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**ADVERTISING IN (NEO) LIBERAL TIMES: A SOCIO-
SEMIOTIC INVESTIGATION AT AVENIDA PAULISTA**

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To mom and dad (*in memoriam*),
with love and gratitude.

“O real não está na saída nem na chegada,
ele se dispõe pra gente é no meio da travessia”

João Guimarães Rosa, in *Grandes Sertões: Veredas*
(2006, p. 52, Kobo edition)

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ABSTRACT

ADVERTISING IN (NEO) LIBERAL TIMES: A SOCIO-SEMIOTIC INVESTIGATION AT AVENIDA PAULISTA

This investigation addresses a semiotic investigation of advertisements at Avenida Paulista and subway stations in São Paulo in the context of a liquid modernity society influenced by the effects of neoliberalism. In this context, the present work investigates visual and textual elements of ads collected from three subway stations at Avenida Paulista (Brigadeiro, Trianon-Masp and Consolação), in order to reveal the meanings and values behind the process of text production. The analysis carried out here is based on the critical lenses of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) and Social Semiotics (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006) that will examine the aspects of Mood and Modality present in the texts. Moreover, the perspective of social theories (Bauman, 2000, 2007-1, 2007-2; Harvey, 2005; 2012), tackles and expands the relation between text and social context. The objectives pursued by this study was to: 1) to identify and describe possible interferences of the neoliberal ideology, 2) to interpret the visual and verbal meanings according to the discussion proposed by the authors used in the neoliberalism/liquid modernity society debate; and 3) to reflect on how the neoliberal discourse encourages a consumerist attitude on individuals. At a more descriptive level, results show that: i) there is a predominance of neoliberal characteristics on the ads, such as interconnectivity, cult of personality, meritocracy, just to mention a few ii) certain individuals are excluded from the ads representation, while others are put in evidence; iii) the representation of women is still related to beauty and cosmetics while men embody a more professional/serious role; iv) ads at Avenida Paulista are more up-to-dated, dynamic and interactive, while ads from the stations were less varied and traditional when comes to format; v) language exchange focused more on declarative sentences (50%), followed by imperatives (27%), nominal clauses (21%) and interrogatives (2%), which indicates that ad producers are more interested in convincing potential consumers by being assertive rather than impose an authoritative discourse. At a more interpretative level, individuals are not only lead to an unceasing pursuit for commodities, but they are also encouraged to behave differently in terms of lifestyle and social relations.

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RESUMO

A PUBLICIDADE EM TEMPOS (NEO) LIBERAIS: UMA INVESTIGAÇÃO SÓCIO-SEMIÓTICA NA AVENIDA PAULISTA^{1, A}

Esta investigação aborda uma análise semiótica da publicidade na Avenida Paulista e estações de metrô em São Paulo, no contexto da sociedade líquida moderna, influenciada pelos efeitos do neoliberalismo. Nesse contexto, o presente trabalho investiga elementos visuais e textuais dos anúncios coletados de três estações de metrô na Avenida Paulista (Brigadeiro, Trianon-Masp e Consolação), com o intuito de revelar os significados e valores por trás do processo de produção textual. A análise conduzida aqui é baseada na visão crítica da Linguística Sistêmica Funcional (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), Semiótica Social (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), que irão examinar aspectos de Modo e Modalidade presente nos textos. Além disso, a perspectiva das teorias sociais (Bauman, 2000, 2007-1, 2007-2; Harvey, 2005; 2012), abordam e expandem a relação entre texto e contexto social. Os objetivos buscados nesse estudo foram: 1) identificar e descrever possíveis interferências da ideologia neoliberal, 2) interpretar os significados visuais e verbais de acordo com a discussão proposta pelos autores usados no debate sobre neoliberalismo / sociedade líquido-moderna, e 3) refletir sobre como o discurso neoliberal encoraja uma atitude consumista nos indivíduos. Em nível mais descritivo, os resultados mostram que: i) há predominância de características neoliberais nos anúncios, como a interconectividade, culto à personalidade, meritocracia, apenas para citar alguns, ii) alguns indivíduos são excluídos da representação dos anúncios, enquanto outros são colocados em evidência; iii) a representação da mulher ainda está relacionada a beleza e cosméticos, enquanto homens incorporam um papel mais profissional/ sério, iv) os anúncios na Avenida Paulista são mais atualizados e interativos enquanto anúncios das estações são menos variados e tradicionais no que diz respeito a formato; v) o intercâmbio linguístico focaliza mais em sentenças declarativas (50%), seguidas por imperativos (27%), orações nominais (21%) e interrogativas (2%), o que indica que os produtores dos anúncios estão mais interessados em convencer os compradores em potencial por ser assertivo do que impor um discurso autoritário. Em nível interpretative, os indivíduos não apenas são levados a uma incessante busca por produtos, mas eles são também encorajados a comportarem-se diferentemente no que diz respeito a estilo de vida e relações sociais.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

“One of the most notable uses of the global network is to create, send and view images of all kinds, from photographs to video, comics, art and animation (...). As early as 1930, an estimated one billion photographs were being taken every year worldwide. Fifty years later, it was about 25 billion a year, still taken on film. By 2012 we were taking 380 billion photographs a year, nearly all digital. One trillion photographs were taken in 2014(...). Like it or not, the emerging global society is visual” (Mirzoeff, 2015, p. 6).

1.1 Why does this work look at ads from the subway system and Avenida Paulista in São Paulo?

The idea of a city full of information always called my attention. And working with photography always seemed very appealing to me. Both ideas led me to choose the cityscape as the scope of my doctoral work.

However, the process of choosing this topic was not random. First, still as a resident of Florianópolis – SC/ Brazil, I conducted a pilot study of the public transportation in the city. The analysis of the pilot study gave me a general idea of what I should and shouldn't pursue in this work, especially after the insightful suggestions I received from the Qualifying committee members. In the original project, the idea was to look at images all over the city: in subway stations, in the streets, in museums, and so on. Some of these locations proved to be viable, others not so much.

In 2014, I moved to São Paulo, where I could continue my Doctoral studies at USP and the first obstacle I faced was the law established in São Paulo in 2006 prohibiting the indiscriminate use of signs displayed in the city (Municipal Law 14.223, September, 2006, law known as Cidade Limpa). The objective of this law was to reduce visual pollution and guarantee the welfare of the population. Because of that, the idea of collecting data from the streets became impossible.

The second barrier was the difficulty of gathering data in museums. Most of the museums in São Paulo have very strict

regulations concerning the use of cameras inside exhibition rooms, which narrowed down the number and type of images I could effectively study.

For these reasons, taking pictures of ads from the subway system and Avenida Paulista proved to be the most suitable option. Here are some of the reasons:

- i) The pilot produced for the qualifying exam gave me a very precise idea of what to focus on. Buses were out of question, not only because of the physical impossibility of taking photos while the bus was moving, but also because bus drivers warned me that the bus trip was being recorded, for safety measures, and cameras weren't allowed.
- ii) Everyone can move freely in the subway stations in São Paulo and so at Avenida Paulista; no physical constraints are imposed. Cameras are allowed inside the stations and at Avenida Paulista, which means that one may take as many pictures as wanted;
- iii) The ads displayed in the stations were changed regularly in 2014, increasing the quantity of data I could effectively collect, which gave me a variety of images to work with. In 2015 and 2016, this task became a little bit harder because according to the subway administration itself companies were facing real trouble with the Brazilian "crisis" and had no money to spend in advertisement as before.
- iv) Because of the abovementioned Cidade Limpa law, adverts were forbidden all over the city; however, in 2015, large corporations found a way to advertise their products in São Paulo's cityscape in an organized and tidy way. That's when the electronic ads came up. They provide updated information about products and are displayed in every bus stop all over Avenida Paulista; not to mention that they're changed constantly, although irregularly, depending on the demand of the companies.

When I decided on the topic, I considered researching in a large city such as São Paulo, so I started focusing on the possibility of moving right away. São Paulo is an international metropolis known for being important in the global economic system. It's considered the richest city in the country, according to very recent surveys.

Global cities, such as São Paulo tend to have particular characteristics common to all metropolises worldwide. Usually, they have an intense financial, cultural and political expression, they host the headquarters for multinationals, they have considerable decision-making power, a multi-functional infrastructure offering the best facilities, especially for those able to pay. Cities such as New York, Mexico City, Tokyo and São Paulo are good examples of cities that fit into this definition of a global city.

The not so bright side of being a global city is the inefficient sanitation facilities in the periphery, high rates of criminality and violence, high living costs, not to mention problems of air and visual pollution, environmental degradation and most recently, a deleterious relationship between private companies and local government, leading to segregation in the urban space and inequalities.

Although Rio de Janeiro is considered a large city in Brazil, São Paulo is still the biggest financial center of the country, and the 10th richest city in the world. So, in the hope that the city could provide me with a varied amount of data, it became clear to me that it would be appropriate to conduct my research in a place where issues of globalization, commoditization of the space and language are so visible.

As a global city, São Paulo emanates cultural, political and economic influence over other Brazilian cities, and because of that, attracts attention from all over Brazil and other countries. Before coming to São Paulo, I took into account all the above mentioned variables and I assumed that discourses produced and consumed in the city have a better chance of circulating and targeting a representative number of people.

It also came to my attention, as a regular visitor to São Paulo, the number of ads found in the facilities of the subway station. Before 2015, electronic ads at Avenida Paulista didn't exist, as I explained previously. Moreover, it's important to consider that an ad in a station or on the street is a very effective mode of communication, not only because it reaches many people, offers fresh information, but also because circulates fast enough, until it is replaced by a new one, and so on, following the logic of neoliberalism itself, as it will be presented

later on, in due course (cf. Chapter 2). Advertisements also provide good examples of what the private sector is trying to sell and how the population is responding to that; even though the analysis of consumers' reaction to the advertisement of products isn't part of the scope of this work.

However wide and interesting the possibilities of research concerning this topic might be, the scope of this dissertation grounded in social theory, enabling proper understanding of the discourses displayed in the city, is to look at the subway ads and electronic ads at Avenida Paulista. I will discuss the influence of neoliberalism within a liquid modernity society in present times and how the neoliberal system is impacting on people's decisions. This work also encompasses other issues, commoditization of the space and social life, consumerism, prejudice. And will be the connecting ground linking all these issues on visual and verbal analysis.

Last, but not least important, is the reason why I personally chose to look at ads through a social theory perspective. I believe a strong political position is a valuable asset when used for the right purposes. The reason I decided to do research in the area of Linguistics as an interdisciplinary field, by looking at social matters has to do with my own particular position as a woman and citizen of an emerging country such as Brazil, concerned as I am with issues of prejudice, discrimination of all sorts and mainly power exercised by and over social actors.

The way I see it, the investigation of social phenomena is entirely compatible with Linguistics, allowing linguists to problematize several language occurrences and to examine the use of everyday language in different social contexts. I should also warn readers that my interpretation of the ads in São Paulo, is not neutral, since there's no such thing as a neutral opinion (Thompson, 1993). Thus, this work reflects my own values, beliefs, experiences and political opinion.

1.2 Why do I use Social Semiotics, Systemic Functional Linguistics and a Social Theory perspective to look at my data?

In order to achieve the objectives proposed in this work, I make use of a three-fold framework of analysis.

The first perspective is the social semiotic system developed by Kress & van Leeuwen (2006), based on a Visual Grammar, which I use as a tool to explain meaning-making as a social practice. The same way grammars of language analyze clauses and morphemes, the visual

grammar analyzes visual elements, such as photographs, places, sculptures, and so on. Social semiotics, as it's also known, is, thus, the study of the social dimensions of meaning which investigates "how these resources are used in specific historical, cultural and institutional contexts" (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 03).

The second approach is Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL henceforth), a form of descriptive and analytical interpretative theory that studies language as a social phenomenon. Systemic refers to the language as a set of systems; functional has to do with the notion that the elements of language (what Halliday refers to metafunctions) are central. A pivotal tenet of SFL is stratification – language studied in terms of strata: Context, Semantics, Lexico-Grammar and Phonology-Graphology. Here in this work, I will focus on Context (Field, Tenor and Mode) and Semantics (interpersonal metafunction and interactive meanings).

Language, under this socially construed framework, is seen as a semiotic system that looks at individuals as producers responsible for making their own meanings, established and constrained by social conventions. Because of that, the perspective of a social theory is necessary here to refine the understanding of the ads. Zygmunt Bauman and his view of a liquid modernity society (2000, 2007-1, 2007-2) and some other authors presenting the neoliberal society (Dardot & Laval, 2014; Harvey, 2005, 2012) help in this interchange between theories. Harvey, Bauman and Dardot & Laval, for instance, in their own way, reflect upon the effects of neoliberalism in current societies, providing fruitful analysis of the profound transformations on a global scale.

Bauman refers to the concept of a 'liquid modernity' that makes our relations more fluid and flexible, which is partially why people tend to transfer this plasticity to their social relations, as well. Harvey has a more economic approach when discussing about neoliberalism and its aftermath. His term 'flexible accumulation' is considered crucial to the understanding of inequalities and new configurations in the labor market, which certainly affects people's lives.

Therefore, I will focus more on Harvey's analysis of contemporary capitalism and the theory in which he places the city as the site for capital accumulation based on the economic argument of segregation, speculation of land and gentrification. Dardot & Laval understand that neoliberalism is transforming people's subjectivities and the way they conduct their lives as modern corporations. In their view, neoliberalism has produced a new kind of individual and we're all expected to become

entrepreneurs. Gentrification, speculation of land and entrepreneur subjects are all concepts to be explained later on (cf. Chapter 2).

The importance of having a three-fold as framework of analysis is because all of them qualify as a tool for social criticism. The advantage of a visually and textually-oriented discourse analysis is that it is possible to engage with social phenomena with a proper linguistic theoretical background as support. Studies of this nature, aiming at the public space and the production displayed in the landscape by social actors, try to engage in a fruitful debate about how certain texts naturalize and camouflage issues of inequality, different facets of prejudice or even sell an apparently inoffensive way of life as the ones represented in the present ads.

Interpreting and discussing the issues of neoliberalism in advertisements under the perspective of a social theory, such as the ones mentioned, help to explain social phenomena by exploring its context, questioning and criticizing some given discourses in current society. Moreover, offers compelling explanations for the social activities the individuals are involved in.

The idea of bringing Bauman, Harvey and Dardot & Laval to my dissertation, all of them, heavily opposed to the logic of neoliberalism, is because they reflect a range of critical and engaged thinkers concerned with social matters from an anti-neoliberalism point of view, which I agree, arguing that neoliberalism changed societies and individuals, but mostly changed the states and the financial transactions they're involved, that not always have their citizens' interests at heart.

Some say neoliberalism nowadays seems inevitable. In an era in which individuals are constantly encouraged to seek new forms of products to consume: cars, cell phones, clothing or even a different and distant life style one can imagine, it isn't uncommon to see programs on TV or billboards selling a standard of life that is supposed to be reproduced as a right and proper model. One can easily identify an enormous variety of products to be sold when walking on the streets. Stores and sellers are always trying to invite us into the world of consumption and the constant substitution of obsolete products.

It's not an easy task to imagine a world with no cell phones, no IProducts, no LED TVs, or any sort of famous festivals such as Lollapalooza or Rock in Rio, no internet conferencing through Skype with Bangladesh or Tokyo. It is harder for some to imagine a day without opening their Facebook or Spotify account. The world you are probably struggling to imagine still exists, despite several attempts of

homogenization of people and culture by some defenders and theorists of neoliberalism.

One may find it very easy to encounter this neoliberal life tendency in New York or São Paulo, however, somewhere much further, in the peripheries, in an isolated country in Africa or in the semi-arid region of Brazil you'll experience some difficulty in finding the lifestyle of the generation who lives under the neoliberal logic precepts. In other words, the advantages or disadvantages of neoliberalism don't reach individuals in a linear fashion.

I chose to criticize the neoliberal logic, first, because as I said previously, this dissertation reflects my own personal values, and second, in my own conceit, neoliberalism has drastically changed people's lives, by imposing a pattern that doesn't reflect everyone's reality. Also, looking at how states operate within a market-based economy is insulting, to say the least, because they value a logic of competition and efficiency that not everyone can compete with.

One may think that neoliberalism is the ideal rationale. However, paying closer attention, the consequences are deleterious in many ways. As an individualist view, neoliberalism and its agents promote the individualization of health, welfare, and education, and lead societies to unemployment, inequality and poverty, but first, neoliberals find a way to blame on individuals, instead of blaming on a collective structural problem of the economic system.

1.3 What are the guiding questions of this dissertation?

With the purpose of reflecting upon the topic of this dissertation and the meanings disclosed, the following questions are an attempt to deepen the concepts of neoliberalism and liquid modernity embedded in the ads.

- 1) From a social theory point of view, do the ads present characteristics of a neoliberal logic on them? How do they present this logic?
- 2) Linguistically speaking, what are the elements of the Interpersonal metafunction found in the ads? In other words, who are the Subjects in the clause, what are the predominant mood (declarative, interrogative, imperative), how are these ads verbally represented?

3) From a social semiotic point of view, how is the interactive relationship between viewers and ads oriented by ad producers visually speaking? In other words, what are the elements of Mood and Modality realized on the images?

1.4 How were the method and data selection designed in this dissertation?

The ads from the subway stations have been collected since the beginning of 2014. In 2015, I also began collecting ads from Avenida Paulista for comparison purposes. Since the subway ads are administered by a state company and the ads from Paulista are controlled by private companies, I thought this could be a good chance of confronting both kinds of evidence and see how the influence of neoliberalism would affect advertisement and how ad producers would use this tendency to propagandize their products in a large city, such as São Paulo. The decision of choosing Avenida Paulista and look at it from under the ground (subway stations) and on the surface (the avenue itself) proved to be the most appropriate decision because:

1. it's one of the most famous avenues in the city, known as the financial and cultural center of São Paulo; protests and manifestations take place at this very same avenue.
2. Avenida Paulista is a local for dispute between many forces, such as the private and public sectors. Very recently the avenue was the stage of a Pro X Against Impeachment Protesters and both of them collided fighting for their space. Also Paulista had been disputed between businesspeople in the region and the City Hall. The City Hall administration is in favor of closing Paulista for cars on Sundays, while stores and companies are against it.¹
3. There are 3 different stations that regularly change their ads and the ads placed along the avenue change constantly, too.
4. The ads from Avenida Paulista are changed in a more frequent basis, almost every week. If compared to subway ads that took

¹ Owners of companies argued that closing the avenue for leisure would hurt their sales. Municipal administration, under Fernando Haddad's term, managed to pass a bill allowing citizens to use Avenida Paulista as a recreation space on Sundays. This was considered a great victory for those in favor of a more democratized city.

longer, collecting data at Avenida Paulista itself proved to be more dynamic and intense.

5. The three stations at Avenida Paulista receive a considerable number of people per day; in the subway's website, they say it's around 600 thousand people a day in each station, which in terms of circulation, means that these ads probably received some attention by passers-by.
6. Equally important, Avenida Paulista is near my own house which made the work much more practical.
7. Even though taking pictures of the ads inside the stations and along the avenue was challenging – because these places were always crowded and I had to wait a long time so that no one was in front of the ads – Avenida Paulista and corresponding subway stations were the best choice due to the lack of supervision and control, allowing me to photograph as much as I wanted.

A data-driven analysis is conducted here. After images were collected, categories were created to store them in the computer, and also to observe the most recurrent types of images, and then, pursue the analysis itself. In other words, categorization facilitates archiving, analyzing and selecting the data; however, it can't be seen as a restraining factor, because many other categories could be included and the ads could easily belong to different categories or more than one at the same time.

Categorization serves the purposes of organizing the images to make it more reader friendly, but it's far from being stable, fixed, rigid, since it's more of a suggestion, as chapters may prove.

Once the data was stored in the computer, the images had to be edited and cut up in a photo editor program. I chose the updated version of Photoshop (CS6), so that the images could be edited without interfering in the content, in any way. The idea of editing the images collected is just to improve the quality and light them up. The images were photographed inside subway stations or out of the stations along Avenida Paulista.

This proved to be very challenging, in terms of image quality, because most of the time, the amount of light was either not sufficient to take a good shoot or excessive, provoking some shadows of cars, buses and people. For the shooting sessions, I used a Canon 60D, a Sony Cybershot Alpha and sometimes a Samsung cellphone camera. It all

depended on which one I had in hand and which one was possible to use without calling much attention, without disrupting the passengers' flow inside the station or even unsettle people on bus stops along the avenue.

Originally, the images were larger, but a number of reasons made me reduce them: 1) to better visualize the content of the ad; 2) to cut off unnecessary details, such as people walking around or to cut off the walls of the station; 3) to save space on the computer; 4) to reduce the size of the ad on the text, which slower the text program, Microsoft Word. Therefore, I decided to reduce the images and focus only on the content. I illustrate this process in the following images (cf. Figure 1 and Figure 2) where I show the original photography followed by the modified version.

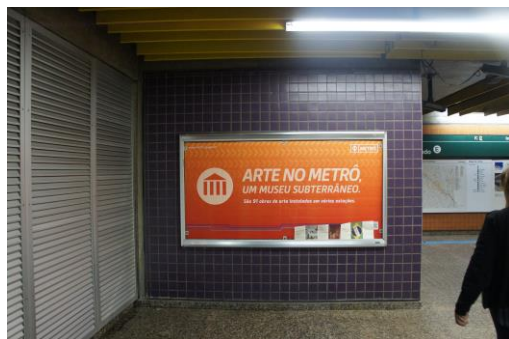


Figure.1



Figure.2

The same process is applied to the images from Avenida Paulista (cf. Figure 3):



Figure 3



Figure 4

During the exploratory and collecting phase, some types of images repeated themselves, so I consider important to mention the most recurrent types of ads that appeared in the data collection. Note that there's a slightly difference between subway station's categories and Avenida Paulista's categories.

The categories for the subway station's ads are the following:

- 1) Education ads (private colleges, language schools, public contest preparation course)
- 2) Entertainment ads (TV shows, movies, events in town)
- 3) Skin products (e.g. perfume)
- 4) Books (this includes other bookstore products)
- 5) Drugs
- 6) Professions

The categories for Avenida Paulista's ads are the following:

- 1) Entertainment ads (museum exhibits, concerts, local events)
- 2) General products (perfumes, gadgets, apps, etc)
- 3) News ads (international news, politics, sports, etc)
- 4) Campaign ads (eg. donations, etc)
- 5) Sequence ads (formed by a sequence of more than one image)
- 6) Interactive ads (ads where passers-by can actually engage in any sort of interaction, eg. collect a free bottle of coconut water or a sample of a hair product).

The choice of following this categorization presents a difficulty, though. Some categories overlap. A book ad may certainly belong to the category of general products or to the category of entertainment at the same time, just to give an example. It all depends on someone's point of view. So, I tried not so much to focus on the categories, but on the analysis and on its correlation to a neoliberal logic theme.

As to the method used to analyze the ads, I will take into account macro and micro characteristics of the data. Within the macro analysis I will make use of the social theory approach to address the main theme of neoliberalism on the images. Within the micro analysis a descriptive and interpretative view based on SFL and social semiotics will be used.

1.5 How is this work organized?

This dissertation is organized into six chapters.

In the present chapter, **Chapter 1**, I introduce how I had the idea of this research, the objectives, the process of data selection and processing images, and I also presented briefly the theoretical approaches used to accomplish my objective.

Chapter 2, presents the theoretical approach which underlies this work, focusing on the specific concepts and categories used from SFL, social semiotics and social theory. The idea is to foster a debate

and raise people awareness on how the neoliberal model became prevalent into people's lives, in a way that it seems almost impossible to escape from.

Chapter 3 discusses the main characteristics of neoliberalism in a liquid modernity society bringing some evidence from the data collected.

Chapter 4 addresses the data analysis based on the social semiotics theory, taking the system of gaze into account. **Chapter 5** also addresses the data analysis based on the social semiotics theory, taking the system of reality into account.

Chapter 6 discusses more about neoliberalism, especially the issues of exclusion, prejudice and inequalities.

Chapter 7 brings the linguistic analysis of the ads, by looking at the clause, as a unit of meaning and value.

Chapter 8 concludes this work, revisits the research questions, offers some of the most relevant findings in the data and suggests future academic endeavors.

CHAPTER 2 THE THREEFOLD THEORETICAL APPROACH

“Seeing has, in our culture, become synonymous with understanding. We ‘look’ at a problem. We ‘see’ the point. We adopt a ‘viewpoint’. We ‘focus’ on an issue. We ‘see things in perspective’. The world ‘as we see it’ (rather than ‘as we know it’, and certainly not ‘as we hear it’ or ‘as we feel it’) has become the measure for what is ‘real’ and ‘true’” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p.163).

2.1. Initial Remarks

The objective of the present investigation is to identify, describe and interpret the meanings and the influence of neoliberalism on the ads from the subway stations and Avenida Paulista. SFL (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) is going to dialogue, in this chapter, with its correlated field of image analysis – Social Semiotics - an analytical approach developed by Kress & van Leeuwen (2006), considered to the Systemic Functional Linguistics’ counterpart for the study of visual resources.

I give below an overview of some key concepts of both SFL and Social Semiotics and illustrate them using examples of my own data. At the end of each theoretical section, I will also present the methods. The intention is to explain how the analysis was carried out for each approach.

2.2. What is Systemic Functional Linguistics

Systemic Functional Linguistics was developed, by Michael Halliday. This approach considers language to be a social semiotic system and believes that communication is based on individual choices. Language is ‘systemic’, but also ‘functional’; function is the equivalent to meaning. From Halliday’s functional perspective, language serves the purposes of talking about our experiences of the world, interacting with one another and bringing those experiences, interactions and meanings together.

Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) use a more specific term for language functions - metafunction. And they explain why:

“There’s a long tradition of talking about the functions of language in contexts where ‘function’ simply means purpose or way of using language, and has no significance for the analysis of language itself. But the systemic analysis shows that functionality is **intrinsic** to language (...). The term metafunction was adopted to suggest that function was an integral component within the overall theory” (p. 30-31).

Each metafunction simultaneously contributes to the message conveyed as a whole and they fall into three groups.

The *ideational* metafunction is concerned with the experience construed in the inner and outer world. Its main grammatical system is TRANSITIVITY. An analysis of a text through the transitivity system involves investigating the participant types (Actor, Behaver, Senser, Sayer, etc.) involved in each process type (material, behavioural, mental, verbal, etc.) at certain circumstances (time, place, manner). The ideational metafunction reflects the contextual value of FIELD. Field refers to the social setting the text is inserted and the nature of this social process.

The *interpersonal* metafunction has to do with the interaction between speaker and addressees and involves looking at their attitudes to determine how distant, positive, negative or neutral their social relationship is. Its main grammatical system is MOOD and it reflects the contextual value of TENOR. Tenor tells us about the relationship between the interlocutors and comprises the aspects of social distance and status.

The *textual* metafunction has to do with the organizational and communicative aspects of ideational and interpersonal metafunctions. Its main grammatical system is THEME and it relates to MODE in terms of context of situation. Mode tells us about the role language plays in the communication process.

Figure.5 shows clearly the three metafunctions and their grammatical systems.

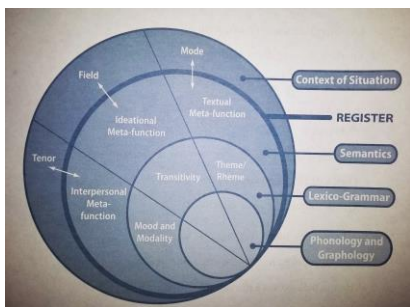


Figure 5: Language strata
 (Unsworth, 2001, p. 37, In Heberle, 2011, p. 60).

For the purpose of this dissertation, I will focus on the interpersonal metafunction, both in written and visual language (Semantics level) and on the Context of Situation (cf. Chapter 3). Next sections show Mood and Modality systems, as part of the interpersonal metafunction of SFL.

2.3. The Mood element: aspects of clause as exchange

The main grammatical system that sees the clause as an element of exchange of information is known as Mood. At this interactive process, the speakers use a speech role that is usually complemented by each other. To Halliday & Matthiessen (2004, p. 106) “in asking a question, a speaker is taking the role of seeker of information and requiring the listener to take on the role of supplier of the information demanded”.

Communication happens when we exchange meanings with one another and we use it to establish a social connection among other interactants around us. Thompson (2014) argues that “We tell other people things for a purpose: we may want to influence their attitudes or behavior, or to provide information that we know they do not have, or to explain our own attitudes or behavior, or to get them to provide us with information, and so on” (p.45).

The roles we assume in a communicative exchange are what Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) call speech roles or speech functions and they involve many complex notions. They are the ones that determine if the individuals are demanding or giving goods & services and information. Halliday (1985 in van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 118) said that “an ‘act’ of speaking ... might more appropriately be called an ‘interact’: it

is an exchange in which giving implies receiving, and demanding implies giving in response”.

The table (cf. Table.1) brings some examples of roles in exchange.

Role in exchange	Commodity exchanged	
	goods and services	information
Giving	“offer” Would you like this teapot?	“statement” He’s giving her the teapot.
Demanding	“command” Give me that teapot!	“question” What is he giving her?

Table.1: Roles in exchange - based on Halliday & Matthiessen (2004, p. 107)

The speech function of offering information, for instance is expressed in statements or questions and the speaker expects the other interactant to agree or disagree. The speech function of demanding information is expressed in question and the speaker waits for an answer, even if this answer is a simple “I don’t know” (van Leeuwen, 2005).

Offering goods-and-services is a controversial speech function, since it can’t be expressed by any grammatical category, such as statement, question or command. The response can be a sign of appreciation or a simple rejection. The speech act of demanding goods & services is expressed by a command, such as the ones we encounter on advertising (van Leeuwen, 2005).

Concisely, the speech functions shown above are associated with grammatical structures. For instance, statements are typically but not exclusively represented by declarative clauses; questions by interrogative clauses and commands by imperative ones. Offers however, are the only case that can’t be associated with a specific mood choice, but with the modality system.

To understand better how declarative, interrogative and imperative moods work it is mandatory to clarify some aspects regarding the Subject, the Finite and the Residue. Subject and Finite are important elements of the interpersonal function. In broad terms, the Subject is a well-known term from traditional grammars, but here it’s defined functionally by its relation to the Predicator. The Finite, on the

other hand, is part of the verbal group and it establishes a reference of time and judgement in the sentence. It can be temporal or modal and signals the polarity (positive or negative) and the degree of modalization and modulation.

Subject and Finite together form the Mood element, that is the central element in the exchange process. It's the ordering of Subject and Finite that establishes declarative (Subject > Finite) from interrogative (Finite > Subject) moods. A distinct case is the Wh-element, that can be part of one of the functions Subject, Complement or Adjunct. According to Halliday & Matthiessen (2004, p. 136) "If it is conflated with the Subject it is part of the Mood element, and the order (...) must therefore be Subject ^ Finite". In case it's conflated with a Complement or Adjunct, it's part of the Residue.

The Finite sometimes is less familiar than the Subject because it performs two functions, a lexical verb (the predicator) and the Finite itself. In other words, it either can express tense (be, have) or modality (may, can). The following examples can elucidate this point:

Teachers **talk** all the time.

The girl **ate** the whole pie.

The marker of the Finite isn't quite explicit, unless a question is posed (Do teachers talk..? / Did she eat..?) or when the negative is used (Teachers don't talk.../ The girl didn't eat).

The tables below show some examples of each type of mood: declarative, interrogative and imperative:

Luiz Bacci, o menino de ouro	brilha	muito	na tela da Band
Subject	Finite	Adjunct	
Mood		Residue	

Table.2: example of declarative mood

Como	transformar	dados	em oportunidades de negócios?
Wh-question	Finite	Object	Adjunct
--	--	Residue	

Table.3: example of interrogative mood

--	--	Comece	já a estudar na Anhanguera e pague só depois de formado.
----	----	--------	--

Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement
---------	--------	------------	------------

Table.4: example of imperative mood

In Table.2 the Subject “Luiz Bacci, o menino de ouro” comes before the Finite “brilha” constituting an example of declarative mood. The Subject belongs to a nominal group while the Finite is part of a verbal group and expresses tense, which in this case is the indicative. In other words, Subject plus Finite realizes the indicative and within the category of indicative is the declarative. This declarative clause brings two types of information – one about the TV host, indicating he’s a good TV host and the channel where his show is transmitted.

Table.2, shows an interrogative mood; the Finite “transformar” precedes the Object “dados” in an example of interrogative mood. Thompson (2014, p. 57) says “the primary purpose of a WH-interrogative is to demand that the listener fill in a missing part of the message; and the WH-element signals which part is missing”. For example, the question “Como transformar dados em oportunidades de negócios?” is a demand, so the person looking at the ad, who is the implicit Subject, may question himself/herself about doing it.

Lastly, in Table.3, neither the Finite nor the Subject is present in the clause, thus, it represents an example of imperative mood. Here the producers of the ad demand the viewer to study at Anhanguera and not to worry about the payment, since it only begins after the student graduates.

Two things to take into consideration when analyzing imperative clauses. First, in terms of interpersonal relations, an imperative isn’t open for discussion. However, it doesn’t necessarily mean that everyone who reads the ad is going to obey it. Second, an imperative can only refer to an action that hasn’t been carried out yet. “Comece já a estudar” means the person isn’t a student at Anhanguera so far.

The Residue is what is left of the sentence. It’s the rest of the verbal group, but it isn’t part of the Finite. It’s composed of a Predicator, Complements and Adjuncts. The Predicator expresses the action of the proposal in which the Subject is involved. It shows the ‘secondary tense’ (e.g. He tried to finish his test on time).

In this example, it’s clear that ‘tried’ is the main verb, but it isn’t the main process; the sense of this sentence is only complete when the second verb (finish) concludes the whole idea. The Predicator

identifies the passive and active voice. Complements are realized by nominal groups and Adjuncts by adverbial or prepositional groups.

Written and verbal language differs in many aspects. In a verbal interaction there's an involvement between the speakers that is expressed through different means, such as gestures, postures and voice intonation. Written interaction, though, doesn't impose a contact between interactants, which are detached from each other. Even though writers can't predict what kind of audience they may encounter and the audience's reaction, they can anticipate probable audience and their interests and manipulate the text in order to make it more appealing to their audience, which is what happens with advertisements.

2.4. Modality: aspects of attitude in clause

Equally to mood choices, such as declarative, imperative or interrogative, Modality alters the meaning conveyed over the whole clause (e.g. Scientists may have found the cure to Ebola). In the example, the replacement of 'may' for 'should' changes the complete idea developed in the sentence.

Modality elements can be placed differently in a proposal. Take the example below as reference:

- A sensação editorial do ano, ou **talvez** da década.
- **Talvez**, a sensação editorial do ano ou da década.
- A sensação editorial do ano ou da década, **talvez**.

For Halliday & Matthiessen (2004, p. 147) "what the modality system does is to construe the region of uncertainty that lies between 'yes' and 'no'". Between these two different poles of certainty lie scales of what is probable and what isn't.

There are two types of modality that relate to: the exchange of information (proposition) and demand for goods-&-services (proposal). Modality is validated in information exchanged in terms of probability (possible, probable, certain) and usuality (sometimes, often, always). In goods-&-services, modality is validated in relation to the degree of obligation one is constrained to respond in commands (permissible, advisable, obligatory) and the degree of willingness one is inclined to accept in an offer (ability, willingness, determination).

The following figure summarizes these points:

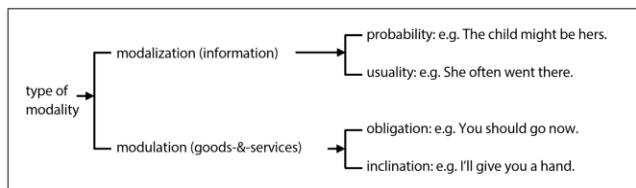


Figure.6 Type of modality (Thompson, 2014, p. 71).

The system of modality can be realized linguistically by verbs (*may, will, must*), adjectives (*possible, probable, certain*) and adverbs, such as adverbs of temporality, modality and intensity (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 128-129, Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006).

Considering the modality perspective, we are likely to find ads with a more assertive content, rather than doubt and uncertainty. For instance, it's improbable to see an ad that says “this product may work for you”. Mostly what we see are ads too emphatic and certain of their truth, such as the ad from the energy company in São Paulo, Eletropaulo that says “lâmpadas fluorescentes são mais econômicas”. We tend to read this kind of information and take it as a universal and incontestable truth, because it comes from a well-known institution with a large number of technicians.

The system of Mood and Modality helps us see what lies behind the words used by text producers. According to Thompson (2014, p. 76):

“In looking at language in use, the issue of modal responsibility is often fascinating to explore, because writers and speakers may resort to various methods either of masking their responsibility and presenting their viewpoint in an apparently objective way, or of highlighting their personal stance, for a number of reasons”.

2.5. Methods regarding Mood and Modality

The method regarding the Mood System consists of classifying the mood types in the main texts from the ads according to the categories shown in the examples. As main text, I will consider the texts

in a highlighted position, with larger letters and texts with a substantial amount of relevant information.

However, telephone numbers, addresses, and small sentences will be disregarded. In the ad below (cf. Figure.7) the red arrow shows what should be considered for the clause analysis – “Seja um especialista Excel e amplie suas oportunidades”. This clause, if compared with other sentences in the ad, has a considerable amount of information, because it interacts with the viewers by suggesting what kind of action they should take.



Figure.7

Information regarding the address, phone number, internet link and prices won't be considered for the clause analysis. Although, they can be used to contextualize several aspects in the visual analysis. What I'm trying to say is that the main slogan and a possible secondary one will be taken into account for the analysis. Complementary information won't.

The clause analysis, as part of an SFL account, identifies in detail the Subject, Finite, Mood, Predicator, Complement and Adjunct. Also, the classification and quantification of mood types are a relevant part of the analysis, to determine how interpersonal relations are carried out in the ads.

Modality is analyzed taking into account the degree of possibility from HIGH to MEDIUM to LOW, in order to see how committed or deflected the producer is from his/her point of view. A scale to be used as reference is the one below and pays attention on the modal space between yes and no.

+	She teaches Latin	
M O D A L E	S She might teach Latin P She usually teaches Latin A She ought to teach Latin C She'll teach Latin if you want E She can teach Latin if she wants She can teach Latin well	perhaps yes, perhaps no sometimes yes, sometimes no at present no, but ideally in the future yes at present no, but in the future yes if you want at present no, but in the future yes if she wants in principle yes, at present maybe yes or no
–	She doesn't teach English.	

Figure.8 Degree of possibility (Thompson, 2014, p. 70)

2.6. Social Semiotics: represented participants and interactive participants

The work of visual representation has developed within social semiotics. It started being developed in Europe, originating with the Prague and Paris group and the much earlier studies of East Anglia School from the 70's.

Two central notions in semiotics are the sign and the motivated process of sign-making, in which the sign-maker and the context are two interconnected notions. For language, the relation is just the same. Kress and van Leeuwen state, "all linguistic form is used in a mediated, non-arbitrary manner in the expression of meaning" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 9).

Social Semiotics has descriptive, analytical and practical uses, which main purpose is to be a critical framework to increase awareness of visual communication (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). The use of social semiotics when pursuing a visual analysis makes a lot of sense when its context is taken into consideration due to several changes meaning may face. As Kress & van Leeuwen (2006, p. 35) contend:

"The use of the visual mode is not the same now as it was even fifty years ago in Western societies; it is not the same from one society to another; and it is not the same from one social group or institution to another".

What Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) mean is that visual modes change from time to time and from one place to another. Cook (2001)

has a good example in this respect. According to the author, during the Cold War there was a vivid contrast between advertisements in Western and Eastern Europe. While in the Western, ads were part of people's life, in the East they were almost nonexistent.

According to Cook (2001) this was frequently a cause for shock among Westerners visiting communist countries. It was as if the market wasn't a determining factor in people's life. However, on the other hand, one unique advertisement from Eastern countries called the attention of Westerners. It was a very specific kind of ad, known as *lozung*, which means *slogan* in Russian. The *lozung* was used by the Communist regime to publicize the communist values to the inhabitants. No such a thing, so specific such as a *lozung* existed in the West. Although, ads on the West are as invasive and persuasive as the communists ones.

What is important to say about Social Semiotics is that it's a flexible and resourceful theory that shows how sign-making is a complex process. Social Semiotics involves deeply social, cultural and political relations, which are endowed by important aspects, such as rules, conventions, values and beliefs.

Although Social Semiotics is a social-context based approach, it also takes into account individual differences. This is explained by the fact that in our contemporary society, images are irrevocably value-laden and they play a central role in public spheres, as in the media, in advertisements, on the internet, on the streets.

Written language has always been highly valued in our society. It is common knowledge the importance that is given to printed documents, agreements, contracts, statutes, and prescriptions and how they are considered more trustable mediums in our society. It's hard for some to understand that visual language can be also a source of reliable information that reproduces meaning and convey implicit and explicit values. Whether we are able or not to understand a semiotic appeal is what will lead us to a more effective and active role in the world.

With the rapid change in societies, there's an absolute need to learn how to "read between the lines" and get a sense of what ideological mechanisms are being propagandized. We are part of a mass culture motivated by the advances in computer technology and powerful economic relations arising from globalization (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

With that in mind, Kress & van Leeuwen (2006), based on Halliday's approach, have provided us with a western culture-based, multimodal framework to be used in the analysis of images. The reason

why the authors decided to choose a western perspective is due to traces of western culture all over the world, co-existing with regional and local cultures and also because it's the one they fully understand. Brazil, as a Western country, for years colonized by a European country has inherited the same reading pattern as Portugal and other Western countries, so it makes sense for me to use the same analytical tools provided by Kress & van Leeuwen.

Similarly to written language, images also have functions and convey experiences (ideational metafunction), interpersonal relations (interpersonal metafunction) and organizational aspects (textual metafunction) simultaneously. These functions give the individual an array of choices in order to produce meaning.

As Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) point out:

“to use Halliday’s terms, every semiotic fulfills both an ‘ideational’ function, a function of representing ‘the world around and inside us’ and an interpersonal function, a function of enacting social interactions, as social relations. All message entities – texts – also attempt to present a coherent ‘world of the text’, what Halliday calls the ‘textual’ function – a world in which all the elements of the text cohere internally, and which itself coheres with its relevant environment” (p.15).

From a Social Semiotic perspective, the ideational metafunction corresponds to the representational system; the interpersonal metafunction corresponds to the interactive system and the textual metafunction is equivalent to the compositional system.

The representation system is divided into Narrative and Conceptual. Narrative means that the participants are involved in doing-situations, i.e. the participants are somehow involved in action, reactional, mental and verbal processes. Conceptual means that the participants are depicted in relation to classificational, analytical, and symbolic processes (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

The interactive system encompasses all the relations between people, animals, places and objects and how they engage with each other by means of paying close attention to the matters of gazing, social distance, perspective, angle, to mention a few (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

The compositional system shows how the information is spread in the image through the conceptual patterns of left and right (Given and New), top and bottom (Ideal and Real), centre and margin layouts, framing and salience (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

For the purposes of this dissertation as noted above, I will focus on the interactive system in both written and visual language, since my interest is to see how the meanings of the ads were construed to reach the viewers. Below, I present the interactive system as a two-fold approach for image analysis - the system of gaze and the system of modality.

2.7. Interactive system: investigating interactive roles in images.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) have expanded the analysis of Mood and Modality from written language to the analysis of images. Halliday's speech functions from the Mood system are realized in images by Gaze and Modality.

In relation to the Mood System (the system of gaze) some of the basic features in image analysis are: the system of image act and gaze, which is realized by the eyeline of the participant in the image. When the participant in the ad look at the viewer, contact is established, even if it's an imaginary contact.

In the image below, the man is looking straight at the viewer. This kind of image is called demand (cf. Figure.9).



Figure.9

Images that address the viewer indirectly are called offers. For Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, p. 119) “the viewer is not object, but subject of the look, and the represented participant is the object of the viewer’s dispassionate scrutiny. No contact is made”. The image below (cf. Figure.10) displays an offer. Both participants are entertained with an electronic device. No contact with the viewer is made.



Figure.10

The participant represented in a demanding situation, gazing at the viewer, is surely requiring a social connection with the viewer. The participant that is an offer sends the message of disconnection as if the represented participant wasn't fully aware of the viewer's presence (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006).

Social distance and intimacy are related to the proximity of the represented participant in relation to the viewer. “The distance people keep, then, depend on their social relation” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006 p. 125). A close-shot distance indicates the represented participant is intimate enough to get closer to the viewer and try to forge a relationship. A far-shot distance expresses the exact opposite. It indicates that there isn't any involvement or at least it's avoided.

An example of close-shot distance (cf. Figure.11) shows the man very close to the viewer.



Figure.11

An example of far-shot distance is displayed below (c.f. Figure.12). The represented participant is in a fancy chair looking casual and relaxed.



Figure.12

Another very good indicative of social relations is the angle of the represented participant. A frontal angle (horizontal) shows closeness, proximity, as if the image-producer wanted to say, “this belongs to our world”, but a higher angle indicates power, and hence, distance and detachment. Figure.13 below shows a frontal angle.



Figure.13

An oblique angle puts a certain distance between the represented participant and the viewer, the viewer is being positioned to have a detached point of view. The represented participant isn't inserted into the 'world' of the viewer.

Image (cf. Figure.14) below shows an oblique angle clearly.



Figure.14

Some images, however, seem to be regarded as more reliable than others. For instance, we tend to think of photographs in newspapers as trustworthy. It's not uncommon to hear people saying things like "I saw it with my own eyes", as proof of truthfulness, showing that what we see is supposed to be much more reliable than what we hear. As

members of a society, we must be able to identify the reliability of the information we constantly receive (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 154).

2.8. The Modality System: markers of modality

The Modality system (as a system of credibility) is realized by modality markers. These markers are motivated signs established by the social groups we interact with and they express their own social interests. Modality markers, though, can't provide any uncontested truth or untruth about any content or message, since from a social semiotic perspective they "can only show whether a given 'proposition' (visual, verbal) is represented as true or not" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 154).

It's also important to note that 'the truth' that belongs to a specific social group is based on their beliefs and personal values. The system of Modality offers tools for finding out patterns of truth-value and credibility, by looking at the degree of modality in written and visual language. The system of Modality shows how content is based on the opinions expressed by social groups and it has to do with what is believed to be true and how it's used to represent places, people, things by the group (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

In Modality, images are judged according to how close they are to reality. Images with highly saturated colors aren't considered naturalistic, but unreal and excessive. For an image to be considered realistic it has to be closer to what we see with our own eyes and has to have a standard combination of colors. This parameter can be reduced or increased leading to different modality configurations.

Based on Kress & van Leeuwen (2006, p. 160-163) the visual cues presented below are examples of modality markers realized in images that can result in different modality combinations. According to van Leeuwen (2005, p.167) "they allow the relevant dimension of articulation to be increased or reduced".

- 1) color saturation: from saturation to absence of color;
- 2) color differentiation: from maximum use of color to a monochromatic style;
- 3) color modulation: different shades of a color, for instance, navy blue, turquoise, etc.;
- 4) contextualization: from absence of background to a fully detailed one;

- 5) representation: from abstraction to maximum details;
- 6) depth: from absence of depth to a deep perspective;
- 7) illumination: from its use to its absence;
- 8) brightness: different degrees;

In this dissertation, I will focus more on contextualization, representation, depth, illumination and brightness, as will be explained later on (cf. Chapter 5).

For instance, in cases where the image is less factual and less probable to be real the modality decreases, which is the case of cartoons' strips from newspapers. On the other hand, the modality is higher when more details in color, background and shade are articulated, changing the modality judgment of the image. As van Leeuwen (2005, p.167) warns us:

“Scientific line diagrams are clearly to be read as images with high truth value, and not as fictions or fantasies. After all, they are science (...) There is no fixed correspondence between modality judgments and points on the scale of articulation (...). Instead the modality value of a given configuration depends on the kind of visual truth which is preferred in the given context”.

In the next lines, I will present an example of high and low modality. The Coke ad (cf. Figure.15) is an example of low modality configuration. The image shows two sides. On the left side there's a soft tone and the city on the background is covered by a soft white color, too. On the right side, the color is vivid and the size of the hand, the bottles and the can are enlarged, if compared with the buildings behind.

The probability of a hand coming from outside the ad to hold a Coca Cola product, that is immersed in ice, completely decontextualized from the city in the background seems unrealistic. The ad producer deliberately lows the modality of the ad to represent the idea of something completely unrealistic and unlikely to happen, a fantasy, something that only a Coca Cola product could offer.



Figure.15

As van Leeuwen (2005, p. 168) elaborates: “the more an image of something resembles the way we would see that something if we saw it in reality, from a specific viewpoint and under specific conditions of illumination, the higher the modality”.

The following ad (cf. Figure.16) shows McFritas. The visual representation establishes the pleasure effect that the ad may cause on oneself, which is realized by the vivid colors of the French fries and the package, the texture, the size, which according to Kress & van Leeuwen (2006, p. 165) “is a source of pleasure and effective meanings, and consequently it conveys high modality”.



Figure.16

In other words, when looking at images one has to consider aspects of contextualization – if there is or isn't background; depth is part of the contextualization and shows whether there is profundity in the image and how visual elements help constructing the context; representation indicates how detailed is the participant and if it's

possible to see his/her physical attributes; illumination and brightness are subtler concepts, but are easily detected in the image.

2.9. Methods regarding the interactive system (The system of gaze and reality)

In the analysis chapters (cf. Chapters 4 and 5) the ads collected are analyzed having the system of Gaze and Modality taken into account. The represented participants and the social distance toward the viewer is considered, as well as the context in which the represented participant is depicted. Visual elements and modality markers help unveiling the characteristics and techniques used by ads producers to try to convince people to consume.

2.10. Concluding Remarks on Systemic Functional Linguistics and on Social Semiotics

Human practices and the process of meaning making are seen as social practices. Both Systemic Functional Linguistics and Social Semiotics are theories to study how people design and interpret those meanings. By looking at social practices, both theoretical approaches look at how meanings and values are shaped by social interests, ideologies and power relations.

Halliday sees language as a system that can't be separated from society. This system has three correlated functions: to represent ideas of the inner and outer world, to facilitate interpersonal relations, and to connect ideas and interpersonal relations and make sense of them in context with the surrounding reality.

Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) extending Halliday's ideas proposed a framework for semiotic resources based on the same precepts of Systemic Functional Linguistics. Since they look at images and sounds, their Social Semiotics approach unveil meanings produced and displayed in our society, especially in current times, when images are all around us.

Due to the fact that I look at advertisements in the subway station in São Paulo and at Avenida Paulista, both theoretical and analytical methods proved indispensable for the analysis carried out here. Systemic Functional Linguistics looks at the data from above, from the semantic level. By looking at this stratum (semantic components), it's possible to determine the resources used by

individuals to produce meanings. Social Semiotics, likewise, describes and interprets semiotic resources.

This approach only makes complete sense when it “fully engages with social theory. This kind of interdisciplinarity is an absolutely essential feature of social semiotics” (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 1).

Bearing this idea in mind, the second part of this review of literature presents a very prominent discussion of a social theory, that of *liquid modernity* according to Zygmunt Bauman.

2.11. Liquid Modernity

Liquid modernity is the current condition of society, and is based on endemic uncertainty, where individuals live under a series of short-term projects requiring flexibility and adaptability. As society progresses, new values become ever more incorporated into this chaotic environment, where a person can easily change from one identity or social position to another in a very fluid way. As a result, a nomadic mindset is established in societies, unburdening those who'd rather change than stay for long-term commitment. Nowadays, people are expected to spend less years in the same job and this doesn't count negatively on the curriculum at all. The possibility of moving to different cities and experiencing different opportunities is in evidence.

Having stated the preliminary idea of liquid modernity era, I go forward on the elaboration of time and space and consumerism, themes so central to Bauman' theory of liquid modernity.

2.11.1 Time and Space in liquid modernity societies

Time and space in liquid modernity is very complex. Time and space are two distinct notions that can be transposed with the help of power and technology – both central interconnected issues that help overcome any obstacles in this sense. As Bauman (2000, p. 9) warns us:

“Once the distance passed in a unit of time came to be dependent on technology, on artificial means of transportation, all extant, inherited limits to the speed of movement could be in principle transgressed. Only the sky (or, as it transpired later, the speed of light) was now the limit, and

modernity was one continuous, unstoppable and fast accelerating effort to reach it”.

Bauman brings to discussion Jeremy Bentham’s and Foucault’s idea of the Panopticon. British Jurist, Jeremy Bentham, back in the eightieth century was the first to design the panopticon as a specific prison to have more control over the prisoners. Foucault developed this notion even further by arguing that societies would come to a point where all citizens would be surveilled, using powerful and modern ways of controlling citizens (Bauman, 2000).

Today, power and control is exercised by innumerable sources. It goes beyond physical barriers. Power and control are so tied up to this whole notion of time and space, and vice versa, that those in control of time and space have equally power and control of the situation. In practice, this could mean that those having market power over an area have much more liberty to act according to their own interests than to those who don’t own land property. In other words, having control of space enables one to control other social relations.

In addition, Bauman (2000, p.11) warns us that:

“For all practical purposes power has become truly exterritorial, no longer bound, not even slowed down, by the resistance of space (...) This gives power-holders a truly unprecedented opportunity: the awkward and irritating aspects of the panoptical technique of power may be disposed of. Whatever else the present stage in the history of modernity is, it is also, perhaps above all, post-Panoptical”.

The idea of a Panopticon can be easily compared to the current reality of surveilled communities. Those inside surveilled communities are supposedly protected from all kinds of disturbances caused in the exterior world. A good example of surveilled communities is the growing selling/purchasing of condominium buildings in many large cities in Brazil, although it seems to be a global tendency. Condominium buildings (both houses and apartments) are sold as the last safe-havens on Earth away from violence and near nature, or at least simulated nature with small parks, gardens and water fountains.

Bauman (2007-2) states that:

“‘Community’ is these days the last relic of the old-time utopias of the good society; it stands for whatever has been left of the dreams of a better life shared with better neighbours all following better rules of cohabitation”.

Hazeldon (Bauman, 2000) developer of Heritage Park, a condo building in South Africa, sells exactly this idea of satisfaction allied with security. In other words, space is shaped by our fears and our desire for a safer place, which is embodied by electric fences and motorized gates in condos. It is Hazeldon who says that:

“When I grew up in London you had a community. You wouldn't do anything wrong because everyone knew you and they'd tell your mum and dad. We want to re-create that here, a community which doesn't have to worry” (Bauman, 2000, p.92).

Spaces can be also limited in other ways. Take São Paulo, for instance, most of its urban parks are isolated. Some are completely inaccessible on foot or by public transportation. The only way to get there is by car. As contradictory as this may seem, parks are being deviated from their primary function, which is to entertain inhabitants interested in spending some time in contact with nature.

This leads us to another example of space constraint and to the logic of how public spaces are conceived in large contemporary cities, such as São Paulo. Shopping malls are designed to promote consumerism, so are coffee shops, touristic sights and concert rooms. Particularly interesting is the case of “rolezinhos”, as they became known - the informal movement of usually black, poor adolescents from the suburbs hanging out in São Paulo's malls.

Those episodes happened between 2013-2014 and caused much consternation, especially among the elitist media and groups in São Paulo that considered these teenagers thugs. An interesting thing is that the teenagers were consuming and having fun with friends, but since they were also calling the attention to the fact that black poor kids don't usually enjoy much of the perks of capitalism, they were considered delinquents. Bauman has a convincing explanation for this. He says “such spaces encourage action, not inter-action (...) “the task is consumption, and consumption is an utterly, irredeemably individual

pastime, a string of sensations which can be experienced - lived through - only subjectively” (Bauman, 2000, p. 97).

Another interesting thing, considering that a mall is a place for encounters and shopping, teenagers from the working/middle class, potential consumers, are thereby prevented from circulating and buying in the mall. Bauman, however, offers another explanation:

“Encounters, unavoidable in a crowded space, interfere with the purpose. They need to be brief and shallow: no longer and not deeper than the actor wishes them to be. The place is well protected against those likely to break this rule - all sorts of intruders, meddlers, spoilsports and other busybodies who would interfere with the consumer’s or shopper’s splendid isolation. The well supervised, properly surveilled and guarded temple of consumption is an island of order, free from beggars, loiterers, stalkers and prowlers - or at least expected and assumed to be so” (Bauman, 2000, p. 97-98).

The limitation of space embodies many facets in our society. Deportation, denial of refugee status, genocide, ethnic cleansing, segregation and selective access are some of the many examples of space disempowerment (Bauman, 2000).

The relation between space and power is very interconnected and deserves an elaboration. Today, another core aspect of space is the matter of mobility. Mobility is much advised, if one wants to be free of the inconvenience of choosing to stay; true success is available for those able to distance themselves from the locality. If we think in terms of large corporations, there’s an ever growing tendency that David Harvey (2005) calls the ‘flexible accumulation regime’, in which it’s preferable to distribute the whole production structure rather than concentrate it solely in one place.

For instance, a large company, such as Apple may eventually choose to spread the production of its cellphones worldwide; some parts in China and other parts in Brazil, while technology is being developed in the Silicon Valley. This flexibility in the production process relieves many companies from taking some of their responsibilities by paying taxes and obeying labor laws. The solid modernity society was imprisoned by long meetings with countless company staff and the

capital (the money, the assets) staying local. The fluidity of a liquid modernity society changed everything. Downsize, reduce, sell units, transfer employees is now considered a clever management skill. As Bauman states (2000, p. 11):

“The prime technique of power is now escape, slippage, elision and avoidance, the effective rejection of any territorial confinement with its cumbersome corollaries of order-building, order-maintenance and the responsibility for the consequences of it all as well as of the necessity to bear their costs”.

This has all to do with the notion of fluidity and how people behave in their work and personal relations. Over the years, nomadism wasn't well accepted. It was frequently associated with lack of responsibility and interest for work and a quiet home life. Today, the situation has changed and we've been witnessing what Bauman calls “the revenge of nomadism”. Power is no longer settled and concentrated solely in one place, but it's ruled by a powerful elite that has all the means to be nomadic and act globally.

Societies have changed to a point where life is seen as simply a reunion of tiny little moments that must be enjoyed as much as possible. That's the idea behind the “pointillist conception of time”. In broad terms, a pointillist time is a dot-like time forming a sequence of moments, not cyclical nor linear, but rather formed by a multitude of unconnected pieces. As Bauman (2011) argues “each point is presumed to contain an infinite potential to expand and the infinity of possibilities waiting to explode if properly ignited” (p.12). In other words, life is a succession of instants; whether individual or social, but a collection of experiences the individual constantly encounters (Bauman, 2007-2).

Life is discontinuous, irregular and non-linear, and so does the notion of a punctuated time, present in many patterns of behaviour we encounter nowadays. “A pointillist time is broken up, or even pulverized, into a multitude of ‘eternal instants’ – events, incidents, accidents, adventures, episodes” (2007-1, p.32). Life though, is made up of moments and moments are seized and replaced by other sequences of moments. Because of this urgency to live new moments at their fullest, the liquid modernity era is often associated with the disposal of things, moments and people. I will explain.

By understanding that moments pass and that they can be replaced by fresh new ones, people tend to lower their level of involvement, influenced by this pointillist notion, and discharge what is found to be replaceable. Putting it differently, liquid modernity societies have fragile ties regarding their personal relations towards both people and things, which explains why consumerism is an issue that calls attention in Bauman's approach. This approach can be extended to a number of situations. From relationships, careers, and to social life, as well as the goods, we purchase on a daily basis. It seems that in a society of consumers, the urgency of benefiting from consumption affects professional and private lives.

The notion of time started with modernity. Before the Industrial Revolution, the notion of time was connected to the notion of space. To be wealthy and successful was something that require land ownership, thus, power over space. Mobility was precarious and prestigious lords and their servants would undergo many hours of uncomfortable travel from one place to another. The Industrial Revolution split time and space apart. Time became a much more democratized artifact, available to different people, due to the invention of fast and modern transportations. From that point on, time became associated with many aspects of social life, such as sports and new time records, the velocity of domestic tasks, labor journey, travel journey, and so on. The notion of space also changed, and was viewed as smaller and easily conquered. This way, time and space started working in favor of people's interests (Bauman, 2000).

The liquid modernity era shifted permanently the relations between time and space. As the Sorbonne economist, Daniel Cohen (Bauman, 2000, p.58) summarized: 'Who starts a career in Microsoft', observes Cohen, 'has no idea where it is going to end'. And Bauman concludes: "the change in question is the new irrelevance of space, masquerading as the annihilation of time" (2000, p. 117). In other words, there's no need to sacrifice time with unnecessary journeys, because instantaneity can be reached in a short time by technology. Instantaneity has reached a high level of importance in the world today. To have access to this instantaneity is the same as having reached enough freedom to be everywhere one likes at any time.

It is Bauman (2000, p.119) who explains, "people who move and act faster, who come nearest to the momentariness of movement, are now the people who rule". It's easy to deduce that those who doesn't have access to instantaneity are denied their right to rule. Bringing to

the recent past, Bauman compares two great personalities to show how the transition from solid to liquid modernity changed points of view. Rockefeller, an important name in the 20th century wanted to expand his business by building machinery, railroads, buildings, all traces of a more imposing and rigid Era. Bill Gates, a relevant character from our liquid times, appeared to be the kind of person who “was cautious not to develop an attachment (and particularly a sentimental attachment) or lasting commitment to anything, including his own creations” (Bauman, 2000, p. 124).

As mentioned, the process of consumerism is also the process of disposal of things, situations and people. And that’s the idea behind the consumer society. The consumer society was once the society of producers and this has affected many aspects of social life. Producers lived under the “solid modernity era” – a society that resisted change and concentrated decisions and power over specific locations. Consumers today live under a “liquid modernity era” – a society that has no problem in shifting sides and (re) (inventing) itself.

For clarifying purposes, it is important to differentiate consumption from consumerism. According to Bauman (2007-1), the former encompasses the individual’s longings and the latter has to do with the eagerness the society has for acquiring goods. So, the idea of consumption is an individual notion, while consumerism is a collective one. As consumerism is an important part of our everyday lives, Bauman provides a definition of what consumerism might be. He says:

“It is a type of social arrangement (...) a force that coordinates systemic reproduction, social integration, social stratification and the formation of human individuals (...) playing a major role in the processes of individual and group self identification and in the selection and pursuit of individual life policies” (2007-1, p.28).

According to Bauman (2007-1) our constant and deep-rooted practice of consumption is anciently known from many “historical narratives and ethnographic reports” (p.25). We tend to consume in different occasions of our lives without questioning or noticing. It’s a permanent and genuine characteristic of the self. For Bauman it isn’t unrealistic to suggest that a “consumerist revolution” arrived in the past few years with the new century and became part of our actions to desire. It doesn’t matter if we’re talking about products, relationships or

situations. It simply became part of our nature to want more (Bauman, 2007-1).

Frequently associated with the necessity to accumulate and the search for comfort, consumerism gives us this sense of stability and security. One may think that the whole point of acquiring products is to consume them right away. According to Bauman, in liquid modernity societies, people buy products to satisfy their urge for buying; however, at certain point, products will be thrown away. Bauman (2007-1) pondered this idea of security with a pertinent analogy of what it really means to be safe and protected in terms of acquisition of products. He says:

“Like the massive walls of a fortified town intended to defend the dwellers against the incalculable and unspeakable dangers suspected to be lying in ambush in the wilderness outside, they had to be guarded against wear and tear and any premature falling out of use” (p. 29-30).

Additionally, as a characteristic of a liquid modernity society, consumerism is often associated with happiness. By consuming, people have supposedly found their peace of heaven on Earth. In order to achieve more happiness, one must continue with the quest for happiness and, consequently, the acquisition of new and updated products (Bauman, 2007-1). This rising amount of desire, implies in turn, a fast replacement of the objects used to fulfill this happiness, contrasting with the very idea of stability and safeness, presented earlier. It's a vicious cycle. As Bauman (2007-1) argues “new needs need new commodities; new commodities need new needs and desires” (p.31).

For Bauman the logic is the same. We tend to substitute situations, people, places, commodities. According to the author:

“When those objects of yesterday's desires and those past investments of hope break their promises and fail to deliver the instant and complete satisfaction hoped for, they should be abandoned” (p.36).

That's exactly the same logic of consumerism. Unreasonable as it appears, consumption has turned itself into an uncontrollable search for future satisfaction. As Bauman pointed out, the hurry for consuming is

the hurrying for replacing one possibly failed moment with another one, not foreseeable yet; about to succumb to a new one (Bauman, 2007-1). Bauman advises that not everyone is part of this race for consumption. In the “nowist era”, not being in a hurry means deviation from the norm. Or, using Bauman’s words “wishing time to stop is a symptom of silliness, sloth or ineptitude. It is also a punishable crime” (2007-1, p. 36).

Bauman calls our attention to the fact that, by trying to replace whatever there is to be replaced in our lives, we’re in fact, struggling to bring happiness to our lives. Take the marketing strategists, for instance, they all seem to focus on the individuals’ future satisfaction. In the consumerist economy, pursuing a future happiness, as a place one wish to be, is attached to this notion of acquiring in the present. For Bauman, “sentiments of happiness or its absence derive from hopes and expectations” (2007-1, p. 43).

Paying closer attention to propagandas, pamphlets and ads, marketing strategists constantly aim at implementing those feelings and hopes into consumers’ life. The reductionism, a concept of happiness is subjected to, only impoverishes and deviate from the essence of what happiness really is. Bearing in mind that happiness is a very personal sentiment, one must understand that it depends on many factors beyond the acquisition of goods and imposition of a lifestyle.

Happiness is high valued in our culture. Unhappiness on the other side disqualifies people, as an indication of a moral deviation. As Bauman points out: “answers given to the question ‘are you happy?’ by members of the society of consumers may legitimately be viewed as the ultimate test of its success and failure” (p.44). What recent researches successfully showed is that increments of income don’t necessarily increase the amount of happiness. However, that’s not what the media, our social life or the urban landscape have been telling us. For Bauman “what such findings suggest is that contrary to the promise (...) consumption is neither a synonym of the state of happiness nor an activity certain to cause it to arrive” (2007-1, p.45).

Bauman uses a number of analogies to explain how consumerism has been processed in current days. One particularly appropriate analogy is the one from Italo Calvino’s invisible city, Leonia. Calvino says:

“It is not so much by the things that each day are manufactured, sold, bought that you can measure Leonia’s opulence, but rather by the things that

each day are thrown out to make room for the new. So you begin to wonder if Leonia's true passion is really, as they say, the enjoyment of new and different things, and not, instead, the joy of expelling, discarding, cleansing itself of recurrent impurity" (p.37, apud, Bauman, 2007-1).

Disposing of things, people, situations and commodities appears to have become the new tendency of marketing. Bauman provides us with many examples of new sectors in the private area in charge of this practice. Big companies specialized in the disposal of durable goods; in the removal of "bodily fat, face wrinkles, acne, body odours, post-this or post-that depression" (2007-1, p.38); companies from the internet sector, such as AOL, that provide online dating services, with the facility to remove your date from your contact list, in case the person becomes unwanted (Bauman, 2007-1). To Bauman all of those marketing tendencies serve only the purpose of inciting people to consume and waste.

He says:

"The companies in question stress that the online dating experience is safe – while warning that 'if you feel uncomfortable about a member, stop contacting them. You can block them so you will not get unwanted messages.' AOL supplies a long list of such 'arrangements for a safe offline date'".

It may seem contradictory, but the fact is that the consumerist society relies on waste and excess. As Bauman predicts, everything depends on the consumption chain, beginning with the idea of a commodity being invented, discovered by chance, especially by a very successful businessman, usually from the technology area and ending up with the replacement by a more contemporary one and always making us believe that we truly need it. Putting this idea into Bauman's own words: "Products that promise to do everything the older products could do, only quicker and better – with the extra bonus of doing a few things no consumer had until then conceived of needing or thought of paying for" (p. 38-39).

Bauman understands that this necessity of replacing, leads to a pathological global tendency that has been growing at exponential rates. Truth to be told, Bauman advises his readers to the fact that they should

recognize this impulse merely as excess of information typical of a liquid modernity era.

2.12. A word on Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is another core notion that will be extensively brought up in the discussion of the data. As the word itself suggests, neoliberalism is a new form of liberalism. It is the political and economic model that proposes that the society should be shaped by free market and competition.

It also fosters the idea that the public sector should follow the rules imposed by the private sector, as much as subsidize the private sector, which can be problematic, because it leaves to the hands of only a few capitalists the power to decide and the public sector chained to the market interests.

Putting it differently, neoliberalism emphasizes minimal state intervention in the economy and in social affairs, as an excuse to foster the deregulation of economic transactions and its commitment to the freedom of trade and capital.

Neoliberalism has affected negatively the society in many segments. It is everywhere and it isn't limited to a specific political party, which makes it even harder to work against it. Take higher education as an example, to see how business' interest has infiltrated in public and private education.

The heart of neoliberalism in higher education is the attempt of disinvesting in public schools, in order to focus on private loans, where students pay the funding agencies back after they graduate. By following this logic, education would be administered by market-driven forces and interests.

One good example of such a practice is that students are much more concerned with the utility and applicability of their knowledge into the labor marketing than education per se. Society is no longer interested in education for the purposes of fostering citizenship and democratic values, but to fulfill the ever growing need for human capital, especially in the private sector.

Under this current logic, the association between individuality and neoliberalism relies, which fosters the tendency to value the individual over society. This ideology can be hazardous as it acts to promote the idea that only the individual is responsible for his/her success and failure.

Not to mention that it contributes to disseminate the idea that those in vulnerable situation, such as underprivileged people have the same opportunities that people coming from wealthy families. According to Dardot & Laval (2014) “The neoliberal subject is a *competitive* person, wholly immersed in global competition” (p.3).

It is this competition that drives individuals to a constant pursue of their own interests, promoting the idea that people must be rewarded based on their personal efforts and achievements. Those who don’t achieve anything are responsible for their own *status quo*.

This restless quest for success can be associated to what Dardot and Laval (2014) understand as the *entrepreneurial subject*, which is nothing but the tendency to transform individuals into a product that need to be sold as mere commodities. For Bauman (2000, p. 34) in neoliberal states “individualization is a fate, not a choice”. The only problem is that in a place where individualization is the norm, everyone is responsible for their own fate, which in a way engenders the idea that structural inequalities occur because one didn’t work or study hard enough.

Neoliberalism places the interest of the market above all, encouraging societies to value production, competition and profit above everything, even above the social welfare. With the help of international institutions, such as the IMF (International Monetary Fund) or the WTO (World Trade Organization), many nations are tacitly agreeing with the explicit and implicit ideologies of neoliberalism.

Such acceptance means that the countries agree to promote the rules of the market and cut public investments into social programs. Both at the individual-level and society-level, the pervasive ideology of neoliberalism makes us believe that this is the only social order available. Scholars such as Harvey (2012) have argued that people should be aware of this hegemonic norm and resist somehow.

Harvey argues that the city is the primary location for the establishment of the neoliberalism. It’s the place where exists wealth, power, but also exploitation and oppression. As Harvey (2012) avers, capitalists are always in search of reinvesting their money in more profitable markets. If for many reasons, a specific market is not rentable enough, capitalists find a way to do so. Cities worldwide are the most rentable place to a capitalist invest their money - they’re dynamic and full of resources.

According to Harvey (2012) which ferocious capitalist's view is the one to blame and it is the gist of all protests that took place in different places from NYC in 2011 to Brazil in 2013.

Global cities are full of energy and possibilities. For him "there is something political in the city air struggling to be expressed" (2012, p.117). By that, he means that the city itself is a battleground and the quality of urban life is entirely dependent on how much the citizens are willing to fight for their rights in order to improve the living conditions among underprivileged populace, and consequently minimize the impact of class disparities.

Although protests are ephemeral events and underprivileged people aren't aware of their condition of being underprivileged, and as so, they don't always claim their rights, Harvey believes that changes are still possible. He appeals to the examples from the El Alto rebellion in Bolivia in 2003, when the residents challenged the privatization of the state-run gas industry and brought down the president (Harvey, 2012).

There are numerous ways of changing the city and distributing equally the access to it. Less traditional city administrators, for instance, have been showing some concern with the excluded and marginalized population and have been trying to focus their administration on different forms of urban experience as a way to encounter a solution to the inequalities and democratize the city.

Good examples can be pointed out here in the city of São Paulo. The current City Hall administration has been giving a considerable amount of space to graffiti artists to expose their drawings in some of the tunnels and abandoned walls of the city. Some of the Mayor's opponents tried to diminish the initiative, since graffiti is not fully accepted in our culture, even seen as a transgressive form of expressing the self. By stating that graffiti may ruin the landscape, people show some resistance to new perspectives of art and to suppressed voices living in the city.

Another good example is the construction of cycle paths in the main streets and avenues of São Paulo. This initiative, particularly, suffered a lot of resistance from a minority elite and the Federal Public Ministry that tried to deter the street reforms. Despite the odds, the cycle paths will continue to be constructed in the city, in order to improve the traffic flow and stimulate the use of bicycles as opposed to the massive amount of vehicles found in the city.

Both initiatives, above-mentioned, have a straight correlation with the changes implemented in the urban space and with the way the population perceives the city. Although slow in pace, those changes will

occur, eventually, and will be responsible for the drastic impact on the landscape.

Thus, as Harvey (2012) pointed out “Lefebvre was right, more than forty years ago, to insist that the revolution in our times has to be urban-or nothing” (p. 25). With this thought in mind, Harvey establishes the sharp correlation between urbanization and capitalism. Capitalism consolidates itself in places where the process of urbanization is complete or advanced. Harvey (2012, p. 11) argues that “urbanization helped power the capitalist dynamic”.

What the author is trying to say is that the urban process went from local to global because of the strength of the urbanization process. It is no longer an issue of solely the USA or England anymore. It is everywhere. Cities around the world are facing many apparent transformations, such as, the formation of different market niches, distinct cultural habits, a contrastive urban lifestyle, class disparities, gentrification² and so on.

In other words, global cities, such as São Paulo, became just another piece of merchandise, which should lead us to some significant questions, such as, who does the city belong to and what social groups does it favor. If the city belongs to the citizens and they have *the right to city*, their access to urban resources does not belong to an individual only, but rather, it should pertain to the community.

Cities today are far from offering decent conditions and opportunities to their citizens and that the consequences are segregation and deterioration of peoples’ coexistence. Thus, *the right to the city* depends on the exercise of a collective resistance in order to change the aftermath derived from the process of urbanization and neoliberal logic.

The topic of neoliberalism will be discussed widely in the next chapters corroborated by the analyses of the data.

2.12.1 Neoliberal cities

Harvey (1973, p. 195) contends that cities are “with all their complexities and artificialities, man’s most imposing creation”. In addition, according to the author, the city functions as “a pivot around

² In broad terms, gentrification is a world trend, another aftermath of the neoliberalism that results in an increase of property values, especially in central locations, forcing low-income people, usually old residents, out to the periphery.

which a given mode of production is organized, as a centre of revolution against the established order, and as a centre of power and privilege (Harvey, 1973, p.195).

The city is a place where production occurs, which consequently implies a concern with consumerism. In this sense, the city revolves around economic transactions between power holders and decision-makers' groups. By concentrating people, commerce and recreational activities in one place, the city becomes an attractive cluster of options and innovations.

It isn't without reason, that cities worldwide, are usually tagged with different names, such as "the city that never sleeps", "the city of lights", smart city, eco city, or even "terra da garoa", as São Paulo is gently called. All of these labels are strategic ways of making a city much more appealing to citizens, tourists, investors, and so on.

Naturally, not all resources and opportunities are divided equally among citizens. Not all individuals or neighborhoods have a fair distribution of housing, medical assistance, transport facilities, etc. This is what Harvey (1973) calls a lack of a "just distribution", which in other words means that resources are reaching people in an uneven manner. Part of that is happening, because public interests are giving space to privatized spaces with focus on private interests. It's only through the understanding of proper allocation and division of resources that the city will reach a minimum kind of social justice to the city's inhabitants (Harvey 1973).

2.13. Concluding Remarks on the Social Theory

In this section, I presented the theoretical approach that backgrounds my work in social theoretical terms. Bauman understands that all human experiences in a liquid modernity society are becoming commoditized. What he means is that the process of shifting human actions and emotions, things that aren't products, into products is the core aspect of our current times. The commoditization of human life is a concerning point because it stratifies society by distinguishing among those "high up" from those "low down", to use Bauman's exact words (Bauman, 1999, p. 40). High up people live fluidly connected to resourceful technologies, able to move and travel, they use cell phones because they have to communicate during their nomadic existence, they're successful because they can consume the new and updated versions of products, concerts, outfits, and so on.

An ever-changing society sells the idea of ‘digital nomads’. They’re different from old nomads because they’re connected and modern. Old nomads were seen as imprudent, not trustworthy and unreliable. Digital nomads are cool, hipsters, counter-culture and independent thinkers who can live everywhere and experience whatever they want. It’s not unusual to find ‘digital nomads’ on the internet selling their way of life.

See the case of two Brazilians who are earning money by selling lectures on how to become a ‘digital nomad’. In their website <http://nomadesdigitais.com/> they present other digital nomads’ experiences and refer to their video classes that teach people how to stop working in a boring office and become free. Staying in an office for hours has become boring. They sell the idea that they’re digital nomads can be hard-workers and competent at their jobs and that they’re so competent that their workforce is capable of doing what they do from any location in the globe.

Digital nomadism is a recent global movement that has been attracting people from all around the globe. More entrepreneurs are selling this idea <http://digitalnomadacademy.com/> , <https://www.statravel.co.uk/travel-blog/2012/09/the-secret-lives-of-7-digital-nomads/> . The internet is full of such experiences. The liquid modernity society is fluid, fast and unpredictable.

Short-term goals are preferable to long-term decisions. It’s almost impossible for businessmen and investors to predict where the money will be in more than ten years. Speculative money is what caused the crisis in 1997, 2001, 2008. But they won’t stop engaging in risky financial transactions for the sake of global stability and security. Power today is what it is, due to slippery and chancy decisions.

Supporting this fluid and liquid society lies the precepts of neoliberalism that, as liquid modernity, is related to the capacity that money has to travel fast through global deregulated markets and affects in large-scale the social structures and the relationships between individuals and institutions.

Not to mention that the very same liquidity fostered in liquid modernity society produces deep impacts on people’s lives, especially because of the process of individualization. The neoliberal logic shows that the individuals are free to choose their own paths, and consequently are responsible for their own success or failure, meaning that any kind of personal undertaking depends entirely on one’s efforts.

In this sense, individualization means that citizens no longer have safe social networks to count on, caused by the lack of the State's regulation and welfare measures. Neoliberalism leaves people "free" to figure out the solutions and choices they want to make and they're left to deal with the risks and consequences of a life in a liquid modernity society.

CHAPTER 3 ADVERTISING IN NEOLIBERAL TIMES

“Neo-liberal rationality produces the subject it requires by deploying the means of governing him so that he really does conduct himself as an entity in a competition, who must maximize his results by exposing himself to risks and taking full responsibility for possible failures.” (Dardot & Laval, 2014, Kindle edition, position 6283).

3.1. Initial Remarks

This chapter addresses the contributions of the social theory presented in chapter 2, and expands from it, focusing on the interpretation and discussion of the first research question, namely: from a social theory point of view, do the ads present characteristics of a neoliberal logic? How do they present this logic?

This discussion addresses the main characteristics of a liquid modernity society and the neoliberal precepts. But before carrying out this discussion, I focus on the importance of looking at the ads as data of a linguistic and sociological investigation.

3.2. Ads as social practice

The practice of displaying ads in subway stations and avenues is known worldwide. Visiting London, Berlin and New York one may find the interference of private companies or regulatory adverts on the wall of station’s corridors. São Paulo is no different. Almost every day new companies and new products are displayed. This channel of communication has social, political and educational roles, since the subway users and the passers-by once faced with new ads try to connect the information they receive with their own set of values and beliefs, challenging it or connecting with it.

Within a variety of genres, advertisements (in the subway and on the streets) attract attention because of the urgent aspect that they represent. People are obliged to see the ads, even if they aren’t going to make use of the products, because they’re displayed on the walls or bus

stops for a reason. Usually, the ads remind people that this product exists and that everyone can consume it eventually.

Therefore, ads in the subway station are contemporary examples of discursive events, encoded by values and beliefs, allowing people to be aware of products, trends and become a potential consumer of the product on sale or even someone that will propagandize in a discursive act the information seen in the ad. It's the spread of information, the experience of using the product and becoming a consumer, that makes the product and the company known.

The represented participant in an ad may be someone easily identifiable by the users, such as an actor or a TV host, which makes the product and company more trustable; or alternatively, someone completely unknown to the audience, but equally attractive, with a successful and happy appearance.

By seeing this "garoto/a propaganda" as many times as possible, people will start to feel acquainted and comfortable with his/her presence. In this sense, it's possible to associate a person and a brand, which seems to be the case of Baú da Felicidade and Silvio Santos in Brazil and of course the classic BomBril adverts. Still, the ad producer can decide to display only objects without any human characters involved and focus on the particulars of the product.

Media producers exploit our limited knowledge of the production, marketing process and company flows of ads. By taking advantage of our restricted notion of reality, potential consumers, as social actors, remain vulnerable to all sorts of discursive events that they don't fully understand. In other words, the ads and the information displayed become an uncontestable truth.

True or not, the content of the ads is disseminated by social actors that engage in a social practice, where value judgments are expressed by them, regarding the ad/product/company. Consumers stay attached to the information provided and social practices start changing in relation to the audience's interests and their consumption pattern.

It is language that plays such a fundamental role in transmitting the content of the ads and in becoming the link between discursive practices and events, because language is a form of social practice. In the words of Fairclough (1989, p. 22) "language is a part of society, and not somehow external to it (...) language is a social process, (...) language is a socially conditioned process, conditioned that is by other non-linguistic parts of society".

In other words, due to the fact that ads are multimodal in their essence - presenting a combination of more than one mode

communication within the same text – people encode a dual semiotic structure (written text and image) with a significant influence on the practices they are involved; thus, it is of paramount importance to highlight that “even in the most abstract and theoretical aspects of human thought and verbal usage, the real understanding of words ultimately derives from active experience of those aspects of reality to which the words belong” (Malinowski, in van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 5). Expanding on this notion a bit further, ‘words’ here can be understood as images, as well. The idea is to show that once adverts are available somewhere, they become part of the individual or a group’s repertoire, and consequently part of discursive and social structures and events.

3.3. The context of situation in ads

Advertising permeates several means of communication, namely, Internet, TV daily news, roadside billboards, and so on. Products, services and ideas are sold through ads, and consumers build an emotional relationship with them and the concepts they sell, becoming extremely familiar over the years.

In Brazil, for instance, some brands are so familiar to us that they become easily recognizable all over the country, as mentioned before. Within the house chores domain, for example, it’s not uncommon to hear people saying that “Bombril” is a more reliable brand or that Q-Boa and Candida are the best bleaches on the market. Some may think that Brastemp is worth the price.

Moreover, by becoming too well known, a brand might turn its name into the way the product shall be called. For instance, maize starch in Brazil is known as Maisena, while the act of photocopying a book’s page is known as xeroxing – both language shifts received these names due to the famous brands, Maisena and Xerox.

In the following sections, I will discuss the configurations of Field, Tenor and Mode in the data under analysis, bearing in mind that what happens at the level of context of situation in terms of Field, Tenor and Mode happens at the linguistic level in terms of the three metafunctions proposed by Halliday. Field, Tenor and Mode, as previously explained (cf. Chapter 2) will help contextualize the ads and account for the linguistic realization of adverts.

3.3.1. Field

Field looks at the social activity that is being realized and the objective of the action. In other words, Field shows what the text is about. It is equivalent to the ideational metafunction in terms of function of language (cf. chapter 2).

In the present work, the data mainly consists of advertisements collected from the subway stations in Avenida Paulista and from bus stops in Avenida Paulista itself publicizing a wide range of products and services, such as private courses and universities, food networks, local bookstores, television programs, technological devices and products in general. Some of the ads use real people to advertise the products, such as Brazilian actors/actresses and other famous people.

Fictional characters are also present, especially in kids-related ads, usually ads inviting kids for children's events. The invitation is usually directed to parents who are the ones responsible for taking children to the events. Fictional characters are normally very attractive, colorful, with a thematic easily recognizable by kids, such as famous characters from kids' movies.

The social activities reported in the ads are double-institutionalized by the companies that sell the products and services (schools, colleges, pharmacy industry, perfume companies, etc.) and by the subway's administration or the City Hall's office that are in charge of regulating the advertising service for the companies. This partnership between the private and the public sector is a very common characteristic of neoliberal societies which are expected to deliver good results to society, but in many cases point to ambivalent and even deceptive outcomes, advancing the interests of the private sector over the interests of the state, the citizens and the society as a whole.

3.3.2. Tenor

In terms of functions of language, Tenor is realized by the interpersonal metafunction. When we consider Tenor, we attempt to understand the relationship between the producer and the target audience, which in the present work is the relationship between the ad producer and the subway users and passers-by on the avenue (the viewers). We may want to identify how the relationship between them is signaled.

Usually what is depicted in the ads is a positive evaluation of the products intended to sell. The producers are concerned with the way the audience absorbs that idea, so most ads try to exalt what the company is trying to sell. If it's a telephone company, the ad will

probably show how fast their internet provider is, but if it's a bookstore company, they'll probably have the latest editorial hit to sell you, a private school will probably show you how their prices are competitive and affordable.

The intended audience for the ads is unknown, supposedly subway users, passers-by, residents and tourists. With such a varied group, it seems almost impossible to determine a specific type of language and taste. However, it's possible to use language that is more accessible for everyone and that the ads are more straight to the point, concise, using images to help convey the meaning the ad producers wish to, so that they can be understood by the great audience.

Social distance is also a relevant matter in the ads. Most of them are designed to be closer to the audience. Not only do they use close-shots as an efficient artifice to forge this connection with the audience, but they also use famous and popular characters so that the audience recognizes their interlocutors and stays more open to what is being sold. In the case of Avenida Paulista, the ads focus a lot more on the products and services offered.

In terms of written language, the argumentation doesn't leave space for doubts and modal markers (broadly speaking, used to raise doubts and add less certainty). On the contrary, they try to make the most of the space they own and be assertive, using declaratives or imperatives. In terms of visual communication represented participants engage with the audience by gazing at them directly in the eyes and showing a friendly and/or respectful expression.

3.3.3. Mode

The channel of communication is the advertisement, which is a specific kind of ad arranged by the subway administration, to be used exclusively in the stations (corridors and train) and the ads displayed at Avenida Paulista after 2015 on the bus stops along the avenue.

In the subway website (<http://www.metro.sp.gov.br/metro/negocios/midia/>) all the formats (size and shapes) prices and names are indicated for those interested in buying an ad space for their company. The ads from the subway I chose are the ones in the corridor of the stations and the ones from the platforms. According to the information provided by the website the ads I chose for this work are the Painel Super and the Painel Dupla Face.

The company responsible for the ads at Avenida Paulista is Ótima (<http://www.otima.com/site/php/pagina.php?pag=1>). According to their website, Ótima has 25 years of concession to install and maintain the ads at Avenida Paulista.

The medium of the ads is a combination of written text and visual elements produced to be looked at and read only one way by the viewers. Some of the ads from Avenida Paulista are interactive and expect people to engage with the machine, such as the one below:



Figure.17

In the interactive ad above, people can type the number of their Brazilian document (CPF) and receive a small bottle of coconut water for free. By typing the number, the company responsible guarantee that any person will receive only one bottle of coconut. The idea is to let people interact with the machine, as said previously and have some information about the product, be curious about it and try some for free, thus leading to future purchases.

Other ads are in a sequence, such as the one below from Ministério Público (MP-SP). The ad uses the mechanism of intertextuality that reminds us of one of Renoir's painting. The sequence ad begins with two girls in a painting. But since one of them is missing, the ad producers use this to attract attention to a program of missing kids

administered by MP-SP. This ad uses an electronic device that allows the images to pass on a looping sequence.



Figure.18

In the next sections, I will present some of the ads and correlate them with the complex phenomenon of neoliberalism in liquid societies and its main characteristics.

3.4. Interconnectedness

What Bauman (2007-1) calls the ‘wireless society’ (p.1) is the society that is constantly interconnected and that changes its priority and focus all the time. For this society, to be disconnected isn’t an option, since its members have no worries about displaying their personal lives in social networks. Recently (October, 27th, 2015) I had the chance of attending at USP a very insightful lecture by Boaventura de Sousa Santos, professor of Social Sciences at the University of Coimbra. At some point in the lecture, he said that, there was an inside joke among Secret Service’s employees regarding the possibility of the disappearance of all Secret Services in the world (CIA, Mossad, MR6) due to the fact that there’s no need for investigative work anymore,

since people are already showing off everything about their lives on Facebook.

As funny as this can be, Bauman (2007-1) calls attention to the fact that in a consumer society, some people seem tremendously happy displaying photographs and stories about their lives online, while they honestly believe that they've been exercising their free-will. There seems to be a tendency among the ads collected to make reference to the internet content and those that don't, at least bring some elements that remember an internet connection, such as smartphones, laptops, internet devices, as the ads below prove.



Figure.19



Figure.20



Figure.21

Ads above (cf. figure.19, 20, 21) are from different companies, show different products and have distinct formats, and they all make some kind of reference to the internet.

Looking at Saraiva's ad below, we can see that a single ad has five references to the internet.

From left to right: 1) LEV, digital e-reader from the Saraiva bookstore, it's similar to Kobo from Cultura Bookstore and Kindle from the Amazon, similar functions and internet connection; 2) QR Code; QR stands for Quick Response, and it's used to take some information from a transitory media to your cell phone.

The cell phone must have a QR Code reader to see the details. Usually QR Codes provide extra information about a movie, an artist, an advert, and so on; 3) www.saraiva.com.br, the ad directs the viewer to the website in case they become interested in the product; 4) Facebook and Twitter are represented by their icons, easily recognizable if you're a social media's user. Those icons aren't taught at school, but they are present everywhere nowadays, it's part of a multimodal literacy and the advent of new technologies.

Those who can't read them are in a way visual illiterates to use Kress & van Leeuwen's notion (2006, p. 17); 5) #cabnoseubolso,

hashtag (#) is a metadata tag used on blogs and social networks to reunite the similar / same kind of content.



Figure.22

For instance, hashtags have been constantly associated with social activism. In 2015, feminists used the tag #notguilty, after a student from Oxford University was raped. Not guilty is related to the fact that most rape victims are accused of being guilty, as if they asked for it. The hashtag #coupinbrazil, was used to report the ongoing coup orchestrated by the vice president Michel Temer and his allies. In the present study #cabenseubolso makes reference to the price and how the product is affordable.

It's important to add that this narrow relationship with the internet makes us, in a certain way, dependent on the information provided by social medias, especially Facebook and Twitter. I take my own experience when I say this. I knew from several sources that it's impossible to delete a Facebook account, because this social media stores all of your data claiming this is just in case you regret your decision and want to return. Remember we all signed the terms of agreement, but we probably didn't read them. Well, knowing this, I decided that in 2015 I would reduce the amount of time I would spend on Facebook. That's when I spent 4 months away from Facebook. To my surprise, I missed one music festival and two academic appointments in town and I also lost two book sales promoted by two well-known Publishing Houses in Brazil that use Facebook as a channel of communication with their clients.

To sum up, I realized that social medias nowadays go beyond a place of leisure and fun, but it's also a place for instant information and

the fast spreading of news, events and trends, not to mention that is a very productive place for political, cultural and artistic discussion, especially when debated in a civilized manner. In times when information flows so fast, companies can't afford losing the opportunity of displaying their products online, even if at least at one social media. Ads in the subway and mainly ads in the streets, capture a great audience and propagandize a huge amount of information, about culture, entertainment, internet jargon, and so on, and they're still responsible for conveying meanings and values.

As Fairclough (1989, p. 23) wisely puts it: "linguistic phenomena are social in the sense that whenever people speak or listen or write or read, they do so in ways which are determined socially and have social effects". In this sense, passers-by at Avenida Paulista or subway users are widely influenced by the several marketing discourses and lifestyle tendencies spread in the city.

Not to mention that the phenomenon of interconnectedness is related to several aspects of social life – political, economic, cultural. Interconnectedness here has to do with 1) the way people are connected through social medias and electronic devices; 2) the way information reaches people, if it's fast or slow, heterogeneous or not, mediated by digital or traditional resources; 3) flow of people (tourists, migrants, refugees), things (goods and money), and also information (images, videos, online photos).

In a neoliberal society, these flows are seen in diverse aspects, such as, economics (trading networks between international agencies, namely the International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization), political (governmental agencies at regional and national levels); 2) cultural (contemporary media and communication technologies). These flows include also representation and discourses, such as the discourse of neoliberalism, which claims that markets should be self-regulated, without too many interferences of the state, unless the state itself serves the purpose of markets (Harvey, 2005, Dardot & Laval, 2014).

It is not that all the advertisements collected here show explicitly the logic of deregulation of markets, aspects of individualism, and different forms of communication, but in reality they're all affected by certain notions of neoliberalism, such as consumerism, appropriate ways of behaving, ideal career and education patterns, which are neoliberal features in their essence. What I attempt to do with these images and the whole neoliberalism-liquid-society-theory is to call

attention to realities that have been established to our lives, through images (on the internet, on TV, on the streets) without questioning, seeming almost impossible to keep up with all the information and subtle behavioral impositions.

It is no surprise, for instance, that a digital language, such as hashtags from social networks, is used to proliferate political, cultural and economic knowledge worldwide. This way, information travels faster and reaches people (although not equally and homogeneously) in different regions. News and knowledge travelling fast is a relevant characteristic of neoliberalism, especially because neoliberals take advantage of this constant flow of people, processes and knowledge. It is of utmost importance to such a complex ideology to have a never-stopping-flux of content and information, leading individuals to believe in the inevitability of the neoliberal strength and in its inescapable course. That's why it's important to have in mind that the ideology behind neoliberalism operates through subtle practices directed to states and individuals, such as the ads presented here.

Other concepts that deepen the scope of this discussion, are the concepts of deregulation of markets and privatization of public services - both notions mutually connected. In very broad terms, deregulation is the process in which the government has its role reduced, diminishing everything that could decrease profit from private companies. By liberating all/most of the bonds imposed by the government, private enterprises are free to control capital, goods and services, no matter how much this would affect the individuals (Harvey, 2005). Let's take the ad below as a reference for our discussion.



Figure.23

One classic example in Brazil is the privatization of telephone services in the country. Today, telephone companies belong mostly to foreign capital, due to the process of privatization of state companies back in the 90's during the former president Fernando Henrique Cardoso's term of office. The privatization of telephone companies brought a lot of false expectancy to the people that believed that a better service would be provided by private companies. In fact, neoliberalism sells the idea that efficiency can only be reached by the privatization of companies and that competition is the driving force behind efficiency. At least in Brazil, these allegations proved wrong. Not only is the quality of the service debatable, but the governmental institution responsible for controlling and supervising the service provided and protecting the consumer's rights, in the case of telephony sectors (ANATEL) doesn't act on the consumers' behalf in the way it is supposed to.

Very recently, ANATEL tried to limit the data traffic of consumers and benefit the telephone companies. The idea was to limit the data access of fixed networks, the same way that already happens with mobile networks. The Brazilian government had to intervene and guarantee the consumers' right. It's interesting that the defenders of neoliberalism always argue that the companies have to compete among themselves freely because competition is healthy and advisable. But when their rivals (Netflix, for instance, that sells TV content similar to Vivo) decrease their profit and affect their interests, then open competition isn't that desirable anymore.

With that situation in mind, I conclude that neoliberalism likes competition when it's beneficial for business, but when it hurts their companies, competition becomes a liability, a heavy burden to deal with. Harvey (2005, p. 26) contends that with deregulations and privatizations worldwide "began the momentous shift towards greater social inequality and the restoration of economic power to the upper class".

Another interesting fact to mention regarding telephone is that the 4G technology that is sold in Brazil is far from being the same technology sold outside Brazil. The quality offered in Brazil is low, if compared to what is provided abroad by the same company. I explain: Vivo is a result of the fusion between Portugal Telecom and the Spanish Telefónica that are well regarded overseas.

The fusion gave rise to Telefónica. This information is provided in very small letters on the ad, as illustrated by a yellow arrow. Knowing

this, a potential client is led to believe that the service provided in Brazil is the same provided outside. Not to mention that there's this belief among the defenders of neoliberalism and global capitalism that the rapid flow of information, capital and people are always beneficial to citizens, when what happens is that the unfortunate side isn't always revealed.

In fact, what is behind advertisements such as this one is that telephone companies sell one thing and promise something completely different. They use what Fairclough (2006) calls "branding", which is the promise a company makes to their clients, showing the values and strengths of that company, but the reality is totally different. What Brazilian customers don't know is that Telefónica uses the strength of their "branding" leading consumers in Brazil to believe that they're acquiring an excellent product and making a good investment, as if they were abroad. What happens is that Telefónica (Vivo) takes advantage of the holes in the local legislation, as much as they take advantage of the lobby they make over ANATEL.

Vivo's ad is one of the many ads found in the city that tries to sell the idea that their company is the leader in Brazil's market and that the service is altogether different from other companies; when, in fact, it's commonsensical that telephone companies are becoming more of an oligopoly leaving their clients almost no way out. Saying that Vivo is the leader of 4G in Brazil is not only deceptive but insulting, because internet users in Brazil don't have access to this kind of technology, as sold in the ad, simply because Brazil doesn't have enough antennas spread all over the country – not even enough 4G antennas in São Paulo, where the ad was collected, for what matters. Therefore, there's no such a thing as a leader in 4G in Brazil, because all the telephone companies share the same antennas and pretty much the same technology available in Brazil. Thus, the whole neoliberal package is being sold in one same ad – the logic of trading, profiting and deregulation.

Not to mention that telephone companies sell the idea of being connected at any time, in any place, in a clear misstatement of time and space. Ever more advanced technology fosters consumers to replace their 'obsolete products' and expect the companies to provide them with new ones. The expectation is bigger than the satisfaction of actually using the product.

Who would've guessed that people would make gigantic lines to buy the newest version of the iPhone? Do we really need a version of Amazon's new water-proof Kindle? This whole fluidity in the relations of time and space presented at Vivo's ad, was predicted by Bauman.

Bauman (2007) argues that in the Solid Era, security was an important issue to take into account, as previously mentioned (cf. Chapter 2). Today it is velocity, and we are lead to believe that we're all connected, and that 2G and 3G aren't enough anymore.

Relations of time and space are very relevant aspects of our current time. Time in society today is more fluid and urgent. The matter of time will be explored in the following ad (cf. Figure.24), where it is consubstantiated in the whole 'Vestibular Agendado' idea.



Figure.24

The idea of a scheduled entrance test (vestibular) gives the student-to-be the possibility of having the test at any time. Time is not a concern anymore because it fits the individual's needs and preferences. By booking the preferable hour for taking his/her tests, the future student avoids any inconveniences, such as taking tests on a bright Sunday morning, as happens with most of vestibulares in public universities in Brazil. The mechanism of 'Vestibular Agendado' suits perfectly the neoliberal ideology of privileging the individual and their demands justifying the notion of autonomy and flexibility. Bauman (2007-2, p.124) says "all forms must be flexible, all conditions must be temporary, all formats capable of remodeling".

It's worth looking at this ad further because it condenses many of the basic precepts of neoliberalism. One precept is the association between education and private interests. Private educational institutions are eager to defend what they like to call "education for all", "you just have to try harder, if you want to succeed" and so on. Behind this

façade, lies an unequal education system that has resulted in an exponential growth of inequalities all over the world. FIES (illustrated by an arrow on the ad), the national subsidized program created by the Brazilian government during the years of the Worker's Party's government in Brazil has helped many students around the country.

The problem is that, with the impeachment process of president Dilma Rousseff, many state subsidies risk being cut by the new government, concerned as they are with anti-public-welfare interests; in other words, cuts in public money serve to increase profits from private institutions by the reduction of taxes.

Not to mention that, institutions run by private interests, guarantee that the teaching will be directed to market purposes and follow the capitalist' agenda. The search for profit is not a recent one, though. Karl Marx in his famous "The Communist Manifesto" discussed concepts, such as the "surplus value"; in lay terms, this is the unpaid work time that goes straight to capitalists.

The difference is that today we have technologies and the fast spread of information to consolidate such a multifaceted and complex ideology, such as neoliberalism. In the long-run, opening the doors of national education to private systems will leave the education's interest at the mercy of private interests, as well.

And what kind of interests are these, one may ask. An educational institution controlled by private interests will produce knowledge ideologically compatible with their purposes based on a technically trained workforce to work in capitalist's corporations, in order to extract as much "surplus value" from workers, as possible.

The impact of neoliberalism on our behaviour as consumers is worthy of consideration. Technological products are the ones more impacted with innovations creating this urgent need for the replacement of old or not so updated products, intensifying consumerism. Several functionalities have been implemented in products, especially technological ones. See the Dell's ad below (cf. Figure.25).



Figure.25.

The laptop turns into several positions and it suits the individual's preference. It was all invented to make life easier, enjoyable, funnier, according to the ad itself. The fluidity of moments requires disposable products to constantly fit the individual's needs and desires. The laptop that shifts to different positions has the role of providing moments of pleasure and fun, but it will be substituted soon by a brand new model. In Bauman's words "the most pressing need that makes haste truly imperative is nevertheless the necessity to discard and replace" (2007-1, p. 36) and he still continues by saying that "in the consumerist economy, products as a rule appear first (...) and only then do they seek their applications" (p.38).

Using my personal experience as an example, at first glance, I myself didn't know I needed this computer until I found out that the Yoga series, as it is known, could make a difference for me in my daily routine. It is called Yoga series, because users can accommodate it to different modes of use, since it can be bent in many ways due to its flexible screen, as the sequence of images below illustrate:³

³ Images retrieved by Google.



Figure.26. Yoga computer

Now that I'm well familiar with my Dell laptop, I know for a fact that the moving screen is the best invention for researchers, students, journalists and everyone else who spends a lot of time in front of the computer, because it adapts to your body necessities. If you're too tired, you probably want to recline the screen a little bit more and use the laptop in the tablet function.

To put it mildly, I didn't even know how much I needed this laptop before I bought it. It's amazing how technology surprises you with different gadgets and appliances you never knew of or that you needed before. Again, another gadget that suits the individual's interests and comfort. The ad is directed to computer's users, and it makes sure users understand the message about all of its functionalities (Recline, Gire, Transforme, Trabalhe e Divirta-se).

Another important feature of neoliberalism that has to be commented here is that companies such as Dell and HP have different marketing objectives: in the case of this product specifically, Dell is responsible for producing the design and machinery of the computers while HP produces the technology inside the computers. They both work together so that the final price can be reduced.

This kind of fusion between companies is what Harvey identifies as part of the 'system of flexible accumulation' (cf. Chapter 2), in which capitalists benefit from a much more flexible allocation of the means of production; meaning that a computer can have its parts produced in many different places before all the parts are finally gathered together into a final product.

Usually this makes the computer's components cheaper, but also, slower and less efficient. Again, clients tend to think they're buying top notch products, when in fact they're consuming lower

quality products, at least in terms of internal processing and components, in spite of an attractive design.

It's important to add that the sales pitch isn't objective, but rather subjective, because products are simply more user friendly, offering gadgets that are apparently of utmost necessity to consumers, though in fact, they can be worse than the computers sold by rivals.

Moreover, Dell's ad above brings technical information about the computer; information that probably won't make much of a difference to most of the consumers, because not everyone knows what a dual core processor is (even if one has already heard of it), or a touchscreen beats audio. Although these terms all seem very bright and useful, they are placed on the ad just as a way to draw people's attention to the product and make it look more valuable and higher quality.

The ever increasing amount of information can be noticed not only in technological devices, but also in what is produced by the media, by academics and by book publishing houses. Ignacio Ramonet (apud Bauman, 2007-1, p. 39), Spanish journalist and sociologist has relevant data that will help us in the analysis of the next ads. He argues that in the last 30 years the world has produced much more information than in the last 5000 years. He adds that "a single copy of the Sunday edition of the New York Times contains more information than a cultivated person in the eighteenth century would consume during a lifetime".

Information is produced not only in terms of written texts, but also regarding photographs and videos. Mirzoeff (2015) states that this is the way we found to make sense of ourselves in this emerging visual society. A deleterious consequence of this massive production of information is that not everything that is produced, interconnected and displayed online or elsewhere won't ever be consumed. Bauman (2007-1, p. 39) argues that:

"A few authors of scholarly studies include in their references texts they have never read (the referencing system most widely used by scholarly periodicals, and authoritatively endorsed, calls for no engagement with the substance of the referenced text and amounts in practice to mere name dropping, thereby sanctioning and greatly facilitating such a procedure)"

I bring two examples below. The object of the first ad (cf. Figure.27) is sold as a complete online success that is now available as a printed version and also as an online version (according to my own search on the Internet, although the ad doesn't make any reference to this fact). *Pó de Lua* is probably one of those content material that Bauman describes as content that won't reach a great variety of people or at least most people won't hear about it.



Figure.27

Before this ad, I had never heard about this book or author, which doesn't mean it isn't good or appropriate. It simply means that not all kinds of publications will reach us equally and thus, it's almost impossible to keep track of every new book, especially of the advent of e-pubs or e-books.

Even though neoliberalism sells the idea we're all inevitably connected and that individuals are free to choose whatever they feel like choosing, this kind of ad proves that there's a long distance between what has been produced out there in the world and what we've been actually consuming and that it's almost impossible to be certain that everyone is equally connected and consuming.

The interconnectedness here relates to the fact that information today is easily verified. I myself wasn't sure whether *Pó de Lua* has an online version, however I noticed on the ad that Intrínseca has a section dedicated to the book, due to the extension www.intrinseca.com.br/podelua. This information made it possible for me to verify the additional information about the book.

Even if this extension wasn't available on the ad, I still would check the internet to search for more information. And that's only possible because we're connected through several networks. In this respect, Mirzoeff (2015, p. 13) explains that "it is not just that networks give us access to images – the image relates to networked life on and offline and the ways we think about and experience those relations".

Although I won't consume this kind of literature, because I'm not a big fan of this genre, the information and the content of this book is out there, part of this networked society ready to be consumed by someone else, because as Bauman (2007-1) warns us "contemporary society engages its members primarily as consumers; only secondarily, and in part, does it engage them as producers". Eventually, *Pó de Lua* will find its audience, because our role in current society is that of consumers, otherwise we're 'failed individuals', using Bauman's expression, meaning that if we don't exercise our role of consumers properly, we've failed.

The other book ad (cf. Figure.28) not only is completely unfamiliar to me, but it's also a sequel to a previous book I had no idea existed.



Figure.28

I meticulously checked with some friends who are enthusiastic readers and they had no knowledge of this book either. Surely, it isn't enough to delimit that the book *Encontrada* isn't a major success. It probably has found its audience. My point is that there's too much information around us ready to be consumed, and therefore, media

producers find a way to remember us of the products they want to sell through informative advertising all over the city.

A point that is worth mentioning is that in a consumer society some commodities are preferable to show off rather than others. Almost no one wants to be associated with discredited brands. In the case of books and other readings, it's quite clear that the books in the ads aren't prestigious reading from any prestigious authors. If this were the case those books would probably receive more attention on the internet, on TV, on street ads, or in any renowned channel of communication, as we're used to see in case of influential authors.

It's important to consider that adverts are fundamental, especially in case of less prestigious products (book in this case), to make the audience aware of these products and interested in buying them. Quality items, though, sell themselves; the power of a renowned brand has an influencing effect over people; however, adverts are still extremely important even in cases of well-known brands, in order to inform people of updates and tendencies, and guarantee clients will return. Advertisements are powerful reminders that the product exists, hence, it should be consumed.

Also in a consumer society, short-term success is preferable to long-term success. Long-term success was a relevant characteristic of the solid-modernity. Today success is impactful and fast. Remember the Twilight series (books and movies). The saga talked about the life and adventures of the Cullen's vampires and lasted from 2008-2012. Today we don't hear about them anymore. New sagas keep arising. Among so many book releases, readers have the "liberty" to choose between the options.

News ads collected from Avenida Paulista display local and global information. Global information called my attention due to the randomness of the topics selected to be announced. One of them, I bring here to this discussion is about Myanmar, a country not so much in vogue within the international debate and that isn't a traditional and strategic partner of our country; but still media producers decided to display a report concerning this country. The report says that the winner of the Nobel prize will be part of the ministries in Myanmar. Take a look at the ad below (cf. Figure.29).



Figure.29

I'm confident when I say that the majority of the passers-by who walk along Avenida Paulista don't know who Aung san Suu Kyi is and her story. So, why is this kind of news report being shown on Avenida Paulista and what does it have to do with neoliberalism within the context of the current society? Tubella (in Castells & Cardoso, 2005) may have the proper explanation for this. She says that the Internet and the spread of diversified information shape our social identities and the perception we have of the world. She argues: "it spans cultural spheres and geographical boundaries and allows communication from many to many" (p. 257).

The author also argues that there are two kinds of identity: an individual and a collective one; and that both of these identities are highly influenced by the 'symbolic materials', to use Tubella's words, of the current media and the amount of information we receive. The simple fact that it changes people's lives entirely is a matter that has everything to do with the current society, especially if we consider the complexity, uncertainty and the volatility that tackles the whole issue of identity change that Tubella discusses.

The Myanmar news, just mentioned, in this way, helps changing, or at least influencing the way people make sense of the world. The ad shows a positive model of living life, not only emphasizing a constructive conduct (Aung San Suu Kyi doing something good to the world), but also spreading this kind of behavior so that people can recreate this. The significance of a Nobel Prize is

enormous; it helps build character of other people who might be influenced by such a model, because people can be influenced by models, positive or not. So much so that, the World Health Organization (WHO) doesn't recommend countries to publicize about suicide cases, in order to avoid an increase of episodes all over the world. This leads us to believe that positive attitudes, worth being reported, as a model to be admired and followed.

This process of identity change, happens differently depending on the medium that the individuals encounter. For Tubella (ibid) television influences the individual's identity vertically while the Internet and other more recent means of communication (usually the hi-tech ones) shape the identities horizontally; in other words, hierarchically speaking, television exerts more power over the audience because of a variety of reasons, such as the predefined content, produced to a target-audience, with a predefined purpose, and so on (vertical). Information on the internet offers the option of choice. People can actually choose what they're going to consume (horizontal).

Information happens to be transmitted vertically when it flows unequally between individuals; especially when there's power relations involved and the communication occurs only one way, making it impossible to fight back, to reply. A horizontal communication happens when individuals (content producers and consumers) hold the same status and rank and information doesn't flow from superior to subordinate.

The idea of news ads at Avenida Paulista, a very busy and crowded space that hosts people from different ethnicities, cultures, backgrounds must be thought deeply. If we think in terms of reach, these news reports will get through a lot of people and influence a considerably large number of individuals; if we think in terms of the way this information reaches people and its vertical range, citizens are receiving a pre-selected content by whoever is behind the production, selection and reproduction of information.

Technology and information produced and spread by the use of technology change us. Mirzoeff (2015) talks about an experiment conducted by two psychologists in the late 1990s, he says:

Those who participated in the study were asked to watch a video and count the number of times the team wearing white passes a basketball while they play a team wearing black shirts. As this simple action unfolded, a person wearing a gorilla suit walks across the court. Roughly half of the people watching did not even notice the gorilla. They were concentrating on counting”.

Mirzoeff (2015) tried the test on current students and a considerable number of them saw the gorilla. The author, basing himself on what the psychologists had already concluded, argues that people who grew up watching video games, accessing the Internet resources and using touch screen products are more likely to see things in a different way. The psychologists who conducted the study went further – they showed the video to basketball players and the number of people who saw the animals jumped to nearly 70 percent. Mirzoeff (2015, p. 79) comes with a conclusion that interests us, he says:

“My sample group is larger in size, and compiled over several years, although not conducted as a scientific study. Perhaps my counter-sample, drawn as it is from participants in visual cultural classes, is just more visually aware. The capacities of the human body obviously cannot have evolved in a short space of time. Rather, the change comes in the way we make use of visual information”.

In other words, the way we perceive the world has changed. Our lives have been affected by different networks, connectivities and interactions that were imposed on us. The process of neoliberalism is a form of social action, and it’s represented as an agent *per se*, causing changes in the world through distinct forms of argumentation and narratives, such as “neoliberalism is good for markets”, “neoliberalism is beneficial to society over the long run”, etc.

3.5. The entrepreneurial Subject

The entrepreneurial subject is also known as the neo-subject or the neo-liberal subject (Dardot & Laval, 2014) and the idea behind this subject is that of efficiency and self-display that present some similarities with what Bauman calls the ‘confessional society’, which is the society that overshares to the world what they’ve been wearing, eating, where they’ve been travelling to, or in other words, what they’ve been buying (clothes, food, trips). Consumption is a banal, indeed trivial affair”, to use Bauman’s expression (2007, p. 25), but mostly it has become a necessity, since “physical, social and psychical nudity is the order of the day” (Bauman, 2007-1, p. 3).

Part of this necessity to overshare and show personal achievements online can be explained by the fact that, people are becoming sellers of their own lives, as if they were products. For Bauman (2007-1, p. 6):

“They are, simultaneously, promoters of commodities and the commodities they promote. They are, at the same time, the merchandise and their marketing agents, the goods and their travelling salespeople (and let me add that any academic who has ever applied for a teaching job or research funds will easily recognize her or his own predicament in their experience)”.

In this sense, if we take a good look at the represented participants, especially those of educational ads, they are usually depicted as successful young adults, in pursuit of a career or even trying to ascend professionally, dressed formally or casually, never sloppy, belonging to the middle-class and white. And the ads also focus on their physical attributes. The examples below are illustrative in this sense.

The following ad (cf. Figure.30) is from a prep course in the law area and the characters depicted are young adults, all of them are well dressed, as an indicative that they’ve been recently to their professional environment or that they’re still in a corporate context. Either case, the focus of the ad is the personal success and job stability, which is almost a contradiction, when we think about the binomial stability/neoliberalism.



Figure.30

Different contexts, such as educational and professional, require a saleable self-image. TV shows are usually concerned with the preservation of the image of their hosts. They're usually young, with a nicely done body, hair, make-up and outfit. Sabrina Sato in the ad below (cf. Figure.31) isn't only selling her TV show or the promise of "showing everything at Record", as the ad says, but mostly she's selling her image. As a famous TV personality in Brazil products that are associated with her, such as cosmetics are much easier to sell if someone well known in Brazil propagandized them.

The idea of promoting one's body is in a way the commoditization of personal attributes in order to achieve higher objectives, such as promote a TV show or be presentable in job interviews. The very idea of displaying online profiles of our curriculum vitae (or in Brazil's case, Lattes) is a way to expose our professional skills and best achievements in our area of expertise.

A neoliberal subject is the subject concerned with physical attributes but also with other qualities to consolidate a successful image.



Figure.31

The idea of selling oneself as a product to be consumed comes from a long time ago in labor marketing. The German sociologist Siegfried Kracauer (Kracauer, 1930 in Bauman, 2007-1) analyzed the Berlin society in the mid 20's and found out that both men and women were regular customers in beauty parlors due to existential concerns. The fear of getting old and therefore obsolete appeared to haunt men and women from Berlin. The Australian feminist, Germaine Greer (Greer, 2004 in Bauman, 2007-1) also observed that women in China called liberalization the act of taking off their pajamas and put on their sexy bras.

The advent of new technology has enhanced cosmetics treatments and surgical interventions worldwide. In 2014 a news report from www.globo.com ⁴said that Brazil has surpassed the USA in number of plastic surgeries. According to the media report, a number of 1.49 million surgeries were performed in Brazil, almost 13% of the world rate. For Bauman there's an explanation why people are ever more concerned with their appearance. Individuals in current society feel the necessity of maintaining the appearance renewed "to attract the eye of potential buyers, meet with their approval and entice them to buy what they see" (Bauman, 2007-1, p. 7).

⁴ <http://g1.globo.com/bemestar/noticia/2014/07/brasil-se-toma-pela-primeira-vez-lider-em-cirurgias-plasticas-diz-organizacao.html> retrieved in November, 2015.

Thus, when I say that Sabrina Sato is selling herself as an object, it isn't an excessive conclusion or a fabrication, but an ever more common routine observed in societies today.

Looking at the ads below, we see that this concern is well presented. Both ads (cf. Figure.32, Figure.33) from different companies are promoting the idea of beauty and both companies decided to promote not men but women's beauty, as if there's this effort to make women aware that beauty is essential in a woman's life and it's something that must be pursued.

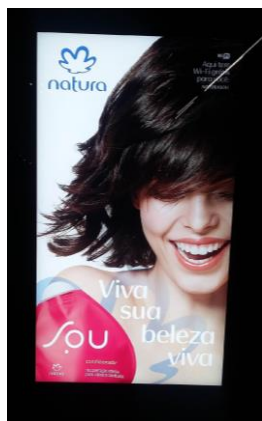


Figure.32



Figure.33

There seems to be an excessive concern with beauty, especially women's beauty and bodies. This tiring beautification and embellishment work – plastic surgeries, make-up, anti-aging cosmetics, dieting, are very oppressive, in the sense that they are discriminatory, hurting women that weren't born with a specific, pre-determined usually Eurocentric form of beauty.

Those women who aren't inserted in this pattern suffer for not belonging to this restricted circle. Some try desperately to fit into this model and others empower themselves in order to survive so much criticism and prejudice.

Beautification is a cruel side of neoliberalism, that reward women who are part of this beauty pattern and condemn those who aren't. If this oppression on women's body is so pernicious, how come these beauty standards persist? There's an economic factor, behind this beauty culture, that is been reproduced over the years and that is

responsible for the diffusion of beauty concepts through different media strategies. Beauty practices are located in many places, beauty parlors and shops, pages of women's magazines, billboards, TV commercials, advertisements, and so on.

Women have always suffered prejudice for a matter of gender. Nowadays, women are actively present in many spheres of social life which may mistakenly lead some to believe that sexism has been softened or eliminated, especially now that women are allowed to focus more on their careers and conciliate their professional and personal lives.

Neoliberalism and a liquid modernity society, though, have been using resourceful methods to put in evidence women's beauty and impose an impossible model to follow. Advertisements and TV propaganda usually focus on women's beauty, appearance and age. Meanwhile, men are recognized by their professional achievements. The naturalization of body promotion reinforces a certain oppressive and invisible model that pervades women's life, and therefore, must be studied, scrutinized and made aware to everyone.

In the Cenoura & Bronze ad there's also this appeal to beauty.



Figure.34

One important thing to notice is that the natural production of collagen in human bodies decrease as soon as we start getting older. Cenoura & Bronze seems to have the solution. According to the ad, if you use it, you'll preserve the collagen production active on your body. Why collagen is so important to the point of being mentioned in cosmetics' ads? Collagen is responsible for keeping the body's tissues firm, and consequently, give a healthy appearance to the body, especially parts that are prone to soften.

What drug industries conveniently forget to mention is that collagen is also really important for health in general, not only to the body's appearance, but to the human organism as whole; severe lack of collagen is associated with a number of health problems. The question that remains is: why is it more important to associate the use of collagen to human beauty than to human health? Aren't health issues more relevant than beauty issues?

The cosmetic industry is a huge supporter of people's appearance. The ad below sells the idea of "exclusive French scent" and elegance. For Bauman (2007-1, p.7-8) the appearance is a marketing affair, in his words "job-seekers had to be properly nourished and healthy, used to disciplined behaviour, and in possession of the skills required by the working routines of the jobs they seek".



Figure.35

Not to mention that the individual is always in constant pursuit of "self-realization, their material well-being, the commercial and financial success" (Dardot & Laval, 2014, position, 6283). No wonder the cosmetics and pharmaceutical industries are so prosperous and repetitive with their adverts, so that people can actually internalize the habit of cultivating a presentable self-image.

The very idea of a detox is part of the multiplicity of discourses that encourages the idea of cleansing the external body and the inner organs, as previously observed by Bauman (cf. Chapter 2). In society today it isn't uncommon to find different kinds of detox, as if the body was impure in its essence and needs constant supervision. Certain products and certain diets available on the market collaborate with this idea of detoxication. A quick search on the internet and I found a detox

for almost everything: to get thinner, to get the hair straighter, to invigorate and so on. The ad below illustrates this discussion (cf. Figure. 36).



Figure.36

Individuals, who live in societies, where neoliberal perspectives are predominant (basically everywhere nowadays) are encouraged to exalt this cult of the personality, in a clear extension of the overestimation that is directed to individuals in the economic field. Citizens occupy a distinguished role in terms of importance in distinct segments of social life, causing no surprise to see how they are bombarded with all sorts of propaganda worshipping external beauty, success and a perfect standard life.

3.6. “Economics are the method. The object is to change the soul”

The quote above was proclaimed by Margaret Thatcher (Dardot & Laval, 2014, position, 6329), in respect to neoliberal practices adopted in Great Britain. Her quote synthesizes the idea that subjects face a constant struggle between other entrepreneurial subjects and that individuals are expected to construct what Dardot & Laval call an “iron cage”, as a site for battles.

A typical characteristic of a neoliberal order, the culpability of individuals, is one of the many dark sides of this competitive logic. If anything goes wrong, the individual is the only one in control of all the

variables. If people succeed or fail in life, they are the only ones to blame for it. As Harvey (2005, p. 65) wisely puts:

“Individual success or failure are interpreted in terms of entrepreneurial virtues or personal failings (such as not investing significantly enough in one’s own human capital through education) rather than being attributed to any systemic property (such as the class exclusions usually attributed to capitalism)”

Professional status is often associated with personal and only personal achievement, as if no other external factors could ever influence the position one may have in society. The idea constantly fostered is that a career booster is something of real importance that keeps us more competitive, highly educated and professionally prepared. What isn’t discussed is that individuals have no control in some parts of this process, and that people just keep amassing wealth, diplomas, successes, but never failures. Not to mention that fosters urban competitiveness, competitiveness between communities, regions, companies, universities, in an unhealthy manner.

By living our life as if it was an enterprise, certain behavioral traits become prominent, such as being pro-active, well-qualified, multi-tasking (this one lies especially on women). Individuals are encouraged to become autonomous and to demonstrate initiative. This ability of conducting one’s life as an enterprise is unevenly distributed because it shows traces of race, gender, and class inequalities. To reach high positions, such as a CEO, in large corporations, for example, tends to be more accessible to men than to women. In this sense, it’s not without reason that the ad below showed two men boosting their careers.



Figure.37

Slogans like “Aqui o seu esforço ganha força” (cf. Figure.38) or “O que faz de você único é o que você faz de original” (cf. Figure.39), “mentes inovadoras se atraem” (cf. Figure.40) as the ads below show, contribute to make us ever more competitive, in a very subtle manner, not to mention that they focus the attention on the individual and their personal efforts or in an innate talent, in order to achieve something.

Being successful, within a neoliberal view of the world, is much more associated with social status and prospects of a better position in the career. Personal victories, completely dissociated from professional achievements aren’t taken into account. Why do publicity and advertising companies insist so much on using words, such as success, opportunities, goals, career in their ads? And how come we’ve been associating success and happiness with the amount of our paychecks?



Figure.38



Figure.39



Figure.40

The pressure to be the best and innovative is the driving force of our actions at work, in the family, at church or at any other social community we're part of. Surely it motivates us, but also leads us to choose unnecessary goals. As a consequence, people have been using all sorts of anxiolytics as an attempt to deal with all the pressure in social life.

Also, the pharmaceutical industry has popularized the idea that many mental problems are caused by imbalances in the brain, which helps to promote the aim of neoliberalism. People increase the consumption of anxiolytics in order to deal better with their problems, and they end up accepting the pressure they suffer at work and accepting social, political and economic influences on their condition. It's a vicious circle.

Not to mention that it's becoming ever more common to find advertisements announcing payment facilities to study in private colleges. A neoliberal view of the world conveys the idea that education

is a market commodity and that students are customers who pay for the services they receive.

Moreover, students are taught to look for better jobs, with higher salaries, at the same time they become expert in marketing skills and acquiring impressive credentials. But this is simply not enough. Higher education, in neoliberal paradigms, is utilitarian, leaving students confined inside a narrow model. Companies, too, have changed their ideal employee. In the Silicon Valley there's even a specific term for those employees – 'zero drag', which means the employee is easygoing, constantly available and problem free (Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello in Bauman 2007-1, p. 9).

Moreover, within the neoliberal paradigm, the processes of privatization and deregulation are affecting the relation that the State has with public services. As previously mentioned, strategic sectors, such as energy, telephony or even medical assistance were made into private enterprises. In the mid 90's, Brazil finally succumbed to international pressures (especially pressure derived from the set of policies that became known as the Washington Consensus) and opened the country's market to other countries, such as Portugal and Spain. Some critics called this, a new colonization of markets.

The ad below (cf. Figure.41) is a clear example of the privatization of public services. Eletropaulo is the energy company in the State of São Paulo and it has both State money and private money (a group of stockholders from Bovespa and an international conglomerate). Energy companies in Brazil are regulated by ANEEL, an agency responsible for controlling the actions of companies that have private and State capital. ANEEL prevents (or at least attempts to) abuses, such as overpricing, poor quality service, etc. In 2015, some irregularities were found and ANEEL had to interfere.⁵

Harvey (2005) argues that the case of natural monopolies, such as energy companies is much more complex, because more than one energy company in the same location would increase the prices and not necessarily increase the quality of the service. In situations like this, Harvey contends (2005, p. 67) that "the possibilities for profiteering and abuse (...) are real". Putting this concisely, the State assigns its own responsibility to a third party and starts what Bauman (2007-1) calls the

⁵ <http://economia.uol.com.br/noticias/redacao/2015/07/17/conta-de-luz-da-eletropaulo-esta-irregular-e-agencia-estuda-cobrar-multa.htm> retrieved in November, 2015.

‘recommoditization’ of labor’ (p.10), which the State, as a bureaucratic system, transfers new routines to the private sector. In Bauman’s words “shifting the task of recommoditizing labour to the market is the deepest meaning of the state’s conversion to the cult of ‘deregulation’ and ‘privatization’” (p.10).



Figure.41

In a city, known for being a financial center, it’s not uncommon to find bank adverts all over town, especially in a target area, such as the surroundings of Avenida Paulista. Not to mention that private banks are good examples of a public service that is provided by private institutions. The problem with that seems to be that the country’s affairs are easily converted into a matter of marketing; and decisions start to be made having profit and economic interests as the main focus. The relation between bankers and customers is based on a money transaction, where the client is seen as a relevant consumer and as a future investor. This relation often “typically favors the integrity of the financial system (...) over the well-being of the population or environmental quality” (Harvey, 2005, p. 70-71).

Banks survive from the money their client invests in their accounts. The expansion of economic ties between nations, banks and private owners is resulted by the emergence of a neoliberal model of global capitalism that serves to enrich powerful corporations at the expense of ordinary citizens, while increasing social, political, and economic inequalities. Some defenders of neoliberalism state that agents in a market are presumably in an equal position, which we know for a fact that isn’t true. As Harvey (2005, p. 68) argues in this relation:

“Asymmetric power relations tend, therefore, to increase rather than diminish over time unless the state steps in to counteract them. The neoliberal presumption of perfect information and a level playing field for competition appears as either innocently utopian or a deliberate obfuscation of processes that will lead to the concentration of wealth.”

The following example (cf. Figure.42) is a Bradesco ad. It shows how close the banks are to regular citizens. This ad displays one of many investment trusts offered by banks. Private banks are constantly trying to make clients to choose a new investment, especially one that fits the clients' profile, which in other words means, the best product you can select over the possibilities they offer you. Banks create necessities we don't even consider to have; and at the same time, they offer solutions to your problem. In this ad, you're rewarded for being such a good client and investing in Bradesco's options, which in this case is called Hiperfundo Bradesco.

It's interesting to notice how a public service, such as the one provided by Bradesco shifts the relation to a completely different notion – customer X trader. Not only is the bank selling a commercial interaction, but it also sells the idea of a competition, where the economic relation is seen as a game of luck, as they say “você tem muitas chances de ganhar”. It all comes back to the individual, as said earlier. The success and failure depends entirely on the individual and his/her endeavor or ultimately, lucky guess. The characters in the ad appear to be proud and satisfied, as if they were pleased with their investment. To associate the feeling of satisfaction with material goods is frequent in neoliberal societies, characterized by strong private property rights, the cult of the free market and a false idealism of freedom.



Figure.42

The common argument among neoliberals is that competition increases results, personally and professionally, which increases profit, benefits and well-being to the whole people. The truth is that this capitalist idea of competition leads the market to practices of commodification of nearly everything from our lives, our bodies, our relations, our profession, our personal interests, and so on. So, companies from different sectors sell the idea of efficiency in order to keep themselves active and competitive in the market.

Look, for instance, how the language in the advertisement below (cf. Figure.43) is used to forge an emotional connection between people and the bank, in other words, between people and a money transaction. The slogan “MoneyGram bringing people together”, as shown by the orange arrow, illustrates this idea.



Figure.43

Besides, a transaction that is part of a public bank routine is privatized and executed by an American transfer network that performs its role inside Brazil, surely costing more than it would cost in a Brazilian institution; even if it wouldn't, at least the money would stay in Brazilian coffers.

This is exactly how deregulation operates in most countries worldwide. Neoliberals sell the idea that public services are slow and inefficient, so that large corporations and financial organizations have the chance of competing directly with national companies, once the 'doors' of a specific country had opened. The appropriate regulation isn't made by many national agencies, running the risk of distorting marketings and allowing capitalists to do whatever they feel like in national territory, such as discussed in relation to Vivo and Eletropaulo. The need of regulation is essential, to guarantee that consumers won't suffer with frauds, to ensure that laws won't be disrespected.

Defenders of deregulation claim that this mechanism is important to keep the quality of services and guarantee wide access for everyone. With a quick search on the internet or even looking back in history, it's possible to find unsuccessful cases of private companies trying to take advantage of national policies.

Productivity and results are also important values within the neoliberal logic. The following ad (cf. Figure.44) shows Publicis Group, a French publicity group that has offices here in Brazil. This company works in the segment of content, helping other companies with their digital and traditional media. Like most publicity companies, Publicis values results and numbers and is interested in the market trend. By looking at what is in vogue in the marketing, these companies foster competition and redefine citizens as potential clients whose choices are exercised by the logic of buying and selling. According to the neoliberal logic, attempts to limit competition are treated as an attack on individual's freedom. This ad is emblematic, in the sense that it shows the results curve as a rising curve, always maximizing the outcomes of a company.



Figure.44

The very same logic is practiced by banks, as next images clearly demonstrate:



Figure.45

Rico is the company behind these ads and they acknowledge the fact that banks profit a lot of money from their clients. However, Rico seems to have the right solution for those disappointed customers and help with investments. Note that the whole ad is focused on the concern of making the individual comfortable with the investment she/he is making, fostering citizens to engage in economic transactions and “invest in who is going to work for you”. In other words, Rico offers results, productivity; all based on the logic of competition.

This ad brings to light how people are more focused on commercial values and future prospects or how they should be concerned with bad investments and not having control over their financial futures. And how financial institutions are focused on prospective clients, in order to guarantee the maintenance of the system.

3.7. Commodification of the social life

Commodification here is used as the perception that social life is highly influenced by commodities, turning citizens and their lives into objects of trade. Social life is commodified in a way that everything is available to be purchased and is turned into a product of consumerism. Our relationships have been transformed into commerce; take the ads of commemorative dates, for instance, (cf. Figure.46); the relationships of a parent and his kid is turned into a commercial strategy.



Figure.46

Not to mention that women are constantly reminded of how important it is to maintain their beauty, as previously discussed, as innumerable perfume and skin product ads illustrate. Our body is a hostage of cosmetics companies and the standards dictated.

Another example is what Bauman (2007-2) calls the “commoditization of childhood”, which is the ever-growing participation of children in the choices and purchases of toys, clothes and accessories made by the parents. Research commissioned by the division of marketing of Nickelodeon showed that a considerable number of parents have the habit of consulting their children before buying gifts for them, instead of trusting their own instincts or judgement of what is good for their kids. This not only indicates that children are becoming successful members of the consumer society in the liquid era, but also that they’ve been trained since early age to desire new products (Bauman, 2007-2).

As a kid, I remember a cartoon on TV being simply a cartoon on TV, sometimes, with much effort it'd become a product, such as a doll or a movie. Today, a cartoon on TV is a doll, a movie, a book trilogy, a key ring, a game for both Android and iOS, a thematic park, a TV show, a play, a board game, just to name a few. That's probably why the following ads called my attention. Both of them are from Complexo Tatuapé at different times of the year. The first one (cf. Figure.39) is an ad from school break (January to February) and the second ad (cf. Figure.47) is from Children's day in Brazil.

Interestingly, the first ad brings Playmobil as main represented participants.



Figure.46

Playmobil offers us a number of interpretations, because it has many possibilities of identities associated with different actions. Playmobil is a line of toys based on the human figure with a wide variety of playsets, such as hospital, jungle, police station, school, and so on. In addition, “Playmobil offers a quite specific perspective on race and gender” (van Leeuwen, 2008).

This ad seems to depict Playmobil for older children because it combines fictional and non-fictional characters. The scuba diver is an example of a realistic character, although the fairy is a fictional character. This kind of event puts together a series of activities for children and pre-adolescents – exhibit of gigantic Playmobil, ice-skating rink, and a park – all activities happen in the shopping mall, Metrô Tatuapé.

This mixture of real and fictional characters is what attracts kids' attention, involving them with commodities, images and meanings,

guaranteeing those kids will prioritize consumption in adult life. Promoting consumerism since a very young age shapes the individual's values and relations in the social world (Bauman, 2007-2). Advertisements directed to kids, is a constant reminder for them that there's always something new to consume.

The other Complexo Tatuapé ad is directed to a specific age and brings fictional characters from famous movies, all of them well-known to middle class kids, who have access to cable TV and movies, because those characters aren't very common in free-to-air television, which means that kids must pay to see those movies. In fact, both ads, are directed to middle class kids, because events in shopping malls aren't cheap, even though the entrance is free, to play in the whole structure isn't.

As Bauman states “the natural habitat for consumers is the marketing, place to buy and sell” (2007-2, p. 145). The commercialization of childhood begins at a very young age, as the ad suggests, it begins with 3 years old.



Figure.48

Commodification has also reached our educational system. And this topic deserves deeper consideration for very obvious reasons. In Brazil, private colleges received much attention in the past 10 years, due to the fact that some social programs were created to help underprivileged students to have an opportunity to have a college degree. By financing full and partial scholarships to these students, the Brazilian government had to set up partnerships with private colleges that had benefitted from the investment the government was providing

for the students. As a result, private colleges raised considerably the fees for students counting on the refund provided by the government, as I myself could confirm in a brief visit to a private college in São Paulo.

Educational ads found in the subway station called my attention, because they have what Bauman (2007-2, p.117) calls “solvable problems”. For every problem, there’s a solution. Anhanguera, private college in São Paulo, receives money from the FIES program. Roughly speaking, FIES provides students with a scholarship to pay for their studies while they are still studying. After they graduate, they start paying for the fees they weren’t able to pay while studying. The Anhanguera ad is completely focused on the marketing, leaving aside any consideration regarding the academic staff or the college’s infrastructure. The whole idea of the ad is to establish this marketing conception.

FIES, however, became possible only because the Brazilian government granted an exclusive credit line for private colleges to support students with low-incomes. According to Harvey (2005) governments worldwide see investment in education as a “crucial prerequisite to gaining competitive advantage in world trade”. In other words, education has a clear purpose, which is to fit into the marketing logic.

By associating education with market deals, education starts to be treated as a commodity and all social practices related to education will follow the marketing view. Students become clients, and as such, they start to have certain demands from their teachers, as if they were consumers and not academics, thus ruining the interaction between students and teachers. Not to mention that colleges won’t be concerned with grades and quality in studies, but with a class full of students, because this means safes full of money.

See the following ad (cf. Figure.49) and how they highlight the payment of the fees in different ways, instead of privileging education, the facilities of the college, the professors’ qualifications, etc.



Figure.49

The problem with treating education as a commodity is that as soon as there is a lack of money, private colleges won't provide education for the students anymore. The colleges' responsibility ends when money ends. This, in a way, started happening in 2015, when the Brazilian government had a budget problem and couldn't send money to all the private colleges at the same time and many private colleges decided not to let students begin their school year due to lack of payment. It becomes clear that for most private colleges in Brazil education isn't quite the priority.

It seems that not only is education being treated as a commodity these days, culture is, too. Adorno & Horkheimer (1985) understand that the industry of culture is highly affected by the logic of consumption following capitalist precepts of the beginning of the twentieth century, reducing all forms of art to mere commodities. Art nowadays hasn't been seen as pure aesthetic manifestation, but rather as an expression of entertainment and leisure. Profit isn't just an intention of the cultural industry, but its central principle. The following ads (cf. Figure.50, Figure.51) are very illustrative in this sense.

YouTube, for instance, sells space to users, so that they can produce content and display online. There is a huge variety of content, ranging from culinary channels (such as the ad below) to book review channels, unpacking of products, music channels, etc. Basically, YouTube is a space that promotes entertainment for a large audience.

Cultural manifestation here goes beyond the appreciation of art by art, but it is a place where different kinds of manifestations are possible, where the main focus is to profit from every access that a youtuber receives. The more attention a youtuber receives, the more money he/she makes. Culture here is seen according to the logic of capital and profit, in other words, according to the interests of the neoliberal order.

Following this same tendency, many theaters all over Brazil are hosting several artists' concerts. Once again, spreading culture isn't the fundamental purpose of theaters opening their doors, but the chance of profiting from spectacles. Figure.43 illustrates this idea – the ad shows a whole month of concerts at Teatro Safra.



Figure.50



Figure.51

Another example of the commoditization of culture is the presence of famous people in the committee boards of museums. Very recently, Luciano Huck, TV host from Globo, became part of the restrict group of curators at MASP (Art Museum of São Paulo), one of the biggest and most important museums in Latin America. As far as everyone knows, Luciano Huck isn't a specialist in art or has any kind of experience as an art curator. However, he was chosen to be part of this board, because it's of the best interest for the museum to have someone famous ahead of the institution. In this case, Luciano Huck is selling his image, his own name to the museum, in order to guarantee visibility to MASP, and consequently, future partnerships and profit.

3.8. Concluding remarks

Zygmunt Bauman proposed the term liquid modernity to better express social transformations and the expansion of markets and thus, the contradictions of consumerism. For Bauman, societies were once solid and solidity meant that decisions and power were centralized. Liquidity changed this logic; in fact, liquidity denies solidity, in the sense that it opposes to all the values from the solid modernity era. For instance, in liquid modernity, consumption involves the process of desiring and then, getting rid of residues and again desiring, and so on. This process is enabled because of the rapid flow of images, ideas and products in everyday life in contemporary society.

Having said that, this chapter attempted to discuss some of the ads collected for the present work based on the notion that neoliberalism is affecting everyone's lives and that such a phenomenon should be looked carefully, especially at the discourse level. In looking at these ads, I found values and ideological postures being reinforced.

Advertisement analyzed showed how discourse was so naturalized, going almost unnoticed and looking so harmless at first sight. These ads circulating in the stations and displayed on Paulista provide information to the society, in the present case, São Paulo and instruct people regarding morality and proper standards of conduct. It's an interesting exercise to look at these ads and raise questions that usually, in the rush of everyday life, we normally don't and try to understand what is behind an "innocent" ad.

Neoliberalism promotes the ideology of choice, as if individuals were equally benefitted in society. Very recently, São Paulo's mayor, Fernando Haddad, said in an interview that meritocracy is like a photograph of the moment a sportsperson gets to the final podium without considering all the obstacles this person had to overcome during his/her trajectory.

This analogy is very representative of what neoliberalism does to people, undermining the principle of social and economic rights by discrediting the sense of collective belonging and solidarity among citizens and promoting anxiety and the culture of fear.

The implementation of neoliberal policies in societies is the root of commodification of social life. It's remarkable how commerce and private interests have been affecting issues of education, entertainment, health, commerce, culture. It's worrying that there has been a certain naturalization of exclusion and the promotion of notions, such as success and failure, completely dependent on the individual, as other matters, such as issues of gender, race and social class, couldn't influence the individual's life.

As Dardot & Laval (2014) bring to light, neoliberalism is changing even the way people think, in order to "generate new kinds of psychic functioning" ... to reorganize "society, enterprises and institutions by multiplying and intensifying market mechanisms, relations and conducts" (position 6172, Kindle edition).

The images collected here are a result of a society that is highly influenced by neoliberal practices, due to decisions that were made long ago by our government. It's not a surprise that in Brazil, politicians are often teaming up to private interests, instead of considering only public affairs. Some may agree that the characteristics of a liquid/neoliberal

society are beneficial to its citizens, because societies have become more connected, life has a different rhythm nowadays, thanks to all technological advances, and so on. One question, though, remains: how far are we willing to go to preserve the interests of a few over the life of a most.

The following chapters will bring semiotic evidence that the ads analyzed here are part of a very complex society shaped by economic and political concerns. The discussion on how neoliberalism affects publicity's choices will be discussed on Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 4

THE SYSTEM OF GAZE:

“The first logical categories were social categories... It was because men were grouped, and thought of themselves in the form of groups, that in their ideas they grasped other things, and in the beginning the two modes of groupings were merged to the point of being indistinct. Moieties were the first genera, clans the first species. Things were thought to be integral parts of society, and it was their place in society which determined their place in nature”.

(Durkheim and Mauss, 1963: 82-83 in van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 5).

4.1. Initial Remarks

In this chapter, I will be looking at how the ads work communicatively. Previous chapter (cf. chapter 3), I discussed the ads according to the perspective of social theory. Here, a more descriptive approach will be adopted with the same images introduced in the previous chapter, but taking into account the specificities of a visual approach, as will be explained in the following lines.

In addition to that, the analysis conducted here is complementary to the one carried out previously, being indispensable for the understanding of the topic proposed and in the quest for answers on the matter of neoliberalism in the urban space.

Both images from Avenida Paulista and the subway stations will be described, illustrated and discussed through the position of the viewer through the Interactive and Modality systems.

In this chapter I'll focus on the system of gaze. I will identify and describe the aspects of demand and offer, angles and the size of the frame. Taking a closer look at these communicative traits, data will reveal important aspects of neoliberalism in the ads.

It's important to mention that subway station ads will be analyzed simultaneously with Avenida Paulista ads whenever it's possible, by showing similarities and differences. Not only because the focus of this chapter is to prove and point out interferences of the neoliberal ideology on the urban space, which includes ads from different spaces (Avenida Paulista and stations around), but also because

in order to make the comparison more dynamic, this analytical format will let readers infer from the descriptive and sociological analysis done in Chapter 3.

As previously explained (cf. chapter 1), I look at advertisements taken from the corridors at Paulista's subway stations and from Avenida Paulista itself. Ads from Avenida Paulista could only be collected from 2015. In 2007, the municipal government implemented a law forbidding companies to announce their products through billboards, posters and banners and therefore, pollute the city even more.

Because of that, the number of ads decreased and they became more controlled by municipal authorities. However, in 2015, the City Hall decided to try a different kind of advertisement; one that could promote products and companies and at the same time leave the city organized. And that's when they installed the electronic devices on the bus stops along the avenue, allowing me to expand the data.

Moreover, I'll revisit the third Research Question presented previously (cf. chapter 1): from a social semiotic point of view, how is the interactive relationship between viewers and ads oriented by ad producers visually speaking? In other words, what are the elements of Mood and Modality realized on the images?

4.2. A panorama of advertisements: numbers from the subway station and Avenida Paulista

Regarding numbers, 77 ads were selected to be analyzed in this dissertation. As previously said (cf. Chapter 1), they weren't analyzed according to any specific category, since the main focus was to interpret them as a meaningful whole, through very critical lenses, in terms of their neoliberal content. From these 77 ads 51 were from the subway stations, while 26 were from Avenida Paulista. The following sections will illustrate how the visual characteristics of the ads are used to convey neoliberal precepts in a subtle manner.

In the descriptive and analytical work, that begins here, I decided upon grouping the ads based on the categories of the system of gaze and the system of reality. Therefore, this chapter starts with the system of gaze (offer and demand, angles and size of frame) and next chapter will look exclusively to the aspects of the system of modality (contextualization, representation, depth, illumination, brightness). Both categories – the system of gaze and that of modality– will point out the characteristics found in each group of ads presented previously.

4.3. The communicative function of demands and offers

When contact is established between viewers and whoever is represented in an ad (animals or people) vectors formed by the eyeline of viewers address direct by the participant represented. This visual configuration creates an important connection between the represented participant in the ad and the audience. This connection isn't as simple as one might think; instead it's the complex result of media producers (including manufacturer and sellers) and the transmitter of the message, which in this case, is the advertising agency. The final product of this whole interaction is the ad itself, the one viewers have the chance to interact with.

In the ads collected, the aspects of offer and demand are fundamental if one wants to comprehend how such a pervasive logic, such as neoliberalism, uses almost everything that is possible to sell – from art to cell phones – and construes meaning in very convincing ways. Offer and demand constitute a symbolic relation between interactants. Thus, when the gaze is positioned in the direction of the audience, then we have a demand. But when no gaze connection is made, we have an offer (cf. chapter 2).

The Master Chef Brasil ad (cf. Figure.52) is a classic example of demand, where all the participants are looking at the viewers.



Figure.52

In the foreground, the TV host, Ana Paula Padrão is looking at viewers, in a clear example of a demand, she also seems friendly at the audience from the subway station, because that's why she normally is on the show, while the chefs, on the background, are looking angry,

holding in their hands some kitchen utensils, as if they could intimidate the viewers. Of course, this is all staged to frighten the audience (from the subway station) and show the whole “spirit” of the show.

Demanding something from the audience goes beyond the act of gazing in this imaginary approach; but it’s a combination of factors and visual features, such as gazing, holding the kitchen utensils, trying to look angry so that the audience get the impression, etc.

Next ad is a Master Chef Jr ad (cf. Figure.53). Note that the same participants are being depicted; however, there’s a different “atmosphere”.



Figure.53

The judges are looking friendly; they aren’t holding kitchen utensils, and they aren’t certainly on a defensive. Kids on the foreground are of an unrealistic size, much smaller than expected, while the chefs are bigger. This visual feature conveys some sort of superiority of the chefs in comparison with the kids. The sentence on the top of the ad that reads “o desafio ficou gigante” (the challenge got bigger) is another way of saying that the chefs are the challenges those kids will have to face.

Same TV show, quite similar participants, same multimodal communicative act (demand), but different kinds of meanings conveyed. While the first ad is a demand and the participants look angry and kind of oppressive for a TV show (those who had watched the show know some of the chefs are arrogant), on the second ad, also a demand, the participants are nothing but, welcoming and cordial. Let’s not forget all participants involved are interacting with the audience at the subway station; even though Master Chef is a TV show, here in the ads,

participants are representing their roles for the camera of ad producers and not TV producers.

Same show, but different strategies to attract the audience. Master Chef is an international cooking show that pays a tremendous sum of money for all the participants involved (TV hosts and cooks) and it's due to publicity, incredible huge audience and everything that comes after the show that make Master Chef what it is – a product, a brand recognized worldwide by fans.

A demand can express a lot of different emotions – hunger, happiness, desire – and they all depend on the visual features and language used to express these emotions on advertisements. It's the combination of all these characteristics that will make the audience relate or not to what is presented in the ad.

To make the connection between ad and viewers stronger, ad producers used a famous person to advertise a drug. This is an efficient strategy, because turns a serious subject into something funny and vendible, especially because this actor is a comedian, therefore, he's associated to funny situations.

In the Estomazil ad (cf. Figure.54) the Brazilian actor and humorist, Fábio Porchat, looks as if he was doing something he isn't supposed to, he was caught up doing something wrong. He's gazing at the viewers, not because he's looking angry, or welcoming, but because he's showing that he's doing something unhealthy. So, what's the point of having an actor gazing at the viewers showing he's doing something wrong? The idea is to make a real connection with viewers-potential buyers of Estomazil. Lots of people can relate to this situation - had something unhealthy to eat, and then got sick.



Figure.54

Demands forge this relationship with viewers in many ways, as previously said. I've already presented an intimidation kind of demand (Master Chef Brasil ad), a friendly kind of demand (Master Chef Jr. ad), a sneaky kind of demand (Estomazil) and now, I'll present a more of a raising awareness kind of demand. In the following ad (cf. Figure.55) a doctor (he is in possession of a stethoscope, wearing green, the ad shows the logo of CFM, which is the Medicine Board in Brazil are all indicative of that) is staring at the audience; he's not being friendly, welcoming, or intimidating. He seems serious about his claim and he's trying to make his point known and respect. The visual feature that helps us to understand this is his crossed arms, indicating that he's been waiting for some measures to be taken. A demand means what it means because of different features combined together (van Leeuwen, 2005).



Figure.55

The fact that this ad is a demand makes all the difference, because it calls more attention to viewers. By showing a doctor as a demand, looking at viewers statically, not acting, not performing surgeries, or doing anything else, this ad shows that doctors aren't working properly because there's lack of equipment in hospitals. If this ad were an offer, this could change the meaning completely. The impact could be huge, but the seriousness of the situation could go unnoticed.

The following ad (cf. Figure.56) is a campaign ad. A child is looking at viewers and she seems satisfied. We can realize that because she's holding something which appears to be a backpack, possibly a

donation, which is the objective of the ad, to collect for Exército da Salvação.



Figure.56

Offers, on the other hand, don't seem to interact with viewers so directly; the imaginary relationship mentioned above doesn't seem to exist. What happens in an offer relation is that the object, the participant, the animal represented is there to be contemplated, to provide some sort of information.

For instance, the next ad (cf. Figure.57) offers information. FECAP is a private institution and the ad is presenting two young men studying, focused, well dressed. The participants are not making eye contact with the viewers, they're framed very close to the viewers, so that they can relate to the students; notice that they're supposed to be discussing their studies or any subject related to the course that they're taking, since the character foregrounded is moving his hand, as if he was pointing to the electronic device and talking.

In the ad, two young professionals seem to be trying to qualify themselves in order to find better job positions. As an offer, this ad conveys meaning in a realistic way, by showing young professionals/graduate students in an academic environment. It's an everyday scene, which everyone can relate to, except for the fact that viewers are most certainly excluded from this scene, unless they decide to study and be one of these young professionals in search of a better position in the labor market, which is exactly the purpose of this ad, in the first place.

Pós-Graduação
FECAP
IMPULSIONE
SUA CARREIRA
INSCRIÇÕES
ABERTAS

A MAIS
TRADICIONAL
ESCOLA
DE NEGÓCIOS
DO BRASIL

ASSESSORIA EXECUTIVA - AUDITORIA - CONTRA FALSIEDADE E FALSIÍCIAS PARA ADVOGADOS
CONTABILIDADE GENCAP - CONTROLADORIA DE GESTÃO - ESPECIALIZAÇÃO EM TI/IS
FINANÇAS CORPORATIVAS - GESTÃO DE PRODUTOS - GESTÃO DE RH
GESTÃO E CONTROLADORIA PÚBLICA - GESTÃO EMPRESARIAL - GESTÃO ESTRATÉGICA DE MARKETING E VENDAS
GESTÃO TRIBUTÁRIA - MARKETING DIGITAL - MBA EM GESTÃO DE NEGÓCIOS
MBA EM GESTÃO DE RISCOS E COMPLIANCE - MERCADO DE CAPITAIS - PERICIA

Centralizado 5 - Fonecelo 4 Fone Fax | 5073-2222 | fecap.br
Facebook Instagram LinkedIn

Figure.57

Offer as a visual strategy is very useful to insert the viewer in a certain kind of a lifestyle and to attract the audience to this particular type of life. In the following ad (cf. Figure.58) a romantic young and beautiful couple are inviting us to their world. And it is through the use of offer that all the information is suggested.

Boticário, a Brazilian perfume company, is promoting their Malbec Noir, but to do that, they use a certain romantic atmosphere to involve viewers with the product and to announce a weekly prize, the car Audi TT showed in the ad. The hyper-sized bottle of perfume on the left is spraying its liquid on the couple, the city and its buildings and the car; almost as if the perfume is creating this dark/white atmosphere in the ad. Moreover, there are different scenes in the same ad.

The first scene shows the man opening the car's door and looking at the woman. She, on the other hand, is contemplating something else, that we viewers cannot reach. The other scene is separated from the action happening in the first scene, but they're both interconnected. Now, the same couple are kissing each other very seductively. A plausible interpretation is that, affected by the perfume, the young couple were inspired to be in each other's arms.

In the first scene, the choice of distance indicates that the characters aren't close to each other at first, which changes, in the second scene, to a close and intimate relation. In both scenes, characters are an offer, not a demand, and they don't interact at any time with the viewers. The whole situation seems possible to viewers, to everyone,

especially because a close shot reinforces the proximity to the audience, but not to the point of complete interaction with subway users.

Note that in both scenes, viewers aren't included, unless they buy the product suggested and become part of that imaginary scenario of romance and seduction, because that's when they're expected to join the fantasy.



Figure.58

Offer is an excellent feature for art lovers, because they can appreciate the content of the image, as if they were in an exhibition. In the following ad, viewers are invited to appreciate art, but in a distinct way – first they have to recognize the intertextuality expressed in the ad. This ad resembles the famous *The thinker*, by the French artist, Rodin. Both the ad (cf. Figure.59) and the original piece of Rodin (cf. Figure.60) are illustrated below:



Figure.59



Figure.60 Rodin's art

For a passer-by on the street to understand the ad's meaning, it's necessary to recognize the original piece of art first, otherwise this ad won't make much sense for the viewer. Note that the man on the ad is sitting in a position that simulates the position of the original thinker. The bronze bench, which the sculpture is sitting is replaced in the ad by one of those street benches.

And the lack of context of the original sculpture, for obvious reasons, was replaced by a whole new different contextualization, since the man is in a public space, surrounded by passers-by, and the building behind him can be a college or a public building everywhere. In other words, the meaning that is being conveyed is that art can be everywhere, and the Rodin's piece only proved to be timeless and context-free.

Let's not forget that art here isn't solely for appreciation, but it is displayed as a product to be sold and consumed as any other product on the market (cell phones, perfumes, health insurances, etc.;). This discussion is deepened in the following pages (cf. Chapter 6).

4.4. What demands and offers suggests on an ad?

Demands and offers are great mechanisms to sell a product, to convince people and remind them of a certain product, to attract and make viewers participate in that scene. Demands and offers on advertisements are very effective because of all of the reasons mentioned and because they're satisfactory tools to approach the audience. As shown previously, they can convey different meanings, in different manners.

In the neoliberal order, convincing is a key part in maintaining the system alive and perpetuate its values. Media / ad producers are skillful, in this sense, because they know how to create connotative and symbolic meanings. At the same time, demand and offer can be realized visually through the system of gaze and can be realized linguistically by speech acts (cf. Chapter 2).

4.4.1. Angles: involvement and power

Angles in an image are indicative of involvement, in case of horizontal angle (oblique and frontal) or power, in case of vertical angle. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) understand that there are certain degrees

of obliqueness – to use their words – making it harder sometimes to identify.

In the ads collected, though, there seems to be a tendency to depict people and products in a frontal angle, so that the viewers could relate easily to the ad/product/brand. This proximity between the audience and the represented participants make viewers part of the world of what is conveyed in the ad. An oblique angle, on the other hand, expresses a certain detachment between interactants, which isn't desired, especially because the primary objective of a company is to attract and sell.

A vertical angle (high and low angle) can convey degrees of power. As Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, p. 140), state: “low angles generally give an impression of superiority, exaltation and triumph... high angles tend to diminish the individual, to flatten him morally, by reducing him to ground level”.

Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) summarize this relation in the table below:

REALIZATIONS	
Involvement	Frontal angle
Detachment	Oblique angle
View power	High angle
Equality	Eye-level angle
Represented participant power	Low angle

Table.5. Realizations

In the following sections some examples will illustrate these strategies.

4.4.1.2. Involvement

Frontal angles show the ultimate degree of involvement. The ad below (cf. Figure.61) shows this. ⁶

⁶ This picture is one of a series of images displayed at Avenida Paulista made with iPhone 6s' camera, allowing passers to see many interesting portraits of real people taken by ordinary people and photographers.

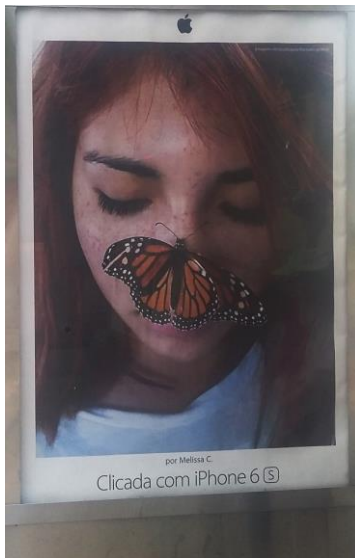


Figure.61

This is an advertisement from Apple, where the company tries to sell the quality of their new camera (iPhone 6s), shows a portrait following the minimalist tendency so much in vogue. The minimalist concept used by Apple on their devices is also transmitted by the way they sell their products, as ideas, as a concept. Less is more. Minimalism is a style based on simplicity and Apple is successful in depicting this logic by using a minimal amount of compositional elements, such as colors, lines and shapes.

The only visual elements portrayed in the ad are the girl and the butterfly on her nose. The other pictorial element is Apple's logo on the top of the ad, small and centralized. Also note that the girl is portrayed very close to viewers and she isn't looking straight at the viewers, on the contrary, she's there to be observed and appreciated as a portrait. The fact that she isn't looking at viewers, as a demand, isn't in any way problematic, and doesn't distance her from viewers, because she was photographed in a way she could look natural to viewers.

This is what Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) call "a double message". The girl isn't looking at viewers, so she isn't interacting, she's in a different world, however, proximity here is expressed by the frontal angle that allows the girl to make contact with us and let herself be admired by us from her own particular world.

Another example of a frontal angle is illustrated below (cf. Figure.62).



Figure.62

The example from Masp shows a specific location, one of MASP's spaces and how art has been exposed lately. MASP has passed through a significant change on its physical structure. In order to let the audience be more comfortable during visits, the museum's trustees decided to display the art collection differently, and they decided to display this change on the ad in order to make art lovers aware of these changes. The idea behind is to democratize the art spaces and make them available and accessible to everyone.

In MASP's website, they say art is fluid, and because of that it has to be free of any hierarchy, too. So that everyone can have access to the art displayed in the museum. It's interesting to see that by doing this the museum actually becomes human-friendly and that art becomes democratized. This lacking of hierarchy in the facilities of the museum is visually represented in the ad by a frontal angle, where viewers are transported to this new physical structure inside the museum.

4.4.1.3. Detachment

Detachments are often represented by oblique angles. Obliqueness occurs because photographers take the photo from a lateral angle, portraying the characters interacting among themselves, and viewers don't participate in the scene. Detachment is illustrated below (cf. Figure.63). The woman on the back, is distant from viewers, because the focus is on the nurse being assaulted, even though the pregnant woman is the first one viewers see, when they look at the ad, because of the left-right reading path. First, they identify the pregnant woman backgrounded, but then they continue until they gaze on the assault, which is the message that ad producers are trying to convey.

In other words, there's a clear distance between viewers and the pregnant woman on the back, because the main focus is on the nurse being attacked. The red lines below will help to show this angle.

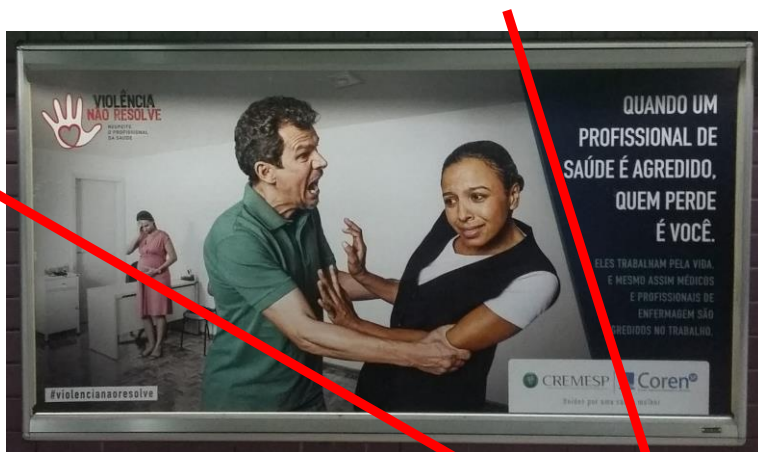
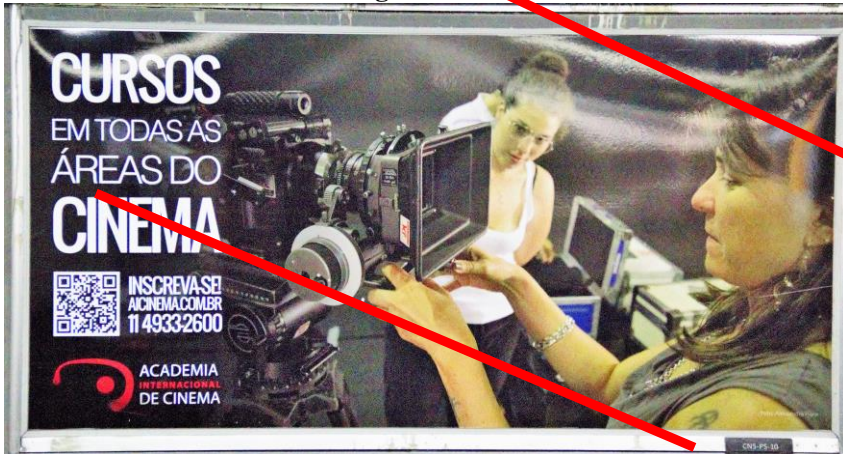


Figure.63

Another example of detachment is the ad below (cf. Figure.64) from Academia Internacional de Cinema. Notice that the participants aren't equally highlighted on the ad and it seems that the photographer used a very oblique angle to take this photograph. Of course, there are degrees of obliqueness, but most importantly is that viewers aren't involved in this scene. As Kress & van Leeuwen state (2006, p. 136) "what you see here is not part of our world; it is their world, something we are not involved with". This makes sense, especially because the

idea of this ad is to show action, both of them dealing with the camera, learning how to use the equipment, and so on. The red line below helps identifying.

Figure.64



Oblique lines communicate a certain distance and the purposes are innumerable in a communicative situation, such as that (cf. figure.64). The woman on the right seems to be guiding the camera and the woman in the white T-shirt seems to be some sort of assistant.

The secondary role that is given to her in an oblique angle can indicate that she's helping the other woman or that she is a student and the woman on the right is a teacher, which makes sense, since the first woman is older and the woman in white is clearly younger, not that this is a rule. Also, ad producers wanted to convey that students are always assisted by more experienced people, so on and so forth.

4.4.1.4. Viewer power

A higher angle gives to the audience a certain amount of power, as illustrated in the ad below (cf. Figure.65). It's important to mention that from the 77 ads analyzed only one shows a high angle image. One explanation is that potential buyers don't need to have that much power in a client-company relationship, at least from the perspective of companies. We just have to remember that there is a consumer's code (Código do Consumidor) in Brazil to protect consumers in this uneven relation.

Cultura's ad shows a teacher being carried up by his students. In this case it is very interesting for the company to portray the participants in an inferior angle, because this angle doesn't necessarily diminish the participants; on the contrary, the viewer is positioned on a superior space to see how students love their teacher.

Power conveyed here shows that this teacher, a Cultura Inglesa's teacher, is special, probably for being a good teacher and memorable to his students. Thus, whatever this special teacher teaches students won't forget, too.



Figure.65

The idea here is to promote this special relationship between students and the teachers at Cultura Inglesa, because they're so good, that it seems impossible to forget them.

4.4.1.5. Equality

Next ad (cf. Figure.66) is one of Netflix latest release, the acclaimed series – Daredevil (O Demolidor, in Portuguese) and depicts an eye-level gaze.



Figure.66

It's important to notice that in the superior space (image space), the Daredevil foregrounds New York, the city where the story takes places. Moreover, Daredevil seems to be overflying the city, which agrees with the TV series logic. The Daredevil protects New York city, seems natural that he's above the buildings and skyscrapers as a guardian, possibly to give this idea that he is there somewhere watching New Yorkers from a distance. As a guardian, Daredevil protects the city and watches over the citizens, which makes him superior to New Yorkers, but in the good sense.

In the second example of an eye-level realization is the ad below (cf. Figure.67). The boy is looking at the viewers, pointing at them and is positioned equally to the audience - parents, teachers, children, prospect students.



Figure.67

Equality in adverts is an interesting mechanism that allows viewers to be placed in similar position to that of the represented participant. This visual feature is fundamental when ad producers want to show that the product, the lifestyle, the concept are available and possible to everyone. Consumers may visualize themselves better if they have this kind of visual aid to help.

Not all ads use the visual mechanism of equality, because it all depends on what meanings the ad producer is trying to convey, and how the interaction between ad and viewers should happen.

4.4.1.6. Represented participant power

Low-angle images give the represented participant more power than is given to the audience. This is particularly interesting in adverts because it puts the object that is being represented in a comfortable position.

The following ad (cf. Figure.68) shows how a trophy photographed from a low angle, shows the symbolic power it is exerting over us.

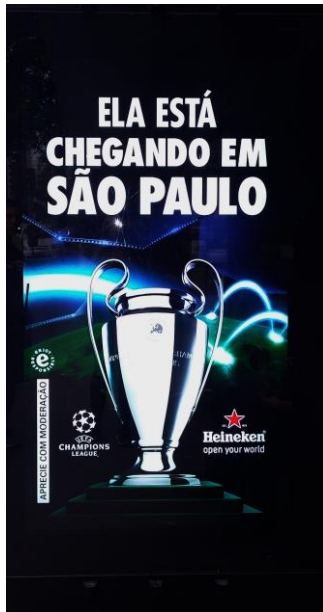


Figure.68

The ad shows the trophy of UEFA Champions League, one of the greatest world soccer events. In 2016, Heineken – the official sponsor – brought the trophy to an exhibition at the MUBE (Brazilian Museum of Sculpture) in São Paulo, where fans had the chance to see the trophy and a number of other objects. The ad shines purposely.

It's a prize, it's supposed to be glamorous and it calls people's attention. The Cup is centralized and it's surrounded by tones of blue and green lights, causing a TV effect that we see on the openings of game days. But that's the idea, to show that paulistanos will have the chance, to see live at first hand the so-famous prize of the Champions League. The impression we have is that the trophy is in a superior position, because it's a very important symbol for the league and for soccer fans, not to mention that soccer fans in São Paulo were expecting this trophy in town, because it is a symbol of victory.

Next ad (cf. Figure.69) brings another example of a low-angle image.

A low angle shot makes the represented subject look stronger, powerful. The car looks bigger and luxurious. And together with the context on the back, viewers have the impression that such a vigorous car can be used in different environments, city, beach.



Figure.69

4.4. How involvement and detachment can be useful in an ad?

Social distance can be determined by the angles chosen by producers. Frontal angles indicate more proximity between interactants, while horizontal angles affect this proximity. It all depends on what the media producer wants to communicate: power, inferiority, submission, etc.;

Therefore, in case an ad producer wants to maintain a certain degree of equality between the interactants, an eye-level angle is chosen. A low angle image makes the character look important, confident and this visual feature is extremely important if ad producers want to call attention to a particular product and make it desirable to the viewer. A higher angle, though, transforms the represented participants completely, making them harmless and subordinate in some occasions.

In advertisements, involvement and detachment make all the difference in the meanings conveyed in the ad, even if the precise nature of this relation isn't that clear. In this sense, angles can approach viewers, exclude participants, being prejudicial or simply convince about a particular product or way of life.

4.5. Size of frame

The size of frame is, in essence, measured based on the human body. For instance, a close-up shot is the one that depicts the head and

shoulders of the represented character, conveying a closer involvement between interactants. A medium shot shows the human figure until the knees and the level of involvement with the audience decreases. In the long shot, the whole subject can be visualized and involvement is poor. The distance demonstrated in the ads depends on the level of involvement that ad producers want to give.

Therefore, the size of frame is a visual configuration that allows ad producers to express distance – ranging from an intimate relationship to a complete stranger one. Of course, as previously stated, the relationship between represented participants and viewers is imaginary; however, in this forged relation, it is possible to establish how close characters can be from the audience. Adverts allow viewers to imaginarily look at represented participants and recognize them as close friends, an idol, a sex symbol or a model to follow.

In the following sections I will illustrate size of frames using the ads collected.

4.5.1. Close shot

The ad below (cf. Figure.70) brings an example of a close shot. The focus is on the woman's face and make-up. This visual mechanism is particularly interesting to apply to skin product ads, because it focuses exactly on what is intended.

Close shots show subjects represented as if they were engaging with the audience. This attracts other women who might be interested in buying the products displayed, because the relation is intentionally a close one.



Figure.70

Another example (cf. Figure.71) brings the TV host, Luiz Bacci.



Figure.71

He's close to the viewer and the framing that he's holding puts him in a much closer position to the audience. The fact that he's holding a pseudo TV screen can be because ad producers wanted him to look funnