estudo mais aprofundado sobre a forma como a tecnologia pode igualmente criar fundamentos técnicos para enfrentar e denunciar conteúdos falsos.

REFERÊNCIAS

Ahrens, J. (2018). Noam Chomsky: "La gente ya no cree en los hechos". https://elpais.com/cultura/2018/03/06/babelia/1520352987_936609.html

Albright, J. (2017). Welcome to the Era of Fake News. *Media and Communication*, *5*(2), 87-89. https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v5i2.977

Ayhan, H.Ö. (2011). Non-probability Sampling Survey Methods. In Lovric M. (eds) *International Encyclopedia of Statistical Science*. Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-04898-2_41

Bengtsson, M. (2016). How to plan and perform a qualitative study using content analysis. *NursingPlus Open*, 8-14.

Benton, J. (2018). NewsGuard considers Fox News a healthy part of your news diet. http://www.niemanlab.org/2018/08/newsguard-considers-fox-news-a-healthy-part-of-your-news-diet/

Bloch, M. (1912). *Réflexions d'Un Historien Sur les Fausses Nouvelles de la Guerre*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Borges, L. (2019). Populismo, fake news e politicamente correcto: a relação entre a linguagem e os movimentos. https://www.publico.pt/2019/01/20/politica/noticia/populismo-jornalismo-linguagem-1858649?fbclid=IwAR1vN_TDcndtBCk6Gc0Fu0oeWSxGY2g4aIpBx5Qa24kWhw2Uiz-lYNU3jkg

Cádima, F. (2018). A Rede na Estratégia da Aranha: "Pós-verdade", Política e Regressão. *Obs*, Special Issue*, 21-36. https://doi.org/10.15847/obsOBS12520181294

Carvalho, M. (2018, dezembro). Kamil e as páginas que se salvam. *Courrier Internacional, 274*, 98.

Céu e Silva, J. (2019). José Gil: "O passado está a ser engavetado, digitalizado e virtualizado". https://www.dn.pt/1864/interior/jose-gil-o-passado-esta-a-ser-engavetado-digitalizado-e-virtualizado-10396951.html

Clement, J. (2019). Share of population in selected countries who are active WhatsApp users as of 3rd quarter 2017. https://www.statista.com/statistics/291540/mobile-internet-user-whatsapp/

Clube de Jornalistas. (2018). *Jornalismo & Jornalistas, outubro/dezembro.* http://www.clubedejornalistas.pt/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/JJ68.pdf?fbclid=IwAR0yZn3fb1gkUjz_n1pysN__WUy7VobXQE350rQO3mQdx5YwVNGhRw4UI7Y

Comissão Europeia. (2018, 12 de março). *Final report of the High Level Expert Group on Fake News and Online Disinformation*. https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/en/news/final-report-high-level-expert-group-fake-news-and-online-disinformation

Cordeiro, A. (2019). Fake news motivam Ministério da Educação a garantir formação sobre literacia nos media. https://www.publico.pt/2019/01/25/sociedade/noticia/fake-news-motivam-ministerio-educacao-garantir-formacao-literacia-media-1859397?fbclid=IwAR3y46M7nWXBAswPgoT-4a_HM8YRxY7I7cBjnQvpWrzqzSBJ5gkZNu3sdtg

Cram, I. (2019). Keeping the demos out of liberal democracy? Participatory politics, 'fake news' and the online speaker. *Journal of Media Law*, *11*(2), 113-141. https://doi.org/10.1080/17577632.2019.1697477

Deuze, M., & Witschge, T. (2017). Beyond journalism: Theorizing the transformation of journalism. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, *19*(2), 165-181. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884916688550

Figueira, A., & Oliveira, L. (2017). The current state of fake news: challenges and opportunities. *Procedia Computer Science*, 121, 817-825. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.procs.2017.11.106

Fiore, M. (2018). Aos Fatos lança bot que combate fake news no Twitter. https://www.b9.com.br/94276/aos-fatos-lanca-bot-que-combate-fake-news-no-twitter/

Funke, D. (2019). Snopes pulls out of its fact-checking partnership with Facebook. https://www.poynter.org/fact-checking/2019/snopes-pulls-out-of-its-fact-checking-partnership-with-facebook/

Jankowski, N. (2018). Researching Fake News: A Selective Examination of Empirical Studies. *Javnost - The Public*, *25*(1-2), 248-255. https://doi.org/10.1080/13183222.2018.1418964

Katsirea, I. (2018). "Fake news": reconsidering the value of untruthful expression in the face of regulatory uncertainty. *Journal of Media Law*, *10*(2), 159-188. https://doi.org/10.1080/17577632.2019.1573569

Kovarik, B. (2011). *Revolutions in communication. Media history from Gutenberg to the digital age*. Londres/Nova Iorque: Bloomsburry

Lacitis, E. (2018). Lies, lies and more lies. Out of an old Tacoma house, fact-checking site Snopes uncovers them. https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/lies-lies-and-more-lies-out-of-an-old-tacoma-house-fact-checking-site-snopes-uncovers-them/

Lavrakas, P. J. (2008). *Encyclopedia of survey research methods* (Vols. 1-0). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412963947

Leetaru, K. (2017, 17 de fevereiro). “Did Facebook’s Mark Zuckerberg Coin ‘Fake News’?”. *Forbes*. https://www.forbes.com/sites/kalevleetaru/2017/02/17/did-facebooks-mark-zuckerberg-coin-the-phrase-fake-news/#35ff5a556bc4

Leite, L., & Canto, F. (2019). Fake news e “viralização”: responsabilidade legal na disseminação de desinformação. *Revista Brasileira de Biblioteconomia e Documentação*, *15*, 143-156.

López-Borrull, A., Vives-Gràcia, J., & Badell, J. (2018). Fake news, ¿amenaza u oportunidad para los profesionales de la información y la documentación?. *El profesional de la información*, *27*(6), 1346-1446. 2018. https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2018.nov.17

Magenta, M., Gragnani, J., & Souza, F. (2018). How WhatsApp is being abused in Brazil’s elections. https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-45956557

Marinho, S. (2000). O valor da confiança nas relações entre jornalistas e fontes de informação. *Cadernos do Noroeste*, *14*(1-2), 351-356.

Melro, A. (2019). *O (des)interesse dos jovens pela atualidade: estudo sobre o papel dos media na informação sobre o mundo*. Tese de doutoramento, Universidade do Minho, Braga, Portugal. https://repositorium.sdum.uminho.pt/handle/1822/64830

Meneses, J. (2018). Sobre a necessidade de conceptualizar o fenómeno das fake news. *Obs*, Special Issue*, 37-53. https://doi.org/10.15847/obsOBS12520181294

Parente, C. (2019). Observatório de media e imprensa - Espaços de participação e literacia mediática em Portugal e no Brasil. Tese de doutoramento. Braga: Universidade do Minho.

Patatt, C., & Rocha, F. (2020). O fact-checking no Brasil e em Portugal: uma análise dos sites Agência Lupa e Polígrafo no combate às fake news relacionadas com o Coronavírus. *Estudos de Jornalismo*, nº 11, 6-20.

Quivy, R., & Campenhoudt, L. (1992). *Manual de investigação em Ciências Sociais*. Lisboa: Gradiva.

Rádio Renascença (2019). "Fake news". Portugal designa responsável pelo sistema de alerta da União Europeia. https://rr.sapo.pt/noticia/138092/fake-news-portugal-designa-responsavel-pelo-sistema-de-alerta-da-uniao-europeia?fbclid=IwAR2GHMZJ2BUCaav3GMWMVplq8I8Xlu31rdsy899atSvSysqiyMPHBqf0e2M

Ribeiro, V. & Teixeira, P. (2018). Introdução – fake news num jornalismo dependente. *Revista Portuguesa de História da Comunicação*, 3.

Roozenbeek, J., & Linden, S. (2018). The fake news game: actively inoculating against the risk of misinformation. *Journal of Risk Research*, *6*(2). https://doi.org/10.1080/13669877.2018.1443491

Tandoc Jr., E., Zheng, L., & Ling, R. (2018). Defining "Fake News", Digital Journalism, 6(2), 137-153. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1360143

Veix, J. (2018). The Strange History of One of the Internet's First Viral Videos. https://goo.gl/B7nu8N

Volkoff, V. (2000). *Pequena História da Desinformação: do cavalo de Tróia à Internet*. Cruz Quebrada: Editorial Notícias.

Wagner, K., & Molla, R. (2019). WhatsApp is fighting fake news by limiting its virality. Could Facebook and Twitter do the same? https://www.recode.net/2019/1/25/18197002/whatsapp-message-limit-fake-news-facebook-twitter

Wardle, C., & Derakhshan, H. (2018). Thinking about 'information disorder': formats of misinformation, disinformation, and mal-information. In C. Ireton, & J. Posetti (Eds.), *Journalism, fake news & disinformation: handbook for journalism education and training* (pp. 44-55). Paris: UNESCO.

doi: 10.31211/interacoes.n39.2020.a5

Online Shopping Sales Promo and its Perception Among Undergraduate Students in Osogbo, South Western Nigeria

Kamoru Aremu Salaudeen

Fountain University, Osogbo, Nigeria - kamoru.salaudeen@gmail.com

Mariam Ayankemi Omotosho

Fountain University, Osogbo

Abstract

This paper explores the perception of university undergraduates about online shopping sales promo. The researchers adopted a qualitative approach, conducting four sessions of focus group discussion (FGD) among forty students selected through purposive and snowball sampling techniques across the two colleges of the university that served as the study setting: College of Management and Social Sciences and College of Natural and Applied Sciences. The study is underpinned by the consumer perception theory which explains consumer behaviour by analyzing motivations for their buying decisions and preferences. Major findings revealed that university undergraduates in this study trust online sales promo and were active in benefiting from it while being influenced by certain factors that shaped their perception of online sales platforms and promotions. It is therefore recommended that online shops and malls need to provide more convenience, competitive price, product variety, after sales services in order to attract more patronage to for their products.

Keywords: Online stores, online sales promo, mediatization, preference, students

Promoção de Compras Online e a sua Percepção entre Estudantes Universitários em Osogbo, Sudoeste da Nigéria

Resumo

Este artigo explora a perceção dos estudantes universitários sobre a promoção de compras online. Os investigadores adotaram uma abordagem qualitativa, conduzindo quatro sessões de discussão em grupo de foco (DGF) entre quarenta estudantes selecionados através de técnicas de amostragem propositada e de bola de neve nas duas faculdades da universidade que serviram de cenário para o estudo: Faculdade de Gestão e Ciências Sociais e Faculdade de Ciências Naturais e Aplicadas. O estudo é sustentado pela teoria da perceção do consumidor que explica o comportamento do consumidor através da análise das motivações para as suas decisões de compra e preferências. Os principais resultados revelaram que os estudantes universitários deste estudo confiam na promoção de vendas online e foram ativos em beneficiar dela, ao mesmo tempo que foram influenciados por certos fatores que moldaram a sua perceção das plataformas e promoções de vendas online. Recomenda-se, portanto, que as lojas e os centros comerciais online ofereçam mais comodidade, preço competitivo, variedade de produtos, serviços pós-venda, de forma a atrair mais clientela para os seus produtos.

Palavras-chave: Lojas online, promoção de vendas online, mediatização, preferência, estudantes.

INTRODUCTION

Online shopping is almost synonymous to convenient shopping. It is, in fact, a popular means of shopping among the digital natives and migrants. Nowadays, online shopping is fast becoming the norm and gradually replacing the conventional market place among consumers, especially the youth because of its many advantages. Some of the merits of online shopping include low and transparent price, comprehensive assortment of goods and services and a much more convenient shopping alternative that has eliminated such traditional shopping inconveniences like squeezing through crowds, getting stuck in long queue to pay for the goods bought, etc.

Online shopping has become a suitable way to purchase all forms of commodities, whether domestic or office use, even from the remotest part of the world. There are hundreds of websites and applications being created and deployed regularly to cater for the rising demand of comfortable shopping trends. Just like the conventional marketing process, promotion, which is the forth "P" of the marketing mix is inevitable. Apart from other promotional mix, sales promotion is a prominent marketing communication tool adopted to engineer impulse purchases online (Jiang & Ma 2018). Online marketers adopt sales promotional strategies such as coupons, rebates, add-on products and price discounts to boost sales. Other forms of sales promotion such as sweepstakes as well as premiums add excitement and value to brands to encourage brand loyalty. Despite the foregoing, online shopping still suffers problems of credibility, reliability, value exchange assurance and impulse purchase leading to post purchase regret (Kempa, Vebrian, & Bendjeroua, 2020). Among other studies, Tarigan, Sabrina & Syahputri (2020, p. 143) found that lifestyle which is a function of "activities, interests, and opinions that are reflected in daily activities" has significant positive influence on online purchase decisions. This study which examines how influence of immobile lifestyle during COVID-19 increased online purchase of culinary is similar to the current study in the sense that undergraduate are also usually "trapped" by academic activities on campus, a lifestyle that may influence online purchase for convenience.

This study, therefore, explores the perception of students in a private university in southwestern Nigeria about online shopping sales promo. A qualitative research approach was adopted conducting four sessions of focus group discussion (FGD) among forty students selected through purposive and snowball sampling techniques across the two colleges of the university that served as the study setting: College of Management and Social Sciences and College of Natural and Applied Sciences. In this two-level sampling technique, purposive sampling was first employed to identify few students who had once made online purchase while snowball sampling was then adopted to discover more online buyers among the study population through their friends/school mates.

The main purpose of the study was to find out the perception of undergraduates of a private university in southwestern Nigeria towards online sales promotion and how these sales promotion techniques have influenced their buying behaviour. The following research questions were constructed to drive the study: How do Fountain University students perceive online sales promo? What is the influence of online shopping sales promo on Fountain University students' online buying behaviour? What are the reasons Fountain University students prefer the patronage of certain online shops to others? Underpinned by Consumer Perception Theory, the study reviewed literature on online shopping promotion, its objective and perception among consumers. Thematic constructs like pricing and negotiation, preferences and perception were created to connect literature with the data and findings of the study.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Online Shopping Sales Promo

The advent of the internet and online media leading to media convergence has rapidly facilitated a paradigm shift in the sender-audience interface in all forms of communication. This is as a result of the permeating power of the online media narrowing both geographical and social spaces among various players in the communication process by facilitating border penetrations across the globe. This permeating power resulting from mediatization of the modern life and the interactivity feature of the online media has become huge opportunity for media users especially in marketing communication, communication campaigns and fans/public mobilization (Schrøder, 2009; Busse, 2009). In today's marketing environment, online shops and malls- big or small- are gradually taking over the process. This is not only because they exist online, but they also deploy online media for promotional strategies which include online sales promotion more than the traditional physical shops. This situation as captured by Busse (2009), puts both the producer and the consumer as fans at the centre of the interactive marketing exchange process, making buying and selling easier through mediatization of marketing process and sales promotion.

Sales promotions are regarded as short term incentives through add-on products or price reduction that facilitate increase in sales within a period of time. Besides, online sales promotional activities which include coupons, discount, rebates, product sampling, contests, sweepstakes, and premium has grown importance and has worked as a marketing kit for online shopping (Strauss & Frost, 2012). The promotional activities stimulate the customer to rethink and evaluate the brand (Chang, 2017; Gao, 2015). So, sales promotion has grown as an important tool for the online marketers to understand the customers' preferences, boost the brand image and sales of the business.

Online marketers use sales promotions such as coupons, sweepstakes, premiums, rebates and price discounts not only to increase sales but also to add excitement and value to brands and encourage brand loyalty. Online purchasing of goods, both luxury and basic needs, is prevalent to a much larger extent in recent years due to convenience, speedy transactions, time saving and attractive sales promotional offers. Despite these positive factors, there are various transactional and non-transactional challenges involved such as the consumers being uncomfortable while giving their personal information and sometimes credit card number and so on which act as deterrents (Chang, 2017).

Online shopping has experienced an explosive growth due to the fact that it represents a more economic and convenient approach to purchasing products. There are a number of reasons people purchase online; for example, consumers can buy anything at anytime and can compare prices from different online stores or websites simultaneously (Nebojsa, Milorad, & Tanks, 2019).

Chang (2017) says various online shops keep opening leading to a lot of competitions. So the only way to get the consumers attention with customer loyalty is by using sales promo. It is expected that the attractiveness of an online product will bring more customers through the various promotional techniques but then, an unattractive award is badly evaluated when it has no connection with the product or offer. Some online marketers do not employ the use of appropriate sales promotional tools to enhance the achievement of attracting more customers. More promos carried out are usually badly organized and implemented which leads to the aim being defeated thereby having a direct effect on sales volume and profit.

Sales promotion plays an important role in the consumer decision making process (Daniel & Mambu Bayoh, 2017, as cited in Amankwah & Asare, 2019; Jiang & Ma, 2018). Online sales promotion has many advantages compared to traditional sales promotion. It can push right promotion information to right people, break through the limitation of time and space, and spread around the world. One successful case of online sales promotion is Alibaba's annual global online shopping carnival also known as Double 11 day or Single's day held every November 11. On Single's day, this shopping carnival brought the entire Chinese electronic commerce industry an astonishing record volume of transactions worth 91.2 billion RMB in 2015 and 120.7 billion RMB in 2016 (Jiang & Ma, 2018).

Globally, online shopping constitutes about 2.29 trillion-dollar market (John, 2018) and expected to reach 4 trillion dollars by 2020 (eMarketer, 2016) due to the double-digit worldwide growth in sales (15%) and order (13%) (eMarketer, 2018) in all sorts of online shopping such as business-business, business-consumer (Zuroni & Goh, 2012). Consumer attitudes toward online shopping usually been determined by two factors; one is trust, and another is perceived benefits (Hoque, Ali, & Mahfuz, 2015). Therefore, trust and perceived benefits seem to be the critical conjectures of consumer behaviour toward online shopping (Al-Debei, Akroush, & Ashouri, 2015; Hajli, 2014). Moreover, information quality, merchandise attribute, transaction capability, payment, security/privacy, delivery, self-consciousness, the consumer's time sense and customer service are strongly predictive of online shopping satisfaction (Katawetawaraks & Wang, 2011;

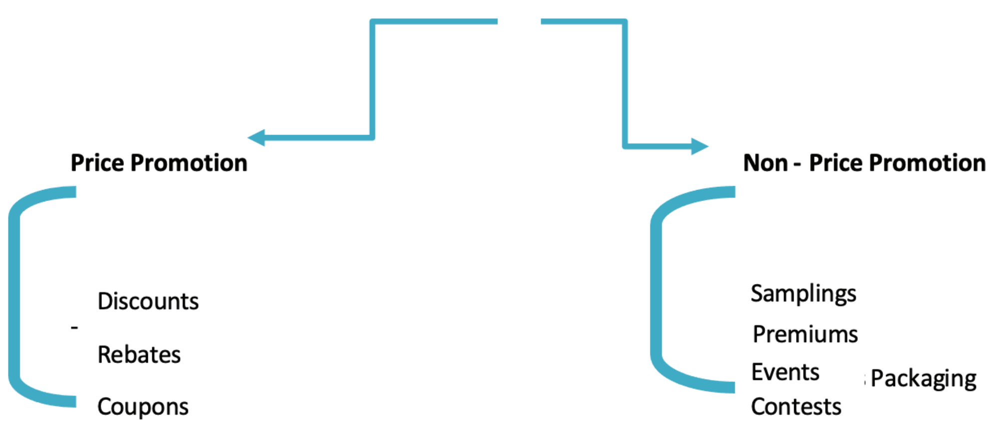
Mudambi & Schuff, 2010; Liu, He, Gao, & Xie, 2008; Shergil & Chen, 2005; Sorce, Perotti, & Widrick, 2005; Novak, Hoffman, & Yung, 2000).

Previous studies reported that promotional offers have a significant influence on consumer's purchase decision (Daniel & Mambu Bayoh, 2017, as cited in Amankwah & Asare, 2019; Andreti, Zhafira, Akmal, & Kumar, 2013). A study carried out by Folorunso, Awe, Sharma, & Zhang (2006) shows that 70% of the respondents had heard about e-commerce but only 32% had used it. Similar results from Adeyeye (2008, p. 5) shows that only "16% of the total respondents sampled shopped online". However, Philips Consulting Ltd. (2016) states that many Nigerians are yet to embrace the culture of online shopping adding that majority of the respondents sampled (62%) still preferred to shop through traditional retail channels.

The overall objective of online sales promotion is the building of brand loyalty or creating product awareness. Broadly, sales promotion is separated into two categories: consumer sales promotion and trade sales promotion. Customer sales promotion activities are marketing techniques adopted with the focus on end consumers whereas trade sales promotion activities are targeted at dealers, distributors and agents. This tool is used to attract customers or patronize the specific shops or retails to introduce new products or existing products. It is usually done with a view to drawing the attention of customers to retail stores. This is illustrated in figure 1 below:

Figure 1

Tools of consumer-oriented sales promotion



Source: Anuraj Nakarmi(2018) Effect of Sales Promotion on Consumer Behavior.

Even though sales promotional techniques come in different form, the simplest most common technique is discount offers on the products. The important aspects that is to be considered while using this technique are that it must be sure that the discount is attractive to the customers; it must always consider the bottom line; and to avoid doing it too often for people to consider it as the norm. Secondly, the coupons which are also the frequent sales promotion techniques as discounts commonly used to motivate the customers to purchase. It is a certificate that avail customers a saving on the purchase of a particular product and this certificate is distributed either online or in printed form (Kotler & Keller, 2014). But there is a very low significant relationship between coupons and consumer buying. This is because coupons sometimes allow the buyer to make a purchase the product which he does not desire to (Shamout, 2016). The coupons would push the customers to buy the product when they think that the price is high or can be incentive to buy the product above the competitors. Thirdly, sampling is the way of introducing the new product to the customers by providing the products for free. The potential customers are targeted in this method and not only introduce the product in the market but also create awareness of the product. There is also the refund and rebates which are not too popular in all the countries but the country like United States it is much popular. In the marketing tactics like refund the customers get excited with the portion of refund that they can have on purchase with the parking tickets or the feedback they provide online about the store. These types of promotional activities are done to grab the attention of the customers. The contests and sweepstakes are simple as winning the gifts that attracts and motivates the customers to go for the product. It is mostly useful for gathering the information of the customers and create the awareness about the new product or the new location for the getting the products Also, the price off deals promotional techniques are the reduction in the price of the promoted products and the customer saves money on purchase. The price reduction may be used for taking the attention of the customers away from the competitors. The customers are always in search of quality products in lower price so the promotional activity of price off deals would increase in sales.

There is also financing where product that requires high resource (money) would be promoted if the seller would itself provide the facility of financing options to the customers. This method of promotion popular in varieties of products such as automobiles, household equipment, and electronic products that is high in price.

Gifting is another promotional technique and the great idea of this promotion is that everyone loves free product and even better when it is given as gift. The gift to the customers gives the chance to test out the products by the customers and make the customer aware about the product meanwhile. Customer would appreciate for such action and would increase the sale of the product. The customers would be excited about the assured gift with the purchase of products that would increase the sales with the excitement of getting something for free. Another is the bonus pack which is getting additional quantity of the same product offered for the standard pack size purchased. The customers purchasing huge quantity than the regular size would be offered the bonus pack. This promotional activity would be used as the strategy for high sales and induce the customers to buy more quantity.

Lastly, the free trail is also the sales promotional method that introduce to the new product in the market to the customers where they get to know about the product before purchasing it. Free trail strategy much more popular for sales of software, computer programs, apps. These are the products that can be used for free for time being and required to be purchased later for further use. This would convince the customers to purchase the for future use.

Sales promotion has a temporary effect on consumer buying behaviour. Many researchers are arguing that sales promotion does not have a long term effect on consumer buying behaviour and also it reduces the revenue, as in coupon, refunds and rebates. These tools are increasing costs (Clow & Baack, 2007). In this particular point there is an argument; hence other researchers are stating that sales promotion does not reduce revenues because sales promotion can attract and encourage consumer to purchase the product in a higher quantity in lower prices. Moreover, it is stated that the value of product can be increased during sales promotion period as a result consumer reacts immediately, since for consumers, who did not purchase such product before, will satisfy their needs and wants while the products' price is low (Pauwels, Hanssens, & Siddarth, 2002).

Banks & Moorthy (1999) who found that sales promotion led to sudden increase of sales experienced by retailers due to price-consciousness of consumers. Sinha & Smith (2000), opinioned that consumer would be easily swayed to buy products as there is no extra cost by consumers. Blackwell, Miniard & Engle (2001) identified that price discounts play a significant role in influencing consumer product trial behaviour which indirectly attracts new consumer. and prefer certain stores to others because of their attractive sales promo offers. Clow & Baack (2007) stated that it is observed that the sales volumes of products are increasing during the sales promotion periods in many countries like United Stated of America, United Kingdom and Germany. Sales increase for three reasons. For certain current brand users will purchase their product in higher quantities for their future needs and wants; therefore, the consumption of the product is going to increase. Also it will help support product to its current consumers and become loyal to this brand. Consumers of competing brands may switch and purchase other branded products during its sales promotion because of the reduction in the product price. However, it is unknown that if these consumers will repeat their purchases again from their original brand or not. Consumers, who did not purchase such product before, may be attracted to purchase this product since its value is very high; hence the consumer is buying this product his/her needs and wants will be satisfied with minimum cost and risk.

Also sales promotions are playing an important role in consumer perception. According to self-perception theory stated that consumers mainly prefer to purchase products based on external attributes, which is taking advantage of price reduction, instead of internal attributes, which is brand preferences. However, the main weakness point of sales promotion in influencing consumer buying behaviour is that according to price perception theory, consumers mainly build a reference based on the previous prices of the product. Then this reference is used to compare between the current price of this product and pervious prices as well. Nagadeepal, Tamil & Pushpa (2015) also found that pricing helps shape consumers' perception of a product. Using sales promotion is mainly increasing the degree of hesitation to buy a certain brand in its non-promotion period. As a result, it may increase sales for short term, but it influence negatively on brand equity in long term (Aggrawal & Aggrawal, 2012; Pauwels, Hanssens, & Siddarth 2002).

Objectives and Use of Online Sales Promotion

Sales promotions are used for varieties of reasons. Some of the objectives include introducing the new products to the consumers or induce to buy the new products for resale. Secondly, it is to attract the consumers or to increase the ultimate response from them. Thirdly, to induce the present consumers to repeat purchase more and maintain or increase the sales volume even during off seasons Online sales promotion also helps introduce new brand or the established brands to users and also increase the loyalty of the consumers. Lastly, it is to reward loyal customer.

The importance of online sales promotion has increased with the increasing competition globally. The reason for increasing importance of the sales promotion is to have favorable sales and future expansion of the sales. It has become the part of the marketing strategy for the survival at any obstacles or with the new birth of products or brands. There is no doubt about the foundational findings in the literature- sales promotions are associated with major increases in consumer sales. The results can either be short or long term and could influence online store choice, brand choice, consumption rate and even new product trial behaviour of consumers (Gedenk & Neslin, 1999).

The value of sales promotion from the consumers' perspective can be classified as utilitarian or hedonic benefits (Chandon, Wansink, & Laurent, 2000; Liao, Toya, Lepak, & Hong, 2009). Six significant benefits ought to be mentioned: financial savings, quality, convenience, value expression, exploration and entertainment. Acknowledging the value of the sales promotions from the consumer's point of view will help in understanding better their effectiveness. Price promotions are primarily related to utilitarian benefits (cost-saving,increased quality and convenience), which have an instrumental, functional and cognitive nature. Nonetheless, when they offer intrinsic stimulation, entertainment, fun and self-satisfaction, sales promotions are regarded as being hedonic.

Perception of Online Shopping Sales Promo

Consumer perception is formed by the online environment wherein information about the shop and products that are to be purchased, and the situation when shopping like searching for merchandise is at ease. This exposure greatly affects the consumer's purchase behaviour; who then decides if there would be a guaranteed satisfaction (Jun & Jaafar, 2011). However, purchase behaviour is influenced by the consumer's perception of the quality and value of the service referred to as consumerist ethos by scholars (Stilwell, 2006). The way a consumer responds to certain online products is determined through his purchase behaviour like his product choice and even the brand choice. The worth of a product in the minds of the consumer is very much capable in predicting the purchase intentions of the products (Chen & Dubinsky, 2003).

Shanthi & Kannaiahs (2015) study reveals that perceptions toward online shopping and intention to shop online are not only affected by ease of use, usefulness, and enjoyment, but also by exogenous factors like consumer traits, situational factors, product characteristics, previous online shopping experiences, and trust in online shopping. Apart from these, some other scholars who found similar factors also included credibility and trust (Puranik & Bansal, 2014; Thakur & Aurora 2015; Makwana, Dattani, & Badlani, n.d.; Ailawadi, Gedenk, Lutzky, & Neslin, 2007). These major factors are therefore the determining factors of patronage of online shops among consumers globally.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is driven by Consumer Perception Theory which is a philosophical attempt to understand how consumers' perception of products and services influences their purchase behaviour. This theoretical process rests on the concept of sensory perception in marketing and advertising. This relates to how human beings perceive and process sensory stimuli through the five senses. Consumer perception also pertains to how people form opinions about companies and their products through purchase decisions. (LaMarco, 2018). Mainly, consumer perception theory attempts to explain consumer behaviour by analyzing motivations for their buying decisions and preferences.

Mathwick, Malhotra & Rigdon (2001) say that if consumers enjoy their online shopping experience, they have a better attitude toward online shopping, and are likely to adopt the internet as a shopping medium. Likely, value perception is the part of the consumer perception theory that attempts to understand how consumers' perceptions of product influence their behaviour.

RESEARCH METHOD

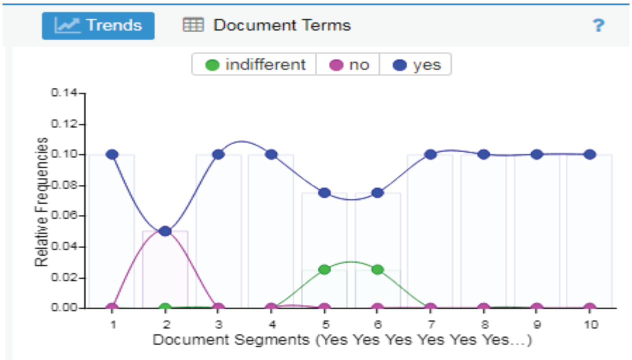
The qualitative study gathered data through four sessions of focus group discussion (FGD) conducted among students of Fountain University to understand their perception of online shopping sales promo. The participants were selected using purposive and snowball sampling techniques. The purposive sampling involved only students that shared the same characteristics relating to this study which is shopping online. Then students that were selected through purposive sampling also identified other students that had at least, once, shopped online. Focus group discussion is a good way to verify that peoples stated preferences are the same as their actual preferences. The FGD conducted made talking to the group of people reveal their actual preferences. Each sessions of the focus group discussion lasted for 90 minutes as it helped explore the discussion topic. It was conducted in a public place that was convenient for the participants and it was ensured that all participants were comfortable and engaged with the discussion, and that their opinions were being heard. An audio recorder was used and notes were taken during the FGD sessions. The audio files of the FGD sessions were transcribed into texts accordingly immediately the FGD sessions were completed. We first adopted corpus analysis, using voyant tools to present the data. This gave the data some form of quantification yielding graphical and numerical representation of the study results without suppressing the qualitative approach primarily adopted to report the lived experience of the sampled undergraduates about online sales promotions. Further, the data were discussed in qualitative method adopting theme building and textual explanation of the qualitative data obtained from FGD.

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

In the presentation and analysis of the data, the researchers adopted corpus analysis with the use of voyant tools (https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=fa713bba99bce2bfaacb0bf1b98e05bb) to convert the qualitative data obtained from FGD to trend charts. The corpus analysis applied thematic links, dominant terms and frequency of occurrence among the themes of the corpus (textual data from FGD). Figures 2 and 3 graphically represent the corpus from the FGD data while the analysis of the trend and dominant themes follow.

Figure 2

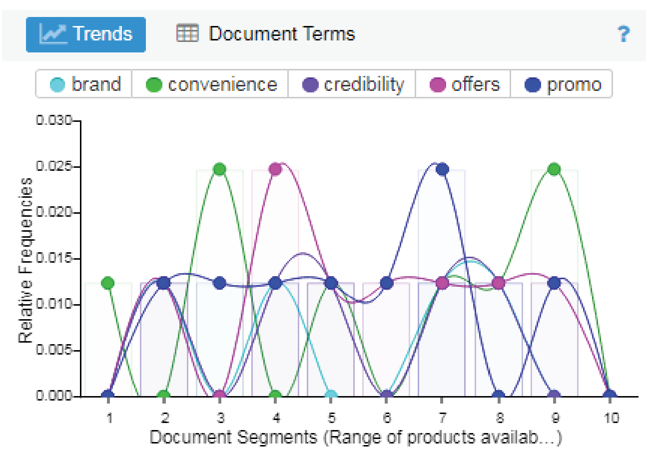
Respondents' Trust in Sales Promo by Online Stores



When the researchers asked the undergraduates who participated in FGD sessions if they trusted sales promo by online stores, all of them except a few responded in the affirmative. This is an indication that sales promo is highly significant to online purchase. It is also a valid premise to the inference that sales promo can increase online purchase significantly. The fact that majority trusted online sales promo sufficiently supports the conclusion that sales promo is a veritable marketing communication and promotional tool in online marketing of goods and services. Hence, the use of sales promo strategies like price reduction, add-on products, coupons, etc are complementary to boosting sales of commodities by online stores.

Figure 3

Respondents' Reason for Shopping Online



Because human beings usually act on reasons; they hardly take decisions baselessly. Most observed behavioural patterns in human beings are reasoned-behaviour. Buying and consumption have also been regarded as habits or behaviour. This supports the study of consumer behaviour in marketing profession. When a consumer buys a commodity or requests for a paid-service, they do so based on reason(s). As part of the data collection process, the researchers asked the FGD participants to mention reasons behind their online buying behaviour. To ensure engagement with extant literature and reduce responses to manageable number of regular responses, a checklist containing twelve (12) conceptual and empirical reasons extracted from relevant literature was presented to respondents to choose from. These include range of products available, convenience, customer service, high quality of product, delivery service, brand credibility, promo offers, price tags and accessibility, reliability, quality of product, price range and wide range of products.

Using voyant tool for analysis, the responses of the FGD participants were imported as corpus yielding a vocabulary density of 0.272. This is a reliable representation of significant relationship in the respondents' thought flow. The corpus analysis indicated the most frequent words as follows: convenience (8); offer (8); promo (8); credibility (5) brand (4). This implies that the greatest reasons why undergraduates shop online were convenience, available offer and sales promo. The credibility of the online store and its brand integrity are also strong reason for online purchase among our respondents. All these unique words have direct relationship with the range of products available. Meaning that those leading factors are drivers to motivate online buyers to visit the site of an online store but range of products available plays significant role in the buying decision by online buyers as represented in the opinions and experience of the undergraduates under study.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This section contains the presentation and discussion of data collected through focus group discussion. The data were presented in form of textual analysis and therefore segmented based on themes derived from the guiding questions that drive the study.

The findings of this study are categorized into five themes which are perception, preference, pricing and negotiation, factors determining patronage, online and offline sales promo. They are therefore presented in the following sections.

Perception

Major findings of students' perception about online sales promo revealed that a good number of students in Fountain University trusts online sales promo and they perceive it as something that is good because they have benefitted well from it and it has enhanced their online buying behaviour.

Figure 2 (see data analysis section) shows the respondents' perception about online sales promo indicating significant trust for online sales promo. But Figure 3 shows the participants responses on reasons they shop online. The tables point out the responses of the participants across the four sessions of the focus group discussion. As obtained from the data most of these students trust online sales promo and it influences their shopping habits as it makes them want to buy more than they intended to. This fact is supported by Banks & Moorthy (1999) who found that sales promotion led to sudden increase of sales experienced by retailers due to price-consciousness of consumers. Sinha & Smith (2000), opinioned that consumer would be easily swayed to buy products as there is no extra cost by consumers. Blackwell et al. (2001) identified that price discounts play a significant role in influencing consumer product trial behaviour which indirectly attracts new consumer. and prefer certain stores to others because of their attractive sales promo offers. There are students that ordinarily preferred shopping for products at the regular prices than getting a counterfeit or less quality at reduced or low price. Where they are sure of quality product, sales promo is a significant sales driver. In fact, recent studies affirm this finding that sales promo leads to impulse purchase even when the buyer may regret the having purchased an unneeded product thereafter (Jiang & Ma, 2018; Kempa, Vebrian & Bendjeroua, 2020).

Pricing and Negotiation

It was discovered that pricing and negotiating also affect the shopping behaviour of students under this study. According to scholars like Aggrawal & Aggrawal, 2012 and Nagadeepa1, Tamil & Pushpa (2015), product pricing as a sale promotion technique has an impact on deriving consumer perception and the extent to which perception is influenced, is derived from nature of consumer behaviour. Online buying reduces the power of negotiation of consumers as it robs them of the power to negotiate.

The students revealed that pricing and negotiating made them bad price negotiators when shopping from offline stores, that is why they do regular patronage of online stores and it was also discovered that it makes them look for better stores elsewhere that will agree to their price negotiation. A participant said online shopping is more expensive and she knows they have fixed prices and that is why she also has particular products she buys online. They already know all that comes with shopping online which is mostly getting fixed prices to their products. There were some that preferred shopping for only products they cannot be easily gotten elsewhere from online stores and shop for other products from offline stores where they can easily negotiate and gives them the zeal to always want to patronise certain online stores more. Pricing affects the decision to use the internet to purchase goods and services since most customers expect the online prices to be lower than physical store prices. According to research, this is because the customers assume that the online stores have lower overhead costs compared to physical stores. Studies also show that customers only compare prices with physical stores and do not make comparisons between online stores offering the same products or services. Online shopping has really reduced the power of pricing and negotiation of consumers as it is expected for them to get products without attempts to negotiate as there are fixed prices. There are only exceptional cases of few online stores that make room for negotiation.

Preference

Data obtained from the FGD also revealed that students preferred certain online to others due to certain reasons which include range of products, reliability, quality of products, delivery service, customer service, promo offers, price tags and accessibility, quality of products, convenience, and credibility. This fact is supported by Ernst & Young (2001) who reported that Internet users purchased online because of good product selection, competitive prices, and ease of use. Alka & Tandon (2014) made study using questionnaire with 200 customers as a sample. The study revealed that customers are very satisfied towards online shopping because of the delivery system is working effectively therefore customers are doing shopping again and again but there were cases of some online stores having poor delivery service which them create a perception about those online stores. The optimal design, format, and timing for online shopping sales promotion is influenced by a wide variety of factors. These include internal consumer factors such as brand preferences and variety seeking behaviour (Zhang & Krishnamurthi, 2004). Therefore, it is important to adjust sales promotion by tracking each customer's unique promotion sensitivity and response tendencies over time.

Online and Offline Sales Promo

Findings gotten from the FGD conducted builds the fact that students preferred products with online sales promo offers as it influences them to do impulse buying and do products trial. Students even wait for certain occasions to enjoy sales promo, occasions like Easter sales promo or 50% off sales, Jumia Black Friday, Jumia Treasure Hunt, Ramadan promo/giveaway, Lucky Tuesday and other festival promos.

The researcher has discovered from the data obtained that students would not mind waiting for occasions to shop for products solely due to sales promo and sales promo has convinced a number of them to try new products. Since a number of them are attracted to online sales promo, it helps online retailers gain more customers to their stores. It was discovered that students see Jumia, Konga, Ali express, Amazon, and some notable Instagram stores as online stores that are reliable and best in terms of standard and quality of products.

Factors Determining Patronage

Data obtained from this research also revealed that there are some factors that determine patronage of online stores. As much as online shopping seems good to the students, they did not hide the fact that they also get scammed online by fake online stores which has made some of them not to make regular patronage with online stores except it is based on recommendation from someone they trust. Our corpus analysis of the FGD response text shows that trust is the most significant factor in online sales promo (see table 1 above). Besides this, convenience, offers, promo and brand credibility are positively significant to patronage of online stores by the undergraduates in this study.

The students through the FGD conducted made mention that online sales promo has done better than offline sales because they make more awareness and they clearly state their terms and conditions of enjoying the sales promo offers. If offline stores, make their sales promo offers known to the consumers using the internet to promote it then online stores will be at the detriment even though there are still variant advantages of shopping online and they do more of sales promo offers. This is consistent with the findings of Tarigan, Sabrina & Syahputri (2020), Jiang & Ma (2018), Chang (2017) and Gao (2015).

Basically, all the findings of this study proves right the assumptions of the consumer perception theory. This is on the basis that our respondents said their trust in the genuineness of online sales promo and brand credibility are among the strong factors determining their buying decision online. This is the psychological process of opinion moulding involved in purchase decision and buying behaviour as explained by LaMarco (2018) and Mathwick et al. (2001) in their consumer perception theory hypothesis.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Every research carried out has a purpose, and that purpose at the end helps in identifying and solving problems. This research set out to know the perception of Nigerian undergraduates towards online shopping sales promo using Fountain University students as a case. In the course of this research, it was identified that online shops should do more to ensure they gain full trust of their customers and not have students having doubts about purchasing products that are on sales promo. Online stores having attractive sales promo offers, good recommendation from customers, and comes with good delivery service, customer service, reliable will only endear more customers to the stores.

Following the findings of the study, it was concluded even though the students enjoy online sales promo, they still get skeptical for some products as they do not want to end up with fake products. All these boils down to the fact that online shopping sales promo has lots of offers on every product gotten and this makes the students want to keep patronising online stores, online stores should also make sure they are giving out the best value for every product this will make even students that do not trust online sales promo see reason to get products as they know they will get the valued gifts and discounts.

Based on the findings of the study, it was discovered that online sales promo greatly influences students online buying behaviour as it makes them do impulse buying and try out new products. The scams online prevent some students from shopping online or even trusting products on sales promo and fixed prices from online stores also makes some students lose interest in shopping online. It is then recommended that online stores should make sure their products are of high quality so that consumers would have good perception about their brand and there should be room for negotiation on regular products that can be gotten elsewhere.

The study also recommends that they should have an effective delivery system because respondents reported several cases of late delivery from the side of the online stores. Also, if the online sellers want to grow they have to provide more convenience, competitive price, more variety, after sales services in order to attract more people to make an online purchase decision.

REFERENCES

Adeyeye (2008). E-commerce, business methods and evaluation of payment method in Nigeria. *Electronic Journal of Information Systems Evaluation, 11* (1).

Aggrawal, S., & Aggrawal, A. (2012). A critical analysis of impact of pricing on consumer buying behaviour in apparel retail sector: a study of mumbai city. *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Educational Research*, *1*(1), 34–44. Retrieved August 15, 2019 from http://ijmer.in/pdf/volume1-issue1-2012/34-44.pdf

Ailawadi, K. L, Gedenk, K., Lutzky, C., & Neslin, S. A. (2007). Decomposition of the sales impact of promotion-induced stockpiling. *Journal of Marketing Research,* 44(3), 450-467. Retrieved on September 26, 2019 from https://www.jstor.org/stable/30162492

Al-Debei, M., Akroush, M., & Ashouri, M. (2015). Consumer attitudes towards online shopping: The effects of trust, perceived benefits, and perceived web quality. I*nternet Research, 25*(5) , 707-733.

Alka, K., & Tandon, J. K. (2014). Factors Influencing Customer's Satisfaction Level Towards Online Shopping in Jaipur and Gurgaon. *International Journal of Innovative Research and Development, 3*(4), 348–356.

Amankwah, A. B. & Asare, G. (2019). The impact of sales promotional packages on customer switch and retention: case of MTN and Vodafone Ghana Ltd. *International Journal of Academic Research and Reflection, 7* (4), 26-41.

Andreti, J., Zhafira, N. H., Akmal, S. S., & Kumar, S. (2013). The analysis of product, price, place,promotion and service quality on customers' buying decision of convenience store: a survey of young adult in Bekasi, West Java, Indonesia. *International Journal of Advances in Management and Economics*, *2*(6), 72–78. Retrieved August 28, 2019 from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323308768_The_Analysis_of_Product_Price_Place_Promotion_and_Service_Quality_on_Customers%27_Buying_Decision_of_Convenience_Store_A_Survey_of_Young_Adult_in_Bekasi_West_Java_Indonesia

Banks, J., & Moorthy, S. (1999). A Model of Price Promotion. *International Journal of Industrial Organization, 17*, 371–398.

Blackwell, R.D., Miniard, P. W., & Engel, J.F. (2001). *Consumer Behaviour*, 9th ed. Fort Worth. TX: Harcourt College Publishers.

Busse, K. (2009). Fans, Fandom, and Fan Studies. In S. W. Littlejohn & K. A. Foss (Eds.). *Encyclopedia of Communication Theories* (pp. 386-390). London: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Chandon, P., Wansink, B., & Laurent, G. (2000). A benefit congruency framework of sales promotion effectiveness. *Journal of Marketing, 64*(4), 65–82. Retrieved June 14, 2019 from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/233777673_A_Benefit_Congruency_Framework_of_Sales_Promotion_Effectiveness

Chang, A. Y.-P. (2017). A Study on the Effects of Sales Promotion on Consumer Involvement and Purchase Intention in Tourism Industry. *EURASIA J MATH SCI T*, *13*(12). https://doi.org/10.12973/ejmste/77903

Chen, Z., & Dubinsky, A. J. (2003). A conceptual model of perceived customer value in e-commerce: a preliminary investigation. *Journal of Psychology and Marketing,* 20(4): 323 – 347. Retrieved September 18, 2019 from https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/mar.10076

Clow, K. E., & Baack, D. (2007). *Integrated advertising, promotion and marketing communication*, 4th Edition. Pittsburg State University.

eMarketer. (2016). Worldwide retail ecommerce sales will reach $1.915 trillion this year. Retrieved May 14, 2018, from https://www.emarketer.com/Article/Worldwide-Retail-Ecommerce-Sales-Will-Reach-1915-Trillion-This-Year/1014369

eMarketer. (2018). Retail ecommerce performance metrics. Retrieved May 14, 2018, from https://www.emarketer.com/performance

Ernst & Young LLP. (2001). *Global online retailing*. New York: Ernst and Young LLP. Forrester Research, Inc. Retrieved May 10, 2019 from http://www.forrester.com

Folorunso, O., Awe, O. G., Sharma, S. K., & Zhang, J. (2006). Factors affecting the adoption of e-commerce: a study in Nigeria. *Journal of Applied Sciences, 6*, 2224-2230. Retrieved on September 26, 2019 from https://scialert.net/abstract/?doi=jas.2006.2224.2230

Gao, L. (2015). Understanding consumer online shopping behaviour from the perspective of transaction costs. [PhD thesis]. University of Tasmania. https://eprints.utas.edu.au/22877/

Gedenk, K., & Neslin, S. A. (1999). The role of retail promotion in determining future brand loyalty: its effect on purchase event feedback. *Journal of Retailing,* 75(4), *433 – 459.* retrieved May 20, 2019 from https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0022435999000184

Hajli, N. (2014). A study of the impact of social media on consumers. *International Journal of Market Research*, 56(3), 387-404.

Hoque, M., Ali, M., & Mahfuz, M. (2015). An Empirical Investigation on the Adoption of E-Commerce in Bangladesh. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 25, 1-24. https://doi.org/10.14329/apjis.2015.25.1.001

Jiang, H., & Ma, J. (2018). Effects of Internet Sales Promotion on a Differential Advertising Model. *Discrete Dynamics in Nature and Society*, *2018*, 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1155/2018/8618146

John, S. (2018). E-commerce trends + facts. Retrieved May 14, 2018, from https://endertech.com/blog/e-commerce-trends-facts

Jun, G., & Jaafar, Noor. I. (2011). A study on consumers' attitude towards online shopping in china. *International Journal of Business and Social Sciences,* 2(22), 122-132. Retrieved May 10, 2019 from http://www.ijbssnet.com/journals/Vol_2_No_22_December_2011/15.pdf

Katawetawaraks, C., & Wang, C. (2011). Online shopper behavior: Influences of online shopping decision. *Asian Journal of Business Research, 1*(2). https://ssrn.com/abstract=2345198

Kempa, S., Vebrian, K., & Bendjeroua, H. (2020). Sales Promotion, Hedonic Shopping Value, and Impulse Buying on Online Consumer Websites. *SHS Web Conf.*, *76*, 01052. https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/20207601052

Kotler, P., & Keller, K. (2014) *Marketing management*. 15th Edition. Saddle River: Prentice Hall.

Kumawat, A., & Tandon, J. K.. (2014). Factors influencing customer's satisfaction level towards online shopping in Jaipur and Gurgaon. *International Journal of Innovative Research and Development*, *3*(4), 348–356. Retrieved July 5, 2019 from http://www.internationaljournalcorner.com/index.php/ijird_ojs/article/view/134741

LaMarco, N. (2018). *Consumer perception Theory*. Small Business - Chron.com. Retrieved July 10, 2019 from http://smallbusiness.chron.com/consumer-perception-theory-40176.html

Liao, H., Toya, K, Lepak, D. P., & Hong, Y. (2009). Do they see eye to eye? management and employee perspectives of high-performance work systems and influence processes on service quality. *The Journal of Applied Psychology 94*(2), 371-91. Retrieved July 8, 2019 from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/24187175_Do_They_See_Eye_to_Eye_Management_and_Employee_Perspectives_of_High-Performance_Work_Systems_and_Influence_Processes_on_Service_Quality

Liu, X., He, M., Gao, F. & Xie, P. (2008). An empirical study of online shopping customer satisfaction in China: A holistic perspective. *International Journal of Retail Distribution Management, 36*(11), 919-940.

Makwana, K., Dattani, K., & Badlani, H. (n.d.). A customer perception towards online shopping: an exploratory study. *Altius Shodh Journal of Management & Commerce*. Retrieved September 26, 2019 from https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/a1aa/e288f09535c58fd84c3fe11418cf830d6b07.pdf?_ga=2.20647292.516307671.1581669350-1546531357.1569508321

Mathwick, C., Malhotra, N., & Rigdon, E. (2001). Experiential value: conceptualization, measurement and application in the catalog and Internet shopping environment. *Journal of Retailing* 77(1), 39-56. Retrieved August 15, 2019 from https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0022435900000452

Mudambi, S., & Schuff, D. (2010). What Makes a Helpful Online Review? A Study of Customer Reviews on Amazon.com. *MIS Quarterly, 34*(5), 185-200.

Nagadeepal, C., Tamil, S. J., & Pushpa, A. (2015). Impact of Sale Promotıon Technıques on Consumers' Impulse Buyıng Behavıour towards Apparels at Bangalore. *Asian Journal of Management Sciences & Education, 4*(1), 116-124. Retrieved December 8, 2020 from http://www.ajmse.leena-luna.co.jp

Nakarmi, A. (2018). Effect of Sales Promotion on Consumer Behaviour. A Bachelor Thesis of Seinäjoki University of Applied Sciences. 1-44. Retrieved July 14, 2019 from https://www.theseus.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/142006/anuraj%20thesis%20final.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Nebojsa, V., Milorad, K., & Tanja, K. (2019). The Influence of Online Shopping Determinants on Customer Satisfaction. *Journal of Theoretical and Applied Electronic Commerce Research, 14*(2).

Novak, T., Hoffman, D., & Yung, Y. (2000). Measuring the Customer Experience in Online Environments: A Structural Modeling Approach. Marketing Science,19(1), 22-42.

Pauwels K., Hanssens D. M., & Siddarth S. (2002). The long-term effects of price promotion on category incidence, brand choice, and purchase quantity. *Journal of Marketing Research,* 39(4), 421-439. Retrieved May 10, 2019 from https://www.jstor.org/stable/1558555?seq=1

Philips Consulting Ltd. (2016). *The 2016 online shopping survey*. Retrieved on September 24, 2019 from https://phillipsconsulting.net/reports_post/the-2016-online-shopping-surv/

Puranik, R., & Bansal, A. (2014). A study of internet users' perception towards e-shopping. *Pacific Business Review International*, *6*(9), 37-44. Retrieved on September, 26, 2019 from http://www.pbr.co.in

Schrøder, K. C. (2009). Audience Reception Theories. In S. W. Littlejohn & K. A. Foss (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of communication theories* (pp. 386-390). London: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Sinha, I., & Smith, M. F. (2000). Consumers' perceptions of promotional framing of price. *Psychology & Marketing, 17*(3), 257–275. Retrieved September 10, 2019 from https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1520-6793(200003)17:3%3C257::AID-MAR4%3E3.0.CO;2-P

Shamout, M. D. (2016). The impact of promotional tools on consumer buying behaviour in retail market. *International Journal of Business and Social Science, 7*(1), 75-85. Retrieved May 10, 2019 from https://ijbssnet.com/journals/Vol_7_No_1_January_2016/9.pdf

Shanthi, R., & Kannaiah, D. (2015) Consumers' perception on online shopping. *Journal of Marketing and Consumer Research, 13,* 14-20. Retrieved June 20, 2019 from https://researchonline.jcu.edu.au/39753/1/Dr.%20Desti%20Consumers%20perception%20on%20Online%20Shopping.pdf

Shergil, G., & Chen, Z. (2005). Web-based shopping: Consumers' attitudes towards online shopping in New Zealand. *Journal of Electronic Commerce Research, 6*(2).

Sorce, P., Perotti, V., & Widrick, S. (2005). Attitude and age differences in online buying. *International Journal of Retail and Distribution Management, 33*(2):122-132.

Stilwell, C. (2006). “Boundless opportunities?”: towards an assessment of the usefulness of the concept of social exclusion for the South African public library situation. *Innovation, 32***.** Retrieved on September 26, 2019 from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228864541_Boundless_opportunities_towards_an_assessment_of_the_usefulness_of_the_concept_of_social_exclusion_for_the_South_African_public_library_situation

Strauss, J., & Frost, R. (2012). *E-Marketing*. São Paulo:Pearson Prentice Hall.

Tarigan, E. D. S., Sabrina, H., & Syahputri, Y. (2020). The Influence of Lifestyle and Sales Promotion on Online Purchase Decisions for Home-Cooked Culinary during COVID-19 in Medan City, Indonesia. *International Journal of Research and Review 7*(10), 140–144. https://www.ijrrjournal.com/IJRR_Vol.7_Issue.10_Oct2020/Abstract_IJRR0020.html

Thakur, S., & Aurora, R. (2015). Consumer perception: a study on e-marketing. *International Journal of Recent Research Aspects, 2*(2), 256-262. Retrieved on September 26, 2019 from http://ijrra.net/Vol2issue2/IJRRA-02-02-50.pdf

Voyant Tools.org (2020). *Voyant Tools*. Accessed on December 3, 2020 from https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=d75c9ee427db1e9e5c2bcfcb38b386b9

Zhang, J., & Krishnamurthi, L. (2004). Customizing promotions in online stores. *Marketing Science*. 23 (4). 561-578. Retrieved August 5, 2019 from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/227442350_Customizing_Promotions_in_Online_Stores

Zuroni, J., & Goh, L. (2012). Factors Influencing Consumers’ Attitude Towards E-commerce Purchases Through Online Shopping. International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, 2(4).

doi: 10.31211/interacoes.n39.2020.a6

A Deliberação nos Comentários dos Leitores de Jornais *Online* Portugueses

Francisco Fontes
CEIS20, Universidade de Coimbra - cardosofontes@gmail.com

Resumo

Partindo do modelo de democracia deliberativa e da abordagem a alguns dos seus autores, procura analisar-se o discurso que se desenvolve nos espaços de comentário a notícias nos *media* portugueses.
Se a tecnologia favorece a participação democrática, de que modo a comunicação através dela cumpre as exigências para que a deliberação tenha as condições necessárias para se desenvolver na esfera pública virtual?
Os fóruns criados pelos jornais *online* são espaços de potencial deliberação. Dão a oportunidade aos participantes de comunicarem e discutirem livremente ideias sobre um determinado assunto.
Este artigo apresenta um estudo de caso de deliberação *online*, analisando os comentários a notícias sobre a desfiliação de José Sócrates do Partido Socialista, publicadas na edição *online* do *Jornal de Notícias* e no meio eletrónico *Observador*.
Conclui-se que os espaços de comentários dos jornais tendem a não cumprir os requisitos normativos de esfera pública. Embora apresentem os constrangimentos comuns à conversação pública *online*, conseguem ainda desenvolver uma interação democrática. Com um olhar diferente dos jornais hospedeiros sobre os espaços de comentários, poderão melhorar o seu potencial para o debate de temas relevantes no espaço público.

Palavras-chave: Deliberação, comentários *online* a notícias, José Sócrates, *JN*, *Observador*.

The Deliberation on Reader Commentary by Portuguese Online Newspaper Readers

Abstract

Starting with the deliberative democracy model, and the approach by some of its authors, this article aims to analyze the discourse developed in commentary sections of news on Portuguese online media.
If technology favors democratic participation, in what way can the communication done through it obey the requirements for the deliberation to have the necessary conditions to develop in the virtual public sphere?
Forums created by online newspapers are potential deliberation spaces. They give participants the opportunity to freely communicate and discuss ideas on a particular topic.

This paper presents a case study on online deliberation, analyzing the commentary on news on José Sócrates' disaffiliation from the Portuguese Socialist Party, published on the online outlets of Jornal de Notícias and Observador.
In conclusion, the commentary sections tend not to comply with the normative requirements of the public sphere. Although they present the common constraints of online public conversation, they still manage to develop democratic interaction. With the host newspapers taking a closer look on the commentary sections, their potential for debating relevant topics in the public sphere could be improved.

Keywords: Deliberation, online news commentary, José Sócrates, *JN*, *Observador.*

INTRODUÇÃO

A incapacidade de travar o crescente alheamento da participação cívica e política dos cidadãos pela via "tradicional", através da presença física, cara-a-cara e de viva voz, fez depositar na Internet, e na deliberação *online*, a esperança numa nova ágora.

A ampla acessibilidade da Internet – em banda larga e financeiramente suportável para a generalidade dos cidadãos – e as características da comunicação – fora dos convencionais espaços políticos, com liberdade de expressão, sem constrangimentos nem agenda –, atribuíram aos *media* sociais essa esperança de estimularem processos de discussão e de formação de opinião pública.

Através desses espaços dialogais fomentados pelos *media* digitais, almeja-se um revigoramento da intervenção cívica, num ideário de democracia deliberativa.

Embora continue a ser uma esperança adiada nesta dimensão, é inquestionável que a Internet, esse "espaço libertário, anti-autoritário" (Condesso, 2007, p. 31), e enquanto estrutura para a comunicação mediada por computador (CMC), veio revolucionar e ampliar as possibilidades da participação cidadã na esfera pública.

Tendo em atenção tais premissas, procura avaliar-se se os *media* sociais podem ser uma alternativa, ou mais um dos recursos contemporâneos, para a participação dos cidadãos em fóruns discursivos que testem na prática o modelo de democracia deliberativa.

Os espaços de comentários dos jornais, ao mesmo tempo que procuram criar comunidade, ampliando audiências e estimulando a geração de receitas publicitárias, despertam para uma intervenção cívica, uma cidadania ativa.

Esses fóruns são a oportunidade de os cidadãos expressarem as suas posições sobre assuntos públicos, recorrendo ao potencial da comunicação interativa e desterritorializada da Internet.

Neste contexto, o presente artigo procura dar um contributo para o estudo da participação em fóruns deliberativos no contexto da sociedade portuguesa, ao analisar de que forma se expressam as tentativas de exercício da deliberação em espaços de comentário de dois jornais *online*.

Propõe-se a análise dos comentários a notícias publicadas a 4 de maio de 2018, no *JN online* e no meio digital *Observador*, sobre a desfiliação de José Sócrates do PS, do qual fora Secretário-geral, e durante 6 anos Primeiro-ministro de Portugal, em resultado de vitórias eleitorais do Partido Socialista. Este ato surge após comentários negativos de altos dirigentes do partido em torno do mega-processo judicial por corrupção, designado de Operação Marquês, no qual Sócrates é o principal arguido.

OS FÓRUNS *ONLINE* E O MODELO DELIBERATIVO

Com a criação dos fóruns *online*, os jornais dispõem-se a ouvir os seus leitores, criando um canal de comunicação bidirecional, ao mesmo tempo que fomentam nessas audiências a interação entre si. É a aceitação de que o público "tem de o ser" como parte do processo da produção noticiosa, nesta era dos novos *media* (Gillmor, 2005, p. 118).

A Internet que, nas palavras de Gillmor, "é o primeiro meio de que o público é o proprietário, o primeiro meio que deu voz ao público" (2005, p. 119), possibilita a comunicação e discussão livre de ideias, numa aproximação à noção de esfera pública virtual e de democracia deliberativa.

"[O] ideal da democracia deliberativa procura justamente adaptar as instituições políticas às sociedades complexas, descentralizadas, pluralistas, multiculturais, que as formas tradicionais, dominantes, de representação política tendem a trair", refere Gil Baptista Ferreira (2012, p. 5), em alusão às teses de Jürgen Habermas, a principal referência teórica deste modelo.

Nas palavras de Habermas, citado por Rheingold:

> Por "esfera pública" entendemos antes de mais um domínio da nossa vida social na qual pode formar-se a opinião pública. O acesso à esfera pública está, em princípio, aberto a todos os cidadãos. Constitui-se uma porção de esfera pública de cada vez que as pessoas individuais se reúnem para falar, formando o público (…). Os cidadãos agem como público quando abordam questões de interesse geral sem estarem sujeitos a coação, estando assim garantida a sua liberdade de reunião, expressão e publicidade de ideias (1996, p. 341).

Habermas chama a atenção para a "íntima relação entre esta teia de comunicações livres, informais e pessoais e os fundamentos da sociedade democrática" (Rheingold, 1996, p. 342).

Nesta linha de pensamento, os indivíduos "só são capazes de se autogovernarem se comunicarem abertamente, livremente e em grupos – ou seja, publicamente" (Rheingold, 1996, p. 342). Eles "são chamados a considerar alternativas e diferentes pontos de vista, que avaliam criticamente, formando a partir deles juízos de valor", tomando uma decisão que só se torna legítima se for o resultado de um processo de deliberação generalizado (Ferreira, 2010, p. 100).

Diz-nos Habermas:

> Uma possibilidade de compreender o papel epistémico de tais deliberações práticas reside na descrição exata de como, do ponto de vista moral, os interesses pessoais que entram na deliberação como motivos racionais mudam o seu papel e significado no curso da argumentação. Nos discursos práticos "contam", isto é, para o resultado, apenas aqueles interesses que se apresentam como valores intersubjetivamente reconhecidos e que são *candidatos* a serem admitidos no conteúdo semântico das normas válidas. (Habermas, 1998, p. 155).

Ferreira (2010, p. 101) afirma que esta ideia de democracia "implica a procura de novas formas de expandir e de institucionalizar os processos deliberativos, e novos mecanismos para alimentar esses mesmos processos e implementar os seus resultados".

> [Q]uanto mais os indivíduos forem capazes de participar na deliberação de questões que lhes dizem respeito, e quanto mais os resultados de tais deliberações forem alimentados com procedimentos que permitam a realização da decisão, mais elevados serão os padrões democráticos na organização política e social das suas vidas.(Ferreira, 2010, p. 101)

A partir de tais considerações, pode reforçar-se que na deliberação, enquanto processo aberto, quanto mais informação estiver disponível, e quanto mais os indivíduos considerarem os argumentos e as reivindicações dos outros, mais poderão modificar os seus pontos de vista originais.

A democracia deliberativa distingue-se de outras teorias ao "enfatizar a necessidade do debate público e da troca de razões sobre o que é justo" (Ferreira, 2012, p. 6), mas só estando informados é que os cidadãos podem ter uma participação racional no debate das questões políticas.

Zizi Papacharissi (2002, p. 22) realça que o acesso fácil, rápido e de baixo custo à informação não resulta, necessariamente, em cidadãos mais informados nem mais propensos a participar na discussão política, embora admita que uma maior participação deles no debate "ajuda, mas não assegura uma democracia mais saudável".

É papel dos *media* manter os cidadãos informados, dotando-os das 'ferramentas' para serem os atores políticos de que a democracia necessita (Ferreira, 2012, p. 12). Contudo, Michael Schudson (2010, p. 40) aponta um intrínseco constrangimento nessa missão, ao afirmar que geralmente o jornalismo não consegue apresentar às suas audiências uma imagem das reais complexidades da democracia moderna.

> É frequente a retórica dos jornalistas e académicos ao falarem de jornalismo pressupor que os meios de comunicação social informam as pessoas e estas depois 'decidem'. (…) Os eleitores raramente decidem diretamente sobre políticas públicas, decidindo antes quais os indivíduos ou partidos que devem assumir a responsabilidade pela execução das políticas públicas.(Schudson, 2010, p. 40)

Como contestação ao modelo que sobressai nesta ideia de Schudson de representação, surgem os defensores da democracia deliberativa, "ao negar, entre outros aspectos, o carácter privado da formação das preferências agregadoras, e ao enfatizar a necessidade do debate público e da troca de razões sobre o que é justo" (Ferreira, 2012, p. 6).

Se num regime representativo o comum seja os cidadãos votarem nos seus representantes, para John Rawls (2014, p. 168) os cidadãos idealmente "devem conceber-se como se fossem legisladores", que cumprem "o seu dever de civilidade e apoiam a ideia de razão pública".

> Quando os cidadãos deliberam, trocam pontos de vista sobre questões políticas públicas e debatem as razões que sustentam essas opiniões. Partem do princípio de que as suas opiniões políticas podem ser revistas através da discussão com outros cidadãos; e, por conseguinte, essas opiniões não são simplesmente o produto fixo dos seus interesses privados ou não-políticos prévios. É nesse ponto que a razão pública é crucial, pois caracteriza a argumentação de tais cidadãos acerca de fundamentos constitucionais e questões de justiça básica. (Rawls, 2014, p.172)

Para Rawls (2014, p.172), há três elementos essenciais na democracia deliberativa: a ideia da razão pública, as instituições democráticas constitucionais e o conhecimento e desejo dos cidadãos de seguirem a razão pública e concretizarem o seu ideal na conduta política.

No entanto, este modelo necessita que haja uma educação generalizada dos cidadãos sobre o regime de governação democrática, e que o público tenha informação sobre os assuntos que o afetam, que são prementes, para que possa tomar as decisões políticas e sociais que se impõem (Rawls, 2014, p. 173).

Nesta perspetiva, a deliberação destaca, do ideário democrático de onde emerge, as ideias de igualdade política, de debate racional e equitativo, de razão pública, de autoridade e legitimidade da decisão.

Ferreira sintetiza o modelo de democracia deliberativa deste modo:

> [B]aseia a tomada de decisões políticas na troca de razões e argumentos, num processo em que todos os cidadãos participam para além dos seus interesses pessoais, com o objectivo de alcançar o bem comum – distinguindo-se dos mecanismos de pura agregação das vontades individuais que marcava o modelo representativo liberal. As minorias podem ser afastadas do espaço público e empurradas para as margens pelos mecanismos de agregação, assim, a deliberação apresenta-se como forma de atrair essas margens. (2012, p. 9)

Para este autor, as tecnologias da comunicação podem potenciar a ampliação das "arenas da vida pública" (Ferreira, 2012, p. 7) e serem inclusivas ao trazer para o debate cidadãos que normalmente não têm participação nos fóruns presenciais, ou deles são marginalizados.

Mike S. Schäfer (2015, p. 322) reconhece que a esfera pública digital tende a tornar visíveis os diversos atores e suas posições, que por vezes são influenciadoras e vinculantes, mas, por outro lado, apresenta uma variedade de estilos comunicativos que "raramente se conformam às ideias de racionalidade e civilidade, defendidas pela teoria participativa e deliberativa".

No mesmo sentido, Manuel Castells (2003, p. 428) vê na comunicação eletrónica uma das alternativas à construção da democracia, ao estimular formas de participação política e comunicação horizontal entre os cidadãos.

> Com efeito, o acesso *on-line* a informações e a comunicação mediada por computador facilitam a difusão e a localização de informações, proporcionando a interação e os debates em fóruns eletrónicos independentes (…). Caso essa variante de política democrática se instaure como um importante instrumento de debate, representação e decisão, certamente institucionalizará uma forma de "democracia ateniense", tanto a nível nacional como internacional. (Castells, 2003, p. 429)

Ferreira (2012) refere que para os defensores da "democracia eletrónica" a tecnologia da Internet "pode ser explorada para tornar o processo político mais inclusivo e deliberativo" (p. 39), pois esses dispositivos "reúnem as condições para responder aos requisitos básicos da teoria normativa habermasiana sobre a esfera pública democrática" (p. 42).

Tais dispositivos são

> meios universais, anti-hierárquicos, que oferecem comunicação não coerciva, liberdade de expressão, agenda sem restrições e comunicação fora das tradicionais instituições políticas. Assim entendido, o potencial destes dispositivos de comunicação permite a formação de opinião pública mediante processos de discussão numa escala largamente superior à dos *media* convencionais. (Ferreira, 2010, p. 103)

James Fishkin, citado por Ferreira (2010, p. 111), enumera três condições para que se torne possível a deliberação face-a-face: "que as mensagens políticas possam ser trocadas em toda a extensão; que haja oportunidade de reflexão sobre novas mensagens, e para o seu debate reflexivo; que as mensagens sejam testadas intersubjetivamente, em confronto com argumentos rivais".

Diretor do Centro de Democracia Deliberativa na Universidade de Stanford, Fishkin tem feito experiências do modelo em várias partes do mundo. Da sua experiência afirma que, apesar de haver estudiosos a demonstrar que o público é estúpido, os resultados que ele próprio apurou evidenciam que é potencialmente muito inteligente. Só é preciso haver condições sociais, uma estrutura a que prestem atenção, boa informação e argumentos concorrentes para serem "consistentemente brilhantes". Foi assim que aconteceu na antiga Atenas (Fishkin, 2013).

O entusiamo pela Internet como uma outra ágora é refreado por vários autores, entre eles Lincoln Dahlberg, que encontram no modo como a plataforma está estruturada constrangimentos ao diálogo aberto, livre, crítico, reflexivo e racional dos cidadãos; ou seja, a uma concretização normativa de esfera pública inspirada no modelo teórico de Habermas.

Dahlberg (2004, p. 29) entende que, para se ter "confiança na avaliação crítica da prática comunicativa *online*, precisamos de uma conceção normativa convincente da esfera pública", e é o que ele próprio procura desenvolver em vários estudos a partir do modelo teórico do sociólogo alemão, a que incorpora contributos de outros autores. Considera o modelo de Habermas "um forte ponto de partida para uma análise crítica" (2004, p. 39).

Comparando as condições normativas da esfera pública com o funcionamento do ciberespaço, Dahlberg (2001) argumenta que a censura e vigilância do Estado e a comercialização e aumento do controlo das infraestruturas e dos conteúdos da Internet ameaçam a interação *online* e a livre expressão pública.

Reconhece, no entanto, que a interação *online* continua a ocorrer sobre múltiplos temas de forma crítica, que ainda se encontram espaços para a livre expressão, que a reflexividade argumentativa também se verifica, embora inibida pela velocidade das trocas na rede, e "muito aquém do que é exigido pela noção da esfera pública". Contudo, admite que são escassas as situações em que se desenvolve uma interação empenhada sobre tópicos, e que o mais comum é ocorrer uma interação "fragmentada em grupos de valores e interesses semelhantes".

Partindo de tal constatação, Dahlberg sugere que

> [a] reflexividade tem de ser aumentada no discurso *online* para que a conceção da esfera pública seja mais completa. Uma tarefa importante para melhorar a reflexividade é fazer com que os participantes ouçam respeitosamente e, assim, chegar a um entendimento da posição do seu interlocutor (2001).

Outro dos constrangimentos apontados por Dahlberg (2001) à deliberação *online* relaciona-se com a falta de sinceridade – por via da adoção de falsas identidades, pela ação de *trolls* em divertimento ou a prejudicar intencionalmente a interação no grupo – e pela partilha de informação falsa, designadamente, por razões políticas, para desinformar, confundir, envergonhar ou autopromover.

A igualdade discursiva e a inclusão, propaladas pelos mais entusiastas da Internet, sofrem, igualmente, de constrangimentos. Grandes franjas da população adulta no mundo continuam sem acesso à Internet e, quando dele dispõem, muitas das pessoas "simplesmente não têm tempo, capital cultural ou apoio comunitário para se envolverem em deliberações políticas", e ao descurar tais exclusões pode estar-se a "apoiar uma esfera pública de elite" (Dahlberg, 2001).

Embora com algumas diferenças, derivadas dos contextos, o que se constata é que as desigualdades discursivas *offline* reproduzem-se *online*, desdizendo uma alegada 'cegueira' do ciberespaço à identidade. Mesmo em situações de anonimato, há elementos identitários que são percecionados por aquilo que cada um não consegue deixar de revelar.

Segundo Dahlberg (2001), os fatores que desenvolvem a reputação no ciberespaço têm a ver com o tempo que é gasto *online*, a capacidade argumentativa e de conhecimento dos assuntos, a frequência e a fiabilidade das publicações. A partir daí desenvolvem-se relações de poder e hierarquias, com alguns a "fazer ouvir as suas vozes mais do que outros, o que leva ao domínio do discurso por certos indivíduos ou grupos e, assim, às desigualdades discursivas".

Em síntese, Dahlberg (1998, p. 78) realça que certas posições entusiastas do potencial da Internet para estimular a esfera pública tendem a desenquadrar o meio tecnológico das redes informáticas do contexto social, e acrescenta que o seu potencial para melhorar a democracia está a ser adulterado pelo controlo comercial, censura e privatização dos espaços de interação.

Iris Marion Young (2014), num trabalho em que confronta o ativismo político democrático com a democracia deliberativa, lança interrogações sobre o cumprimento do ideal de debate aberto de ideias e posições em prol de soluções justas, em sociedades com desigualdades estruturais.

Zizi Papacharissi (2002, p. 21), por seu turno, é de opinião que "o atual estado das relações sociais da vida real dificulta tanto a criação de uma esfera pública no mundo virtual como no real", e que aquilo que o ciberespaço oferece às pessoas é um alargamento dos canais de comunicação, mas "sem afetar radicalmente a natureza da comunicação".

Young (2014) questiona se os procedimentos de deliberação não são excludentes, se não tendem a beneficiar os participantes mais poderosos, pondo em causa a força do argumento que confronta os interesses de uns e de outros, no sentido de uma solução justa comum.

Mesmo com preocupações inclusivas, de ampla abertura a todas as partes interessadas, interroga se o processo deliberativo não ativa, ainda, "vieses estruturais pelos quais os atores mais poderosos e socialmente favorecidos (…) conseguem dominá-lo com seus interesses e perspetivas" (Young, 2014, p. 199).

O próprio discurso comum da sociedade, que é levado para a discussão, para expor ideias e factos, que explica as dinâmicas sociais, as normas, os valores culturais, não estará também ele contaminado pelas próprias desigualdades estruturais (Young, 2014, p. 205)? Constata-se que o questionamento das narrativas dominantes, padronizadas, das representações discursivas, continua no centro do debate quotidiano das sociedades, sobre temas tão distintos como género, pobreza, religião, cultura, crença ou educação.

> [A]s pessoas podem chegar a um acordo que é, no entanto, pelo menos em parte, condicionado por relações de poder injustas e que, por essa razão, não deve ser considerado um consenso realmente livre. (…) Quando esse discurso hegemónico opera, as partes envolvidas na deliberação podem concordar sobre as premissas, aceitar uma teoria sobre sua situação e apresentar as razões para propostas que os outros aceitam, mas, mesmo assim, as premissas e as condições dessa visão mascaram a reprodução do poder e da injustiça (Young, 2014, p. 206).

Segundo Young (2014, p. 207), a teoria e a prática da democracia deliberativa não dispõem de ferramentas para rebater a possibilidade de as deliberações poderem ser distorcidas desse modo, por carecer "da ideologia, bem como de uma visão da genealogia dos discursos e da maneira de ajudar a constituir a forma como as pessoas se veem a si mesmas e ao seu mundo social".

> Esse nível da influência da desigualdade estrutural sobre a discussão publica é o mais insidioso por ser o menos evidente a todos os participantes. Está relacionado ao marco conceitual e imagético da discussão, que muitas vezes contém falsificações, preconceitos, incompreensões e até mesmo contradições que passam sem ser percebidos nem criticados, em grande parte porque coincidem com os interesses hegemónicos ou refletem as realidades sociais existentes como se fossem inalteráveis (Young, 2014, p. 207).

Pelas caraterísticas do ciberespaço, o processo deliberativo confronta-se, ainda, com um problema epistémico, que é o de recolher informação relevante e confiável num ambiente de rápida mudança, tornando o desafio ainda mais ousado quando se pretende desenvolver conhecimento sobre um assunto (Dahlgren, 2018, p. 20).

Para o mesmo autor (2018, p. 22), um comum utilizador encara a Internet como um manancial quase inesgotável de informação, em que a "certeza cognitiva é desalojada" pelo excesso, gerando, assim, a dúvida, que a um certo nível poderá até estimular o diálogo democrático, o confronto de ideias e a própria deliberação.

Reproduzindo o pensamento de Mark Andrejevic, Dahlgren (2018, p. 22) destaca que múltiplas versões concorrrentes de factos e de conhecimentos produzem visões inconciliáveis da realidade, "cimentando e isolando bolhas discursivas incompatíveis, e desgastando os fundamentos da discussão política".

Porém – acrescenta Dahlgren (2018, p. 22) –, a "tomada de decisão requer reflexão, o que, por sua vez, também exige tempo". Em consequência, a "atenção torna-se fragmentada", relegando as pessoas para "micro-zonas cada vez menores de envolvimento atento".

Este contexto – acrescenta – gerou "um dilema historicamente novo para a democracia, onde não só a desconfiança se aprofundou, como também os motivos para estabelecer e legitimar a 'verdade' se desestabilizaram" (Dahlgren, 2018, p. 23).

Perante a constatação de que a comunicação democrática *online* não se esgota na deliberação, e que o modelo deliberativo não dispunha das ferramentas teóricas para uma análise capaz da diversidade dessa discursão, alguns autores avançaram com propostas de abordagens mais transversais.

Deen G. Freelon (2010, p. 1176) avançou com uma proposta de abordagem à comunicação democrática *online* a partir de três modelos: 'liberal individualista', 'comunitário' e 'deliberativo', sendo este último uma aproximação aos tópicos que neste artigo já foram enunciados por referência a Habermas e Dahlberg.

O 'liberal individualista' é descrito como uma comunicação tendencialmente em monólogo, que procura apresentar a pessoa e suas ideias, com a interação gerada praticamente centrada na resposta a perguntas colocadas. O 'comunitário' caracteriza-se por uma identidade grupal, que por sua vez desenvolve uma fragmentação ideológica e pode tender para a mobilização política, bem como para a promoção de uma conversação intra-ideológica, comum ao modelo 'deliberativo', embora se possa desenvolver apenas entre membros do grupo e com menor transversalidade do que este.

Lincoln Dahlberg (2011, p. 856), num artigo posterior ao de Freelon, avança também com quatro posições de análise da democracia digital – 'liberal-individualista', 'deliberativa', 'contra-pública' e 'marxista autonomista' –, partindo de uma categoria geral englobadora de um conjunto de fenómenos tipificadores da complexidade da experiência humana, "retórica, práticas, identidades e instituições".

A liberal-individualista utiliza os meios digitais "para a transmissão eficaz de informações e pontos de vista entre indivíduos e processos representativos de tomada de decisão". A democracia é a "expressão e a agregação das vontades dos indivíduos, e a concorrência entre representantes para o apoio desses indivíduos". A visão geral é de "um "mercado de ideias" (Dahlberg, 2011, p. 858).

A 'deliberativa' parte do modelo habermasiano. A 'contra-público' reporta-se à utilização da rede na formação de grupos políticos para o ativismo e contestação. A 'marxista autonomista' aponta para "participação auto-organizada e inclusiva em atividades produtivas comuns", com um propósito de democracia ideal (Dahlberg, 2011, p. 859).

"Compreender e documentar as relações de uso político da internet pode ajudar-nos a determinar se este meio relativamente novo conseguirá transcender do espaço público para uma esfera virtual e pública"; o seu valor "reside no facto de abranger a esperança, a especulação e os sonhos do que poderia ser", afirma Papacharissi (2002, p. 23).

Partindo do enquadramento teórico *supra* apresentado, e no sentido de avaliar o potencial da comunicação *online* para responder aos requisitos básicos do modelo deliberativo, realizou-se um estudo centrado nos comentários a notícias publicadas em dois *media* eletrónicos de Portugal.

METODOLOGIA E RESULTADOS

Este artigo, tal como enunciado de modo sumário anteriormente, debruça-se sobre a atividade interativa nos espaços de comentário às peças noticiosas nos sites dos dois jornais. A sua localização, a seguir às notícias, permite aos utilizadores a leitura do texto noticioso, apresentar os seus pontos de vista sobre o tema, mas também interpretar e discutir os pontos de vista de outros participantes, procurar o consenso, e deliberar.

Os espaços de comentários a notícias são considerados dos fóruns de discussão mais promissores à participação e interação *online*, em virtude de a sua associação a órgãos de comunicação social proporcionar mais visibilidade à atividade dos utilizadores (Gonçalves, 2018, p. 604).

O *corpus* deste trabalho é constituído por 264 comentários a peças jornalísticas publicadas a 4 de maio de 2018 na edição digital do *Jornal de Notícias* (www.jn.pt), – "Críticas levam Sócrates a abandonar o PS" (Silva H. T., 2018) – e no jornal *online Observador* (www.observador.pt) – "O 'embaraço' de Sócrates com o PS. O texto do 'animal feroz' nas entrelinhas" (Carrapatoso, 2018).

Figura 1

Publicações do JN *e* Observador

No *JN* foram publicados 205 comentários e 59, no *Observador*, de acordo com uma extração efetuada pelas 00h00 de 31 de maio de 2018. Na primeira semana da publicação, mais particularmente até à compilação efetuada para este trabalho, pelas 23h30 do dia 9 de maio de 2018, o *Observador* já tinha recebido os 59 comentários e o *JN*, 202. Na semana seguinte à da publicação, o *JN* registou mais três comentários de uma leitora, a "corrigir"/"moderar" comentários de outros participantes.

O *JN* foi o primeiro jornal a noticiar o envio da carta de desfiliação do PS, numa peça jornalística publicada às 00h30 de 4 de maio. Também foi este jornal a publicar na íntegra a missiva enviada por José Sócrates à direção do partido, em formato de artigo de opinião, pelas 09h27 desse mesmo dia.

A escolha do *Observador* para este estudo – sobre um tema político controvertido na sociedade portuguesa – teve em atenção a circunstância de ser um dos órgãos de comunicação social que se apresentava como dos mais críticos à ação pessoal e política de Sócrates. O enquadramento do assunto, no título e *lead* da notícia, com recurso à expressão "animal feroz", indicia tal postura do jornal, e evidencia a não neutralidade jornalística, e até uma explícita hostilidade para com este personagem da história política de Portugal.

Neste trabalho foi utilizado o método quantitativo para medir o comportamento dialógico dos participantes no fórum, a partir de critérios de análise de conteúdo pré--estabelecidos, que tiveram como guia de orientação as teses sobre a esfera pública e vida cívica de Jürgen Habermas, em particular as desenvolvidas na Teoria da Ação Comunicativa.

Para participar no espaço de comentários, ambos os jornais exigem registo prévio aos leitores. O *JN* utiliza um *plug-in* do *Facebook*, que conecta com o perfil do utilizador nessa rede social. O *Observador* recorre a um registo mais convencional, com um nome de utilizador real ou inventado, e ativado a partir de uma conta de *e-mail*.

Em nenhum dos casos é assegurada a identidade real do participante no fórum de comentários e, em muitos deles, a aparência de se tratar de identidades falsas é notória. No caso do *Observador*, pela criatividade na designação das identidades, e no *JN*, pelos perfis de um canídeo, de outros vazios de comunidade, e de outros ainda com nomes pouco verosímeis.

Para atribuir identidade aos comentadores, feminina ou masculina, partiu-se de um pressuposto de verosimilhança ao real, e da presença de foto no perfil do *Facebook*, no caso do *JN*. Por esta razão, o número e a percentagem de não identificados é muito superior no *Observador*.

A moderação por parte dos órgãos de comunicação social não é percetível, embora haja um comentário de um leitor do *JN* a queixar-se de apagamento de uma mensagem sua. Também não está presente um mecanismo de moderação por denúncia de comentários abusivos pelos participantes, como é adotado por algumas publicações *online*.

No presente estudo, procurou-se avaliar as potencialidades deliberativas segundo os seguintes critérios: 'Diálogo', 'Foco', 'Contributo para o Debate', 'Civilidade', 'Posicionamento', 'Entendimento do Assunto' e 'Reflexividade'.

Mediu-se também a identificação por géneros, mas dada a baixa fiabilidade para se estabelecer a identidade verdadeira ou falsa dos participantes não se procurou avaliar eventuais divergências entre identidades reais ou ocultas. Estes resultados são referidos aqui apenas em termos quantitativos, sem avaliações comparatísticas sobre as ações dialógicas.

No 'Diálogo' avalia-se o tipo de atividade, se foi para comentar a notícia, ou se foi para interagir, para comentar mensagem de outro interveniente. No 'Foco', indaga-se se o comentário está centrado no tema da peça noticiosa (o tópico que é notícia, a desfiliação de Sócrates do PS), se em outras personagens referidas, ou em assuntos novos. Em 'Contributo para o Debate' avalia-se o envolvimento cognitivo do assunto. No 'Posicionamento' procura perceber-se se o comentário se expressa em sentido positivo ou negativo, se apoia a posição de Sócrates, ou se o critica, se manifesta concordância, ou não, em relação a outros comentários, ou se diverge do tema em debate. Em 'Entendimento do Assunto' pretendeu avaliar-se o contributo para o debate através de uma atitude crítico-racional. Em 'Reflexividade' mede-se o envolvimento na procura de consensos em torno do tema em debate.

Pela natureza algo fluída do tópico 'Civilidade', e para delimitar o seu âmbito, recorreu-se a alguma literatura (Papacharissi, 2004), (Gonçalves, 2018), (Ziegele, Springer, Jost, & Wright, 2017), (Coe, Kenski, & Rains, 2014) e ao entendimento do "cidadão médio". Em 'Civilidade' incluíram-se a subcategorias 'Flaming','Trolling' e 'Nenhuma Daquelas', sendo as duas primeiras associadas aos comportamentos que põem em causa valores coletivos e de funcionamento da própria democracia: atitudes difamatórias, insultuosas, discursos de ódio, a violação de outros valores democráticos por desrespeito e falta se sinceridade. Na terceira subcategoria foram enquadradas as noções de cortesia e indelicadeza, comportamentos de rudeza e de alguma agressividade, admitindo-se que diálogo acalorado é reflexo de liberdade de expressão, e que esta abordagem mais elástica aos comportamentos *online* traduz-se em benefício para o debate democrático (Papacharissi, 2004, p. 261).

A linha demarcadora entre a terceira subcategoria e as duas primeiras foi estabelecida entre o diálogo ainda racional e o que já transgride valores sociais, ameaça a democracia e viola as liberdades das pessoas.

A título de exemplo, expressões como "psicopata doido", "palhacito és tão ridículo", "esquizofrenia paranoide" foram enquadradas como de incivilidade. Entre as expressões ainda aceitáveis a uma comunicação cívica incluíram-se "todos a comer na mesma gamela", "arranjem uma chucha" ou "este gajo".

Passando para a análise dos resultados, com as reservas referidas acima sobre a identidade dos participantes, verificamos que os do sexo masculino representam mais de três quartos dos comentadores das notícias. No caso do *Observador*, mesmo que metade dos não identificados sejam mulheres, a sua percentagem ficará aquém das 23% percecionadas no *JN*. Independentemente dos números reais, os indicadores aqui expressos levam a concluir que o perfil do participante nesse fórum é masculino.

Quadro 1
Participação por género

Categoria	Subcategoria	Ocorrências – *JN* edição digital	Ocorrências – *Observador*
Identificação dos autores dos comentários/ participantes	Masculino	155 (75,61%)	40 (67,8%)
	Feminino	48 (23,41%)	6 (10,17%)
	Não identificado	2 (0,98%)	13 (22,03%)

Tendo presente as condições de registo dos comentadores, e as identidades apresentadas, há indícios de em elevado número serem falsas. Este comportamento põe em causa o requisito normativo da sinceridade, essencial aos processos deliberativos. Vários estudos evidenciam que o anonimato, em vez de libertar os participantes para uma discussão sem receios, mais livre e igualitária, "parece resultar num aumento do número de ataques verbais de maior violência e em práticas de insulto e humilhação, entre outras formas de incivilidade" (Ferreira, 2010, p. 110), dimensões que se aprofundarão quando se abordarem o *flaming* e o *trolling*.

Quadro 2
Tipo de comunicação

Categoria	Subcategoria	Ocorrências – *JN* edição digital	Ocorrências – *Observador*
Diálogo	Dirigido à notícia / artigo (monólogo)	106 (51,71%)	34 (57,63%)
	Dirigido a outro comentário (diálogo)	94 (45,85%)	22 (37,29%)
	A nenhum daqueles	5 (2,44%)	3 (5,08%)

Qual o impulso para comentar? O leitor tanto o poderá fazer por estímulo do artigo, ou de comentários de outros leitores, ou por ambas as razões. Daí resulta uma comunicação pública unidirecional ou interativa (Springer, Engelmann, & Pfaffinger, 2015, p. 799).

Na categoria 'Diálogo', a natureza monológica sobrepõe-se à dialógica, numa percentagem de 20% no *Observador*, em que perto de 58% dos participantes preferiram emitir a sua opinião, em vez de procurarem discutir pontos de vista. Talvez o enquadramento da notícia do *Observador*, com o uso da expressão "animal feroz" no título, tenha contribuído para este resultado. Nos comentários à notícia do *JN*, que se aproxima mais das práticas jornalísticas de distanciamento em relação ao assunto noticiado, há uma separação de apenas 6 pontos percentuais, embora a conversação monológica continue a sobrepor-se à dialógica.

Estudos realizados em vários países revelam que entre 20% e 50% dos comentários a notícias são interativos; ou seja, têm referência a comentários de outros utilizadores (Ziegele et al., 2018, p. 1420). Os resultados aqui apurados estão acima desses valores médios (*Observador*) e próximo dos limites máximos (*JN*).

Quadro 3
Foco dos comentários

Categoria	Subcategoria	Ocorrências – *JN* edição digital	Ocorrências – *Observador*
Foco dos comentários	O tema da notícia ou artigo	36 (17,56%)	3 (5,08%)
	Intervenientes na notícia ou artigo	143 (69,76%)	44 (74,58%)
	A nenhum daqueles	26 (12,68%)	12 (20,34%)

O foco dos comentários é, em percentagens muito elevadas, nos intervenientes das notícias. No caso em análise, o protagonista, José Sócrates, foi um controverso líder do maior partido português na atualidade, é uma personagem política e social com uma postura de confronto, e está indiciado num processo crime por corrupção. As personagens secundárias das notícias são altos dirigentes políticos, e outros cidadãos de elevado estatuto no setor financeiro português. O enquadramento 'hostil' da notícia em relação a Sócrates poderá explicar os resultados apurados nos comentários do *Observador*, com 75% a dirigirem-se a intervenientes da notícia e apenas 5% ao tema da notícia, o ato de desfiliação do partido. Um outro resultado que pode explicar-se pelo enunciado acima são os 20% que fazem comentários com foco divergente, uma boa parte dos quais para insultar outros leitores pelo teor das opiniões expressas.

Quadro 4

Contributo para o debate

Categoria	Subcategoria	Ocorrências – *JN* edição digital	Ocorrências – *Observador*
Contributo para o debate	Acrescenta informação	9 (4,39%)	4 (6,78%)
	Corrige informação da notícia ou artigo	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	Corrige cometário de outro utilizador	26 (12,68%)	3 (5,08%)
	Dá opinião	119 (58,05%)	38 (64,4%)
	Fundamentação/racionalidade na ideia apresentada	38 (18,54%)	7 (11,87%)
	Acrescenta experiência pessoal	2 (0,98%)	0 (0%)
	Nenhum	11 (5,37%)	7 (11,87%)

Ao analisar-se o contributo dos comentários para o debate sobre o tema, registam-se baixas percentagens em diversas subcategorias. Por outro lado, apuram-se elevadas percentagens, de 58% e 64%, quando se trata de dar opinião, ou seja, adotar uma postura monológica, de baixo contributo para o debate.

Ferreira refere que para o modelo deliberativo importa indagar "em que medida os participantes dos grupos de discussão política virtuais fornecem ideias e informação à comunidade discursiva, ou apenas nela procuram informação, a partir de outros membros", e acrescenta que o que a pesquisa empírica revela é que, "sendo elevado o número de mensagens diariamente colocadas nos fóruns, tal quantidade não garante nem uma participação equitativa nem uma troca de opiniões substancial" (2010, p. 107) .

Da análise aos resultados na categoria 'Contributo para o Debate', verifica-se que os comentários serviram "sobretudo para amplificar pontos de vista próprios, e raramente para reflectir o confronto com argumentos diversos", resultando "uma interacção frágil, fugaz, anónima, sem espessura política, e por isso pouco consistente com as exigências racionais de uma esfera pública forte (Ferreira, 2010, p. 111).

Fica, deste modo, limitada uma virtualidade da interatividade nos espaços de comentário a notícias, uma vez que os conhecimentos adicionais apresentados sobre as questões foram reduzidos. Frustrou-se assim o reforço do envolvimento cognitivo e o aumento da vontade de outros utilizadores contribuírem para a discussão (Ziegele et al., 2018, p. 1423).

As percentagens apuradas na subcategoria 'Fundamentação/racionalidade na ideia apresentada' evidenciam essa fraca interação discursiva, com valores de perto de 19% e de 12%. A subcategoria "Acrescenta informação", igualmente importante para deliberação, revela também percentagens diminutas, de cerca de 4% e 7%. No mesmo sentido, é nulo o contributo para o debate, com 5% e 12%.

Contudo, a capacidade deliberativa não se esgota em comentar, pode concretizar-se também lendo os comentários (Masip, Ruiz-Caballero, & Suau, 2019).

Quadro 5
Civilidade

Categoria	Subcategoria	Ocorrências – *JN* edição digital	Ocorrências – *Observador*
Civilidade	*Trolling*	44 (21,46%)	2 (3,39%)
	Flaming	12 (5,85%)	4 (6,78%)
	Nenhum daqueles	149 (72,68%)	53 (89,83%)

Os comportamentos de *flaming* e o *trolling* são apontados em muitas pesquisas de comunicação política como fazendo parte da natureza da comunicação *online*. Trata-se de comportamentos de incivilidade que, muitas vezes, surgem associados a situações de anonimato dos seus autores. É frequente verificar-se o recurso a comportamentos mais agressivos quando as formulações agressivas já fazem parte da mensagem de outros comentadores (Gonçalves, 2018, p. 605), que poderão ainda resultar de comportamentos de afiliação, de imitação inconsciente.

Thorsten Quandt (2018, p. 41 s) designa a presença de *trolls* nos comentários de notícias, e em outros espaços dialógicos da Internet, como "participação sombria". Podem assumir-se como manipuladores individuais, "fomentadores de ódio com diferentes origens, motivações e comportamentos de participação", que tanto "podem atacar artigos ou tópicos específicos, como podem desviar o ódio orientado pelo conteúdo para os atores mencionados no artigo ou os próprios jornalistas".

> Os participantes sombrios têm ideias e mensagens extremas, e tentam levá-las ao público com zelo missionário e por todos os meios necessários. Assim, enquanto o conceito entusiasta de participação esperava uma motivação excecional do público normal, a participação sombria apenas assume exceções motivadas da norma. Como tal, um requisito para o conceito é facilmente cumprido, o futuro da participação sombria é, paradoxalmente, brilhante. (Quandt, 2018, p. 43)

Springer et al. (2015, p. 810) associam o *trolling* a motivações de entretenimento, que também são inerentes à interação social *online*. Dahlberg (2001), afirma que, além do engano identitário, o *troll* pode ter como objetivo embaraçar, perturbar, provocar, Às vezes chamado *trolling*, o engano identitário no ciberespaço tem como objetivo embaraçar, causar raiva e perturbar, e por vezes é impulsionado por objetivos mais sérios, em que se inclui a manipulação e desinformação de natureza política.

> O engano na deliberação ocorre em situações em que um participante intencionalmente engana os outros a acreditar que as intenções, necessidades, desejos e interesses foram apresentados honestamente. Trata-se de um problema bastante generalizado nos grupos de discussão em linha. (Dahlberg, 2001)

Os comentários analisados revelaram que um número significativo deste tipo de comportamentos hostis e insultuosos, com destaque para o *trolling* no *JN*, estava associado a insinuações de envolvimento em atos de corrupção quando se tratava de mostrar alguma simpatia com o visado, ou perante alertas de moderação, em virtude de o visado ainda beneficiar da presunção de inocência. Noutros casos tratou-se de ofensas diretas à integridade moral e à autodeterminação sexual.

Após alguns ataques, e alguns contra-ataques discursivos, as vítimas acabaram por desaparecer do fórum. A liberdade, o respeito pelas diferenças, pela diversidade de opinião, inerentes à vivência democrática, são violados, e assim são preteridos requisitos normativos da deliberação, da tolerância e da sinceridade.

Ziegele et al. (2017, p. 321) fazem notar que estudos recentes apontam, como efeitos nocivos dos comentários incivilizados, um desgaste na cognição dos valores democráticos, que levam a atitudes polarizadas, e "têm um impacto negativo na qualidade noticiosa percebida dos meios de comunicação" social.

Quadro 6
Posicionamento em relação ao assunto

Categoria	Subcategoria	Ocorrências – *JN* edição digital	Ocorrências – *Observador*
Posicionamento	Positivo em relação ao assunto	16 (7,80%)	1 (1,69%)
	Negativo em relação ao assunto	103 (50,24%)	37 (62,71%)
	Concordância em relação a outro comentário	24 (11,71%)	5 (8,48%)
	Discordância em relação a outro comentário	51 (24,88%)	11 (18,64%)
	Nenhum daqueles	11 (5,37%)	5 (8,48%)

O posicionamento dos comentários foi dominantemente negativo em relação ao assunto, o que se pode explicar pelo facto de José Sócrates, e os seus alegados crimes de corrupção, serem objeto de elevada censura pública. Os autores dos comentários replicam aqui esse sentimento público. A divergência de opiniões foi também marcante, o que se pode entender com o facto de estar a ser comentado um tema controverso. No *Observador*, os posicionamentos estão mais radicalizados. Poderão resultar de alguma tendência grupal, o que empobrece as trocas comunicacionais.

Quadro 7
Partilha argumentativa e reflexão

Categoria	Subcategoria	Ocorrências – *JN* edição digital	Ocorrências – *Observador*
Reflexividade	Incorpora contributos de outros participantes	75 (36,59%)	11 (18,64%)
	Não incorpora contributos de outros	130 (63,41%)	48 (81,36%)

James Fishkin, como se referiu anteriormente, considera necessárias três condições para as práticas de deliberação, e uma delas é a oportunidade para a reflexão sobre novas mensagens e para o debate reflexivo.

Os participantes nos espaços de comentário dos dois jornais parecem utilizar de forma um pouco frágil o potencial que os arautos da ciberdemocracia atribuem à Internet, para a participação e troca de argumentos. A troca de argumentos e a reflexão são reduzidas, apenas 37% no *JN* e 19% no *Observador*. Os participantes revelam uma baixa disponibilidade para refletir e para mudar de opinião se confrontados com um argumento mais válido.

A combinação destes dados com os de quadros anteriores sugere que os participantes pretendem mais emitir opinião do que partilhar opiniões e ideias ou estabelecer uma comunicação de acordo com os padrões de racionalidade do modelo deliberativo.

Quanto mais os indivíduos consideram os argumentos dos outros e os incorporam com os seus, mais tenderão a modificar gradualmente os seus comportamentos originais. O que estes resultados revelam é que poucos foram aqueles que atenderam aos argumentos rivais.

Quadro 8
Entendimento do assunto

Categoria	Subcategoria	Ocorrências – *JN* edição digital	Ocorrências – *Observador*
Entendimento do assunto em debate	Contributo explícito	57 (28,64 %)	14 (23,73%)
	Contributo implícito	85 (42,71%)	22 (37,29%)
	Nenhum daqueles	57 (28,64 %)	23 (38,98%)

Dos participantes que deram um contributo para o debate, apenas uma pequena parte o fez de forma aberta. O contributo explícito é de 29% no *JN* e de 24 % no *Observador*. Em percentagens ainda mais elevadas, a participação nos comentários não teve como destino o debate, mas outros tipos de presença.

Não se registou uma acentuada atitude crítico-racional que o modelo deliberativo aponta, mas, em parte, visões individuais e contributos indiretos, ou até ausência de contributo às temáticas em discussão.

Perante esta apatia, podem trazer-se aqui à discussão alguns tópicos sobre os constrangimentos apontados à participação em fóruns. O facto de uma boa parte dos participantes o fazer anonimamente, ou com perfis aparentemente falsos, parece não ter sido fomentador de um diálogo aberto, sem receios nem inibições. Ou estar-se-á perante o replicar dos constrangimentos que se verificam *offline*, de desigualdades discursivas, de inibições pelo estatuto cultural ou social, ou de fatores de protagonismo? E perante o desconforto que a exposição pública causaria tenderam a evitar contribuir para o debate, ou a fazê-lo de forma muito condicionada?

Apurar as causas destas atitudes exigiria um estudo mais aprofundado, que extravasa o âmbito deste artigo.

CONSIDERAÇÕES FINAIS

Da análise dos comentários às notícias publicadas nos *JN* digital e no *Observador* somos levados a considerar que, enquanto prática discursiva, eles estão ainda bastante aquém da democracia deliberativa idealizada por Jürgen Habermas e outros autores seguidores do modelo.

No entanto, os espaços de comentário às notícias nos jornais têm em si um elevado potencial de diálogo, do público com os mediadores e dos públicos entre si, alimentando, assim, a ideia de uma esfera pública virtual. Mesmo que o ideal deliberativo tenha ficado frustrado, os participantes nos espaços de comentário dinamizaram, na sua maioria, uma conversação pública civilizada e seguindo padrões democráticos.

Os *media online*, ao mesmo tempo que informam, fornecem ferramentas para a atuação política, ao recorrerem ao potencial democrático desta plataforma que é a Internet.

> No rol das vantagens políticas da internet, insiste-se com frequência nas novas possibilidades de expressão que permitem a um cidadão ou a um grupo da sociedade civil alcançar, sem maiores mediações institucionais, outros cidadãos (…). Nesse sentido, a internet pode desempenhar um papel importante na realização da democracia deliberativa, porque pode assegurar aos interessados em participar do jogo democrático dois dos seus requisitos fundamentais: informação política atualizada e oportunidade de interação. (Gomes, 2005, p. 220)

No entanto, não se pode ignorar a existência de assimetrias que impõem constrangimentos ao ideal deliberativo. Estudos apontam que o uso da Internet está concentrado nos jovens e nos grupos com maior potencial económico. Igualmente, não se pode negligenciar que não basta dispor de um computador e de acesso à rede, pois a participação *online* exige ainda um conjunto de destrezas pessoais.

Ferreira (2012, p. 47) refere que o discurso em deliberações *online* "está marcado por todo um conjunto de elementos limitadores", que em muitos aspetos são semelhantes às formas tradicionais de discursividade, e que para identificar os constrangimentos à igualdade de oportunidades "é necessário distinguir analiticamente entre acesso e influência".

> Distingamos, assim, os dois aspectos do problema. Em primeiro lugar, a deliberação supõe igualdade no plano dos recursos necessários ao acesso por parte de cada indivíduo aos dados e argumentos em questão, sem qualquer restrição ou constrangimento. Depois, num segundo nível, a deliberação requer igual capacidade para apresentar, de forma persuasiva, os próprios argumentos ou reivindicações. (Ferreira, 2012, p. 47)

A realidade, segundo o mesmo autor (Ferreira, 2012, p. 26), levanta ainda outras questões, que são a de saber se, estabelecidas as condições básicas para a deliberação ocorrer, "os públicos fracos" conseguirão assumir-se como interlocutores plenos, ou se será necessário "um modelo de democracia deliberativa adequada a condições de injustiça".

Apesar de vários estudos demonstrarem que a Internet "aumenta a capacidade de comunicação de forma desigual", e que as discussões políticas replicam desigualdades do *offline* (Ferreira, 2010, p. 108), ela dispõe de reconhecidas potencialidades para aumentar a participação democrática.

Embora os comentários analisados sobre as notícias do *JN* digital e do *Observador* sobre a desfiliação de José Sócrates evidenciem as principais questões levantadas em diversos estudos, seria essencial questionar um conjunto de tópicos que ao longo deste artigo foram enunciados. Importaria saber como se agregam essas pessoas, que lideranças sobressaem nesses fóruns, que lideranças se desenvolvem, se estão a replicar um ativismo político real, e que identidades procuram ocultar por detrás de perfis fictícios.

Uma grande parte dos participantes nos comentários que foi possível identificar por imagem fotográfica integra o grupo que se convencionou designar de "terceira idade", já liberto da vida ativa, e por isso tendencialmente com mais tempo livre. Foi possível verificar, por exemplo, que um dos participantes apresentou idêntico comentário nos dois jornais analisados. Um outro participante no espaço do *JN* é um conhecido e prolífero articulista de uma comunidade designada de "Diálogos Lusófonos".

Pela observação de comunicações cruzadas que se entabulavam no espaço de comentários, percebeu-se que alguns participantes já se conheciam, porventura de outros fóruns, e chegaram mesmo a unir-se no *trolling* a outros membros.

Apesar das fragilidades discursivas que ainda se expressam nesses fóruns, é relevante para a vivência democrática que os *media* tradicionais que se converteram ao digital aceitem o público como parte do processo de produção das notícias, como diz Gillmor. O tipo de interação que aí se desenvolve não será ainda o mais profícuo para o robustecimento da democracia e para abrir caminho ao ideário deliberativo. É, contudo, um exercício de participação política que tenderá a fazer o seu caminho.

A exemplo do que aponta Quandt (2018, p. 37), quer no *JN*, quer no *Observador,* não se verificou interatividade entre comentadores de notícias e jornalistas, negligenciando-se um canal que foi criado pelo próprio meio de comunicação onde trabalham. A moderação dos comentários também não foi realizada, e esta é encarada como fator favorável para criar um clima de desenvolvimento da deliberação Masip et al. (2019).

Schäfer (2015, p. 327) afirma que, apesar da proliferação de trabalhos académicos, não é possível estabelecer até que ponto existe uma esfera pública digital e quais os seus impactos na sociedade. Por sua vez, Papacharissi realça que através da investigação realizada se pode apontar que a "deliberação política pode, de facto, ter lugar online" (2002, p. 24).

> A incorporação da Internet nos *media* convencionais vem, assim, reforçar a pertinência da teoria da democracia deliberativa, enquanto concepção de democracia que assenta num ideal de autonomia política baseada na racionalidade prática dos cidadãos, cuja deliberação pública tem como propósito influenciar o processo de tomada de decisão por parte do sistema político.(Silva M. T., 2013, p. 83)

A generalidade dos media portugueses pouco mais tem feito do que criar esses espaços de comentário, com intuitos comerciais, que deixam abandonados ao gáudio belicista de comentadores com tempo, de um ou outro bem-intencionado, e de alguns mal-intencionados. Abrindo o diálogo dos seus jornalistas com os leitores, talvez consigam estabelecer um outro pacto de confiança e conquistar outros públicos, reforçando a sua legitimação perante a sociedade.

REFERÊNCIAS

Carrapatoso, M. S. (4 de maio de 2018). O "embaraço" de Sócrates com o PS. O texto do "animal feroz" nas entrelinhas. *Observador.pt*. Obtido em 25 de setembro de 2020, de https://observador.pt/2018/05/04/o-embaraco-de-socrates-com-o-ps-a-carta-do-animal-feroz-nas-entrelinhas/

Castells, M. (2003). *O Poder da Identidade - A Era da Informação: Economia, Sociedade e Cultura* (Vol. II). (A. Lemos, & R. Espanha, Trads.) Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

Coe, K., Kenski, K., & Rains, S. A. (2014). Online and Uncivil? Patterns and Determinants of Incivility in Newspaper Website Comments. *Journal of Communication*, 658-679. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12104

Condesso, F. D. (2007). *Direito da Comunicação Social.* Coimbra: Almedina.

Dahlberg, L. (1 de Março de 1998). Cyberspace and the Public Sphere: Exploring the Democratic Potential of the Net . *Convergence, 4*(1), 70-84. https://doi.org/10.1177/135485659800400108

Dahlberg, L. (1 de outubro de 2001). Computer-Mediated Communication and the Public Sphere: a Critical Analysis. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 7*(1). https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2001.tb00137.x

Dahlberg, L. (2004). Net Public Sphere Research: Beyond The First Phase. *Javnost - The Public, 11*(1), 27-44. https://doi.org/10.1080/13183222.2004.11008845

Dahlberg, L. (2011). Re-constructing digital democracy: An outline of four 'positions'. *new media & society, 13*(6), 855–872. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444810389569

Dahlgren, P. (2018). Media, Knowledge and Trust: The Deepening Epistemic Crisis of Democracy. *Javnost - The Public, 25*(1-2), 20-27. https://doi.org/10.1080/13183222.2018.1418819

Ferreira, G. B. (Primavera/Verão de 2010). Internet e Deliberação a Discussão Política em Fóruns Online. *Media & Jornalismo, Vol. 9, N.º1*(N.º 16), 99-114.

Ferreira, G. B. (2012). *Novos media e vida cívica: Estudos sobre deliberação, internet e jornalismo.* Covilhã: Livros LabCom, Ubi.

Fishkin, J. (5 de junho de 2013). Making Deliberative Democracy Real. *YouTube*. Obtido em 27 de setembro de 2020, de https://youtu.be/Hr1MqokjqRQ?t=213

Freelon, D. G. (2010). Analyzing online political discussion using three models of democratic communication. *new media & society, 12*(7), 1172–1190. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444809357927

Gillmor, D. (2005). *Nós, os Media.* Barcarena: Editorial Presença.

Gomes, W. (setembro/dezembro de 2005). A democracia digital e o problema da participação civil na decisão política. *revista Fronteiras - estudos midiáticos, VII*(3), 214-222.

Gonçalves, J. (2018). Aggression in news comments: how context and article topic shape user-generated content. *Journal of Applied Communication Research, 46*(5), 604–620. https://doi.org/10.1080/00909882.2018.1529419

Habermas, J. (1998). «Razonable» versus «verdadero», o la moral de las concepciones. Em J. Habermas, & J. Rawls, *Debate sobre el liberalismo político* (pp. 145-181). Barcelona: Ediciones Paidós.

Masip, P., Ruiz-Caballero, C., & Suau, J. (2019). Audiencias activas y discusión social en la esfera pública digital. Artículo de evisión. *El profesional de la información, 28*(2).

Papacharissi, Z. (2002). The virtual sphere: The internet as a public sphere. *new media & society, 4*(1), 9–27. https://doi.org/10.1177/14614440222226244

Papacharissi, Z. (2004). Democracy online: civility, politeness, and the democratic potential of online political discussion groups. *new media & society, 6*(2), 259–283. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444804041444

Quandt, T. (2018). Dark Participation. *Media and Communication 6*(4), 36–48. https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v6i4.1519

Rawls, J. (2014). *A Lei dos Povos e a Ideia de Razão Pública Revisitada.* (P. Barcelos, Trad.) Lisboa: Edições 70, Lda.

Rheingold, H. (1996). *A Comunidade Virtual.* Lisboa: Gradiva.

Schäfer, M. S. (2015). Digital Public Sphere. Em G. e. Mazzoleni, *The International Encyclopedia of Political Communication* (pp. 322-328). London: Wiley Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118541555.wbiepc087

Schudson, M. (2010). Formas de Cidadania Democrática e Funções do Jornalismo. *Cidadania e Jornalismo / Citizenship and Journalism* (pp. 23-42). Lisboa: Fundação Luso-Americana para o Desenvolvimento.

Silva, H. T. (4 de maio de 2018). Críticas levam Sócrates a abandonar o PS. *JN.pt*. Obtido em 25 de setembro de 2020, de https://www.jn.pt/nacional/interior/criticas-levam-socrates-a-abandonar-o-ps-9306472.html

Silva, M. T. (2013). Participação e deliberação: um estudo de caso dos comentários às notícias sobre as eleições presidenciais brasileiras. *Comunicação e Sociedade, 23*, 82-95.

Springer, N., Engelmann, I., & Pfaffinger, C. (2015). User comments: motives and inhibitors to write and read. *Information, Communication & Society, 18*(7), 798–815. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2014.997268

Young, I. M. (abril de 2014). Desafios ativistas à democracia deliberativa. *Revista Brasileira de Ciência Política*(13), 187-212. https://doi.org/10.1590/S0103-33522014000100008

Ziegele, M., Mathias, W., Quiring, O., & Breiner, T. (2018). The dynamics of online news discussions: effects of news articles and reader comments on users' involvement, willingness to participate, and the civility of their contributions. *Information, Communication & Society, 21:10,, 21*(10), 1419-1435. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2017.1324505

Ziegele, M., Springer, N., Jost, P., & Wright, S. (2017). Online user comments across news and other content formats: Multidisciplinary perspectives, new directions. *Studies in Communication and Media, 6*(4), 315–332. https://doi.org/10.5771/2192-4007-2017-4-315

doi: 10.31211/interacoes.n39.2020.a7

Couture of the Corpse: Fashion, Class, Time, and the Undead in *The Hunger*

Kwasu David Tembo
Independent Researcher - tembo.kwasu@gmail.com

Abstract

When viewed from the lens of couture and class, the contemporary portrayal of the vampire as iconic in both sociopolitical and aesthetic spheres, and as icons of various subaltern, outsider, or what I call 'demimondeur' lifestyles, subcultures, and their attendant styles/fashions, offers an interesting analytical frame through which to examine the dialogic relationship between ideology, time, fashion, and class. Referring to Marxist thought concerning vampire capitalism and time, this chapter will discuss the issues and debates surrounding the portrayal of the figure of the vampire as what I will theorize to be a 'pure consumer', sociopolitical elite, and sociopolitical outsider, and its figuration of both the atemporality and spuriousness of ideology in *The Hunger* (1983). Referring to the Bauhaus post-punk couture or style of the undead in the film, the methodology of this paper will be to perform a close reading of the film as a case study, focussing on its engagement with the sociopolitics, cultures, and phenomena of wealth, style, privilege, and time(lessnes).

Keywords: Vampire, fashion, The Hunger, undead chic, corpse couture.

A Alta-Costura do Cadáver: Moda, Classe, Tempo, e os Mortos-Vivos em *Fome de Viver*

Resumo

Quando visto através das lentes da alta costura e do sistema de classes, o retrato contemporâneo do vampiro como icónico tanto na esfera sociopolítica como na estética, e como ícones de vários estilos de vida subalternos, exteriores, ou aquilo a que chamo estilos de vida "demimondeur", subculturas e os estilos/modas que os acompanham, oferece um quadro analítico interessante através do qual se pode examinar a relação dialógica entre ideologia, tempo, moda e classe. Referindo-se ao pensamento marxista sobre o capitalismo vampírico na sua relação com o tempo, este capítulo discutirá as questões e debates em torno do retrato da figura do vampiro como o que teorizarei ser um "puro consumidor", simultaneamente elite sociopolítica e forasteiro sociopolítico, e a sua figuração tanto da atemporalidade como da espúria da ideologia em *Fome de Viver* (1983). Referindo-se à couture pós-punk Bauhaus ou ao estilo dos mortos-vivos do filme, a metodologia deste trabalho será a de realizar uma leitura atenta do filme como um estudo de caso, focando o seu envolvimento com dimensões sociopolíticas e culturais, e com os fenómenos de riqueza, estilo, privilégio e tempo (atemporalidade).

Palavras-chave: Vampiro, moda, *Fome de Viver*, morto-vivo chic, couture de cadáver.

Figure 1

The Saturnine Sophistication of Miriam and John Blaylock in Tony Scott's The Hunger (1983).

I. "THE BLUE AND THE DIM AND THE DARK CLOTHS OF NIGHT": ON THE NATURE OF VAMPIRES

We cannot begin to theorize the relationship between vampire fashion and class without first offering a theorization of the figure of the vampire itself more broadly. In the history of global visual and popular culture, and Western visual and popular culture more specifically, the figure of the vampire has emerged and re-emerged in polyvalent and manifold combinations, appearing in every media from print to screen, every genre from comedy to science fiction, every demographic from toddler to avant-garde: from Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897), F. W. Murnau's *Nosferatu* (1922), Richard Matheson's *I Am Legend* (1954), Werner Herzog's *Nosferatu* (1979), Joel Schumaker's *The Lost Boys* (1987), Katheryn Bigelow's *Near Dark* (1987), Francis Ford Coppola's *Dracula* (1992), Joss Whedon's *Buffyverse* (1997-2004), Stephen Norrington's *Blade* (1998) and later in Guillermo Del Toro's *Blade 2* (2002), Tomas Alfredson's *Let The Right One In* (2008), Park Chan-Wook's *Thirst* (2009), The Spierig Brothers' *Daybreakers* (2009), to the cinematic *Twilight Saga* (2008-2012). A recurrent theme in vampire movies pertains to the issues and debates surrounding the supernatural endowment of temporal capital and the socioeconomic, sociopolitical, cultural, and ideological advantages and deprivations that result therefrom. Interestingly, fashion is often an ostensible symbol that demarcates the particular socioeconomic status of the *hominus nocturna* of the aforementioned examples and beyond.

When viewed through the lens of couture and class, the contemporary portrayal of the vampire as iconic in both sociopolitical and aesthetic spheres, and as icons of various of what I call 'demimondeur' lifestyles, subcultures, and their attendant styles/fashions, offers an interesting analytical frame through which to examine the dialogic relationship between capitalist ideology, time, fashion, and class. Be it as seemingly paradoxical Other aristocracy in texts like *Underworld* (2003) and *Daybreakers* (2010), or as tattered representations of plague hysteria seen in *Blade 2* (2002) and/or immigrant fear in *Nosferatu* (1922), the aesthetic depiction of the vampire in 20th and 21st century film and television has always-already been intimately engaged with issues and debates surrounding class. Beyond the vampire's traditional Gothic chic seen in texts such as *Interview with a Vampire* (1994) and *Dracula* (1931), vampires have been portrayed, aesthetically, in myriad ways: in the style of upper echelon sophisticates in texts such as *Da Sweet Blood of Jesus* (2014), Hillbilly chic in *From Dusk Till Dawn* (1996), Bohemian/Hippy chic in *Only Lovers Left Alive* (2013), Yuppy/Hipster chic in *Kiss of the Damned* (2012), Single Mom chic in *Byzantium* (2012), and Suburban chic in *The Twilight Saga* (2008-2012). Referring primarily to Marxist thought concerning vampire capitalism and time, this article will discuss the issues and debates surrounding the portrayal of the figure of the vampire as what I will theorize to be a 'pure consumer', socioeconomic elite, and socioeconomic outsider, and its figuration of both the atemporality and spuriousness of ideology in *The Hunger* (1983). To do so, this paper will be to perform a close reading of the film as a case study, focussing on its engagement with the socioeconomics, cultures, and phenomena of wealth, style, privilege, and time(lessnes).

II. THE NIGHT BOURSE: MARX AND VAMPIRIC CAPITALISM

In *Capital,* Marx and Engels make explicit references to the connection between vampirism and capitalism in their analysis and critique of what we could call the *horror of capitalism*. While the text ostensibly addresses two main types of horror – the first being the capitalistic legislation against vagrancy, the second being the capitalistic horrors of colonialism – Mark Neocleous (2003) suggests it also latently points to a third type of horror namely "the constant sucking of the blood of the Western working class by the bourgeois class. This form is nothing less than the horror of a property-owning class that appears to be vampire-like in its desire and ability to suck the life out of the working class" (Neocleous 2003, p. 668). Marx and Engels make several explicit references in the text that elide vampirism and capitalism: "Capital is dead labour, that, vampire-like, only lives by sucking living labour, and lives the more, the more labour it sucks"; "the prolongation of the working-day beyond the limits of the natural day, into the night, only acts as a palliative. It quenches only in a slight degree the vampire thirst for the living blood of labour"; "the bargain concluded, it is discovered that he was no 'free agent,' that the time for which he is free to sell his labour-power is the time for which he is forced to sell it, that in fact the vampire will not lose its hold on him 'so long as there is a muscle, a nerve, a drop of blood to be exploited'" (Marx 1867 [1976], p. 342, 367, 416). They also suggest that capital "sucks up the worker's value-creating power" and is dripping with blood, while also describing the appropriation of labour as the "life-blood of capitalism", while the state is said to have here and there interposed itself "as a barrier to the transformation of children's blood into capital" (Marx 1867 [1976], p. 716, 926, pp. 382, 1007).

Marx and Engels also outline the rudiments of the relationship between vampire capitalism and time in *Capital*. The authors specifically describe the elongation of the working day as a process of the vampirization, or turning, of the labour force into the nocturnal undead, whose bodies and the lives of those bodies become inextricable from capitalism's un-slakable thirst for more and more profit. In the chapter on the working day, Marx and Engels compare the historical development of the factory system with other historical forms of domination, such as Athenian aristocracy, Norman barons, American slave-owners and the feudal corvée. Regarding the latter, the authors note that the legal mechanisms through which peasants performed forced labour on behalf of landowners could be stretched well beyond the stated number of days. Using the example of Wallachian peasants performing forced labour on behalf of the Wallachian boyars, Marx and Engels note that: "for Moldavia the regulations are even stricter. 'The 12 corvée days of the Règlement organique,' cried a boyar, drunk with victory, 'amount to 365 days in the year'" (Marx 1867 [1976], p. 348). Marx takes this quote from É. Regnault's *Histoire Politique et Sociale des Principautés Danubiennes* (1855) in which the cited 'Wallachian boyar' is Vlad the Impaler: Vlad Dracula (Frayling 1991, p. 669-700).

In terms of class, it is a common trope in 20th and 21st Century Western cinema to present the figure of the vampire as a feudal aristocrat (Edmundson 1997, p. 20). Neocleous points to Franco Moretti's essay in which he develops a critique of Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897). In this influential essay, one which has subsequently come to impact the theorization of the concepts of capital-as-vampire and vampire-as-capital, Moretti discusses a dialectic of fear which rejects the feudal/aristocratic reading of *Dracula* as synecdochal of all vampires. Moretti argues that the more apt and accurate reading of Dracula characterizes him, and the figure of the vampire more generally, as representative of capital and a bourgeois class rather than land barony and the aristocracy. In this way, Moretti reads Dracula's insatiable desire/need for blood not as representative of the aristocratic class and its desire to maintain the tight concentric arrangements of its socioeconomic, supra-political, and pan-cultural wealth. Instead, he argues that this form of vampiric bloodlust is, in fact, a metaphor for capital's desire for accumulation. The inverse proportionality between Dracula, and vampires more broadly, and their victims is a powerful symbol of the necessarily exploitative relationship between capital and labour. While Dracula grows stronger the more blood he consumes, those living individuals which he drinks from grow weaker. Likewise, while capital grows and expands, the more exhaustive the demands placed on the labour-force become in order to not only attain, but accelerate said growth. It is for this reason that Moretti invokes Marx on the concept of capital-as-vampire in suggesting that "like capital, Dracula is impelled towards a continuous growth, an unlimited expansion of his domain: accumulation is inherent in his nature" (Moretti 1983, p. 90). Like the typically amoral and latently hedonistic 'evil', the on-screen vampires of global pop-culture oftentimes represent "sanguinary capitalism", "marauding figure[s] of unnaturally breeding capital, which penetrates every whole being and sucks it dry in the lusty production and vastly unequal accumulation of wealth", and vampire capitalism itself as a "capital that is not ashamed of itself" (Skal 1993, p. 159; Haraway 1997, p. 214-215; Moretti 1983, p. 91, 94).

Neocleous argues that Moretti's reading of Marx and vampirism is incomplete and can only be accomplished "by situating Marx's vampire metaphor in the context of his critique of political economy and, in particular, the political economy of the dead" (Neocleous 2003, p. 679). Relatedly but differently, I argue that Marx's vampire metaphor is most salient and robust when it takes into account the relationship between capitalism, vampirism, and *time*. So while Neocleus argues that "the way to understand Marx's vampire is less as a nineteenth-century cultural motif and more as an offshoot of Marx's preoccupation with the dead", I argue it is ultimately Marx's preoccupation with time that offers the most insightful and here relevant way of understanding the relationship between vampires, class, and capitalism (Neocleous 2003, p. 679). To be clear, Neocleous *does* also recognize the importance of the length of the working day as crucial in this regard, despite relegating it to ancillary support of his overarching reading of the importance of the relationship between living labour, dead labour, and the vampire. He notes that "in *Capital* this possibility of capital literally sucking the life out of the workers is fed into the paramount political question concerning the length of the working day. Capital, with its desire for endless and incessant accumulation, runs the risk of literally working the working class to death", not unlike a vampire with no measure or temperance in its desire to feed (Neocleous 2003, p. 681).

The reason I place an analytical premium on time over death is because death, as much as life is, ultimately a temporal phenomena. Therefore, the unnatural/supernatural circumvention of the limits of either phenomenological, ontological, and existential antipode – life and death – ultimately redound to the supernatural circumvention of the temporal constituent acting on all three categories of Being itself. The vampire, in this way, reveals that the ultimate form of capital is *temporal* in nature. When examined within the framework of the amount of time it takes for labour to convert resources into capital, for capital to circulate in an economy, and for that economy to sustain, exhaust, and ultimately terminate life, it is no surprise then that given the importance Marx attributes to the length of the working day, the figure of the vampire should appear as one of the central motifs in the chapter in *Capital* critiquing the working day.

III. THE ONLY LUXURY IS TIME: CAPITALISM, VAMPIRISM, THE PERFECT CONSUMER, AND TIME AS ULTIMATE RESOURCE

According to Paul Kennedy, the specifically vampiric manifestation of late capital pertains to the fact that the "sector of capitalism which falls within the designation 'vampire' has reached the end of its useful life because it now disproportionately serves a tiny minority rather than humanity as a whole" (Kennedy 2017, p. 30). The latent suggestion here is that there is notable connective tissue between the figure of the vampire and the praxes of capitalism beyond the vampiric, that is exploitative, praxis of each in order to sustain themselves. The former refers to the capitalist manipulation of bodies, embodiedness, and the experience of time of said bodies. This is cognate with the vampire's supernatural ability to mesmerize, fascinate, and seduce its victims into a trance-like state. It is ultimately an affective state where the sovereignty of the victim's embodiedness is violated and their experience of touchstones of 'reality' as such, specifically time and space, are addled for the purpose of keeping said victim docile, submissive and therefore exploitable. This second strand, alongside or latent within the exploitative nature of each, is underpinned by the necessary importance of elitism, privilege, and exclusivity. The stratification of class, whether clearly perceptible in centralized social groups and institutions like the gentry, aristocracy, royalty, and mercantile classes in pre- and early industrial capitalism, or more surreptitious in the nebulous digitization of wealth and the obfuscatory deployment of 'anti-grind' culture by multi-national conglomerates like Amazon and/or their variously dispersed ancillaries on and off-line, still persists in digital late capital. However, the exploitative class cannot maintain its various socioeconomic, sociopolitical, and cultural privileges in anything resembling an exclusive manner if the resources, both embodied and unprocessed, are distributed or shared equally. The exclusivity inherent to capitalist profiteering necessitates not only the necessarily disproportionate allocation of resources, but a disequilibrium of access to the means of production after the fact.

Interestingly, this exclusivity is everywhere present in contemporary cinema's depiction of vampires and their covens. Regardless of its presentation as base and countercultural, or elitist and sophisticated, it is brimming and always-already threatening to overflow from beneath the bloody surface of their soirees as it is in the blood rave that opens Stephen Norrington's s *Blade*, or their refined bearing and balletic deportment framed within the minimalism of advanced technology as it is in Len Wiseman's

Underworld (2003). Being undead, vampires have the curse-privilege of existing in a *state of exception*, one predicated on Being outside of the regular flow and ravages of time. This exceptionality means vampires are, theoretically, potentially immune to the necessity of 'making use' of their time. There is no exigency of time because time for a vampire is unhinged from most mortal notions of lack seemingly inextricable from its own passing. The *privilege of timelessness* is a *luxury* that facilitates all others and, in this sense, vampires can be *and* remain the ultimate capitalist because of their embodied ownership of a resource that subtends and influences all others, namely time. Through immortality, barring the various albeit comparatively limited means of death conventional vampires are subject to, vampires have all the time to accrue knowledge, resources, wealth, and influence. They can be selective in their turning of influential individuals, appropriate their personal gifts and capital assets into the formation of an eternal elite, an echelon of exclusivity whose privilege of access and membership is determined by a supernatural imperviousness to time.

While both capitalism and vampirism are, by their nature, consumptive – that is, consuming bodies in the processes of production for the former, and more directly the lifeblood of mortals to remain active in the latter – the difference between capitalism and vampirism is that capitalism cannot continue consumptively forever. Its consumptive aptitude is limited to the resources and labour force it has to convert the former into capital. The total depletion of either will necessitate a cesura of consumption. Even without the blood of victims, vampires can remain dormant, inactively undead, until the earth is swallowed by the sun. If the "primary duty of capitalists is to seek and exploit market opportunities in the pursuit of maximum profits and as a central plank in the accumulation of capital" in which "caring first and foremost about the interests of those who have invested in a company", then "it follows that it cannot be the duty of, nor is it possible for, capital in general or of a particular business to develop national economies or overcome poverty *per se*" (Kennedy 2017, p. 30). Both capitalists and vampires require a simultaneously replenishable and readily available stock-of-bodies through, in, and by which to (re)produce, trade, accumulate, and store socioeconomic, sociopolitical, cultural, and ideological power. Without resources, labour, and/or time, both capitalists and vampires have to maintain a reproduction of specifically exploitable conditions wherein which their privilege, exclusivity, and power remain unchallenged and inaccessible.

However, if the privilege of the state of exception of being/non-being undead can be managed, obfuscated, occulted, and/or made exclusive, then the vampire becomes the symbol of an absolute capitalist or perfect consumer; namely, a consumer that can consume forever. In films like *The Hunger*, *Underworld*, and *Interview With A Vampire*, the ruling vampire aristocracy has in place very stringent rules, communal or idiosyncratic, about the exclusivity of not only being a vampire, but one of an established coven – many of which relate directly to sartorial practices, couture, fashionability, and style. This privileging, elitism, and exclusivity ultimately does not refer to wealth, influence, sociopolitical, economic, or cultural power but the *time* within which it takes to achieve, manufacture, and control said assets. I propose that within a Marxist framework of class struggle, the vampire is neither proletariat nor bourgeois but, on account of their supernatural onto-existential (non)being, represent a new class: the *ex tempore class.*

Fundamentally unlike their oligarchical and/or petrogarchical counterparts, many of which are shown to be vampires in the aforementioned cinematic vampire examples or shareholders in resource-based interests, be it gas, water, and/or electricity, the ex tempore class are *tempogarchs* who own private shares in timelessness. And this is where, comparatively speaking, capitalists and vampires differ most starkly. While the maximalist model of post-Industrial and late capital has produced sociopolitical, socioeconomic, cultural, and most harrowing in our experience of the Anthropocene, ecological crises that "are due to its unplanned success", the stringent rules of what we could call blood-rights in the fictive covens of contemporary pop-cultural vampires bespeaks a keen awareness of a hypersensitivity to the temperate maintenance of numbers in specific ratios. Here, there is a necessity of secrecy and measure in order for the ex tempore class and its 'the invisible power' to persist. In this way, vampires, again, are better, more robust, more ideal capitalists in that they all seemingly latently understand that despite the libidinal exigency of the 'thirst' (the desire to feed or literal blood-lust), they cannot consume and remain undead forever if they deplete the source of their undead lives beyond simple eternal existence, their lifeblood, which is, oftentimes literally the blood of the living. Here, a seemingly cliched balance (re)asserts itself: there can be no (un)death without life.

IV. DARK GLAMOUR, OR VAMPIRES WEAR YVES SAINT LAURENT: ON *THE HUNGER*, FASHION, SEX, POWER, DEATH, AND TIME

Figure 2
The Dark Elegance of Miriam Blaylock in Tony Scott's The Hunger (1983).

Tony Scott's 1983 directorial debut is an erotic horror whose narrative centres on a love triangle between a vampire couple, Miriam and John Blaylock (Catherine Deneuve and David Bowie) and a sleep and aging specialist, Sarah Roberts (Susan Sarandon). In an opening flashback, the viewer witnesses Miraim in ancient Egypt, draining victims of their blood, promising specifically selected lovers the gift-curse of eternal life. John, her companion in the film's present, is a talented cellist whom she turned in 18th Century France. The first indication of the affluence and class status held by the couple occurs early on in the film where the couple scout for victims in a chic underground New York nightclub. Donning stylish black leather slim-fitting attire, exuding undeniable sex-appeal, danger, and quiet command, the couple oversee the revellers and the dancers in the intimate Neo-Gothic atmosphere as if a lord and lady surveying fruit at a peasant's well-made weekend market. After selecting, seducing, and exsanguinating a couple, their bodies are disposed of in an incinerator in the basement of the couple's extremely large and elegant New York townhouse. While their cover as a wealthy couple who teach music may be spurious, the wealth they possess is not. It is announced and symbolized in every aesthetic aspect of the film: from their respective takes on Bauhaus post-punk chic, replete with the accenting of their nocturnal attire – typically black, leather, finely cut, and/or laced – with cat-eye sunglasses, to the opulence and refinement of their interior decoration whose Doric pillars, flowing drapery, and marble walls at once feel out-of-time and timeless.

The Hunger is also a particularly pertinent text in the remit of this article's discussion due to its focus on not only vampirism as a type of exclusive wealth, but also that wealth and exclusivity's relationship with time. In the film, John begins to suffer acute insomnia and begins rapidly aging in the space of a few days. While being 200 hundred years old, it is revealed that Miriam's promise of immortality included a specific caveat; namely, that while the periodic feeding on the lifeblood of victims would grant him everlasting (un)life, it would not proffer him with eternal youth. In his desperation, John seeks out Dr. Roberts, a gerontologist, specializing in the effects of rapid aging in primates. After initially dismissing his pleas as eccentricities and the products of mental instability, she eventually sees the physical effects of his rapid aging and agrees to help him, which results in John rebuffing her aid. In a final effort to regain his youth in his eternal life, John kills and drains one of his students, Alice Cavender (Beth Ehlers, note the seeming pun on the word cadaver and the name 'Cavender'), whom, it is revealed, Miriam had been grooming to replace John as her next lover and partner-in-time. Having no effect, the desperate John begs Miriam to kill him and release him from the agony of his decrepitude. She tells him there is no release and carries his body after he collapses to the attic of their castle-like town house, where Miriam deposits his body in a coffin surrounded by a multitude of others in which Miriam's former lovers throughout time sleep undead. The scene is pierced with the lamentations and moaning of the eternal living dead trapped in said coffins, unstuck in time yet granted no power thereby.

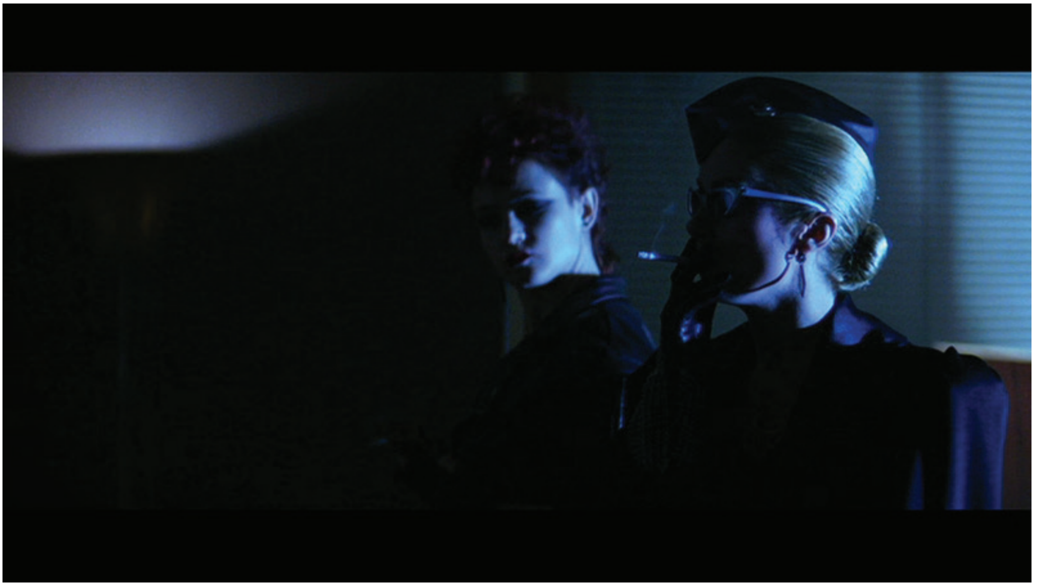
Figure 3
The Haute Couture Chic of Miriam Blaylock in Tony Scott's The Hunger (1983).

The film's dark glamour is in no small part the result of the fact that its costume and location aesthetic is determined and influenced by such luminaries of style as Cristobal Balenciaga and Yves Saint Laurent. In fact, the film was screened in 2013 at the Cristobal Balneciaga Museum in Spain in recognition of the film's supremely elegant portrayal of power, privilege, fashion, sex, death, and immortality in a retrospective commemorating the famous fashion designers who contributed to film more broadly (n.a 2013). There are interesting aspects of production regarding attention to detail in the film that make inextricable the link between vampirism, capital affluence, sophistication, finery, and privilege that reflect the privilege-of-time central to the film's narrative. For example, *Irenebrination* notes how

> one of the most respected costume designers around, Milena Canonero (who turned to the Tirelli tailoring house to find the historical costumes for some of the scenes included in the film and even sourced in Italy the proper material to put in the top pocket of David Bowie's beige suit as she couldn't find it in London), while Catherine Deneuve's wardrobe was by Yves Saint Laurent (also worth mentioning the special effects by Graham Longhurst; makeup illusions

by Dick Smith and special makeup by the late Anthony Clavet, who worked a lot for Italian *Vogue*). (n.a 2013)

Figure 4
The Style, Wit, and Class of Miriam Blaylock in Tony Scott's The Hunger (1983).



Indeed, the film's themes of love, passion, loyalty (to the brand, the brand in this case being that of the chic vampire), sexual desire, and most concertedly, the fear of death, can all be theorized from a fashion perspective. "While fashion never dies but constantly resurrects itself season after season", notes *Irenebrination* "quite often fashion houses keep on being alive even when their founders die or are revamped a few decades after their deaths. Besides, current fashion is also displaying a vampirical desire for more and more runways and more and more customers" (n.a 2013). Similarly, not only does the brand of Laurent share a long collaborative history with Deneuve herself, but the pairing of the two reflects not only the sense of traditionalism and refinement central to her character in the film, but that character's totemic modernization of the aristocratic be-fanged and caped Eastern European coffin-riding vampiric forbears. In the same way the vampire represents the embodiment of capital's undead blood-lust, mesmeric fetishization of wealth and affluence, and exploitative violence, Miram represents the refinement of the vampire and everything about the figure that appeals to modern audiences: socioeconomic and cultural power, sophistication, temporal largesse, sexual appeal and *kraft* or force, and an undeniable, violent, and morally opaque desirability. The Count, a consumer of feudal labour, becomes a fashionista, a consumer of high fashion. "She is elegant, enigmatic, and stylish" writes *Irenebrination*, "and lives surrounded by rare art pieces in a beautiful house in New York in which lights create mesmerisingly sensual yet scary chiaroscuro effects; Saint Laurent's designs had a timeless quality about them [...] and are perfect to hint at the vampire's glamorous immortality" (n.a 2013).

Inherent in this modernization is an updating of the symbols of the power allotted those supernaturally endowed with temporal capital. The castle becomes a chic New York townhouse so that what was once removed and rarefied – even decrepit, as is the case of Lugosi's Dracula's castle – becomes an elegantly refined, smaller, albeit manor-rich property. It is at once contemporary but also museum-like in its collection of the numerous examples of finery through the various periods of antiquity unnaturally lived through and as such a rejection of the staticity of primogeniture-produced palaces whose chief sense of character emerges now only as a Gothic cliche in the collective imagination of the modern audience. Far from the dark moonlit moors and wind-wuthered heaths in dun dells and stark countrysides, these modern castles appear in the paradoxically rarefied upper-class areas and neighbourhoods of bustling centres of commerce where a wealth of socioeconomic capital and human capital in the form of potential victims freely circulate. The couture of the Count, with its stiff high collars, starched shirts and frocks, and equally clean and velvet-lined coffin-dusty capes is stripped down, and now takes on the elegant minimalism of *haute* couture; wide lapels, sumptuous fabrics in muted shades, and carefully chosen demure-cum-ostentatious mercantile accessories of finery mock the traditional fear of the sun, symbolized by the droll albeit stylistic irony of wearing sunglasses at night. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, while the Count's traditional symbols of power are steeped in the obfuscatory effect engendered by the combination of the supernatural, mysticism, and the Judeo-Christian fear/intolerance thereof that act as a combined force that Others and abjectifies the figure of the traditional Gothic vampire, the contemporary vampire maintains the *privilege* of its abjection. It does so by safeguarding its paradoxical periphery centrality within mortal society primarily through the accrual of capital, and the socioeconomic, sociopolitical, and cultural distance wealth can purchase and purchase with style.

V. GLOAMING: CONCLUSION

This article has attempted to draw attention to a latent aesthetic and narrative element in the contemporary history of 20th and 21st Century pop and visual culture's multi-media representation of the figure of the vampire. This element, namely time, is, by virtue of the fact of its thematic nativity to vampires and vampirism, often taken for granted. The above analysis has attempted to establish and renew lines of flight and critical interest in the triadic relationship between time, monstrosity, and class, as well as the notion of privilege that subtends each of their relations with one another. It has hypothesized that there is an inextricable link between the privilege of the vampire, afforded by its un- or supernatural monstrosity, which ultimately redounds to a supra-temporal onto-existential condition, and capitalism. While the figure of the vampire has historically been represented as a totem of various approaches to privilege and aristocratic elitism through both physical and pecuniary endowments (typically vampires are strong and rich), the above investigation discovered that the direct result of these phenomena is a state of exception which, among other things, fundamentally reframes the figure of the vampire in socioeconomic terms; from psycho-spiritual monster to perfect capitalist consumer whose immortality ultimately means that the figure of the vampire can consume without end. This article also acknowledges that one could argue that its discussion of time and class could be reterritorialized within an argument concerning time and status. This is because the relationship between aristocratic privilege and time is contrapuntal to the capitalist relationship with time. The former is entirely predicated on leisure, taken to be a right or primogeniture-guarenteed endowment. Leisure, as a remove or alienation from the rigours of work, is, in many ways, the aristocrat's wealth or at the very least, a significant aspect thereof. In this sense, aristocratic wealth as time unmarked by work is not necessarily inextricable from money. Without it, the aristocrat still holds herself to be privileged, by blood and title, as exceptional. Engaging in work for whatever purpose is what ultimately countermands that state of exception. This relates to vampirism as represented in Western horror cinema in that whether street, gutter, or sewer dwellers as are David (Kiefer Sutherland) and his lost boys in The Lost Boys or Nomak (Luke Goss) and his Reapers in Guillermo Del Toro's Blade II, or the bohemian chic of Eve (Tilda Swinton) in Jim Jarmusch's Only Lovers Left Alive (2013) or the corporate chic of the Spierig Brother's vampire businessmen in Daybreakers (2010), all are ultimately undifferentiated by being exempt from experiencing the flow of time in the way humans do. In this sense, the onto-existential reality of being a vampire is more fundamental than the socioeconomic status and/or class that rests upon it, regardless of whether that individual vampire be fashionista or flea-ridden. In the last instance, the aristocratic vampire and the proletariat vampire are equally as rich-in-time by being exempt from it. The latter, however, causes new categories of temporal privilege to emerge. From it arise the bourgeois and the industrialist both of whom are enriched, not denigrated, by work. While guided by the logic of production and profit, the industrialist vampirizes the work of her labourers, which ultimately occurs in time, thereby exploiting mortal time to sate the immortal appetite of capital. This suggests that the ultimate expression of the above analysis in terms of the idea of infinite consumption is that such a phenomenon would necessarily rely on infinite resources, one, in particular: time. A vampire labour-force could, once having exhausted the resources of their particular village, nation, continent, and planet, move on to others, vampirizing entire worlds by and through the true wealth, privilege, and power they possess, namely, their exemption from the degenerative effects of time.

REFERENCES

Edmundson, M. (1997). *Nightmare on Main Street: Angels, Sadomasochism, and the Culture of Gothic*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Frayling, C. (1992). *Vampyres: Lord Byron to Count Dracula*. London: Faber and Faber.

Haraway, D. (1997). *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium.FemaleMan_Meets_Onco Mouse™:Feminism and Technoscience*. New York: Routledge.

Kennedy, P. (2017). *Vampire Capitalism: Fractured Societies and Alternative Futures.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Marx, M. (1867 [1976]). *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Volume 1* (1867), trans. Ben Fowkes. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Moretti, F. (1983). *Signs Taken for Wonders: Essays in the Sociology of Literary* Forms. London: Verso.

Neocleous, M. (2003). The Political Economy of the Dead: Marx's Vampires, *History of Political Thought*, 14(4), 668-684.

Skal, D. J. (1993). *The Monster Show: A Cultural History of Horror.* New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

Strieber, W. (1983). *The Hunger*. Directed by Tony Scott. Los Angeles: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.

n.a. (2013, July). "Vampires Wear Yves Saint Laurent: Tony Scott's *The Hunger* @ the Cristobal Balenciaga Museum." *Irenebrination: Notes on Architecture, Art, Fashion, Fashion Law & Technology.* https://www.irenebrination.com/irenebrination_notes_on_a/2013/07/the-hunger-balenciaga-museum.html

FICHA TÉCNICA

Diretor: **Vasco Almeida**
Conselho de Redação/Associated Editors: **Fernanda Daniel, Henrique Vicente, Inês Amaral, Maria João Barata**

Editor e Proprietário:
Instituto Superior Miguel Torga
NIPC 900201835
Sede de Redação:
Largo da Cruz de Celas n.º 1
3000-132 Coimbra

Design, Paginação e Web:
Paulo Pratas

ISSN: 2184-3929

CAPA: Imagem de fundo, a partir do quadro de Paul Klee, Der Paukenspieller (O Tocador de Tambor), 1940.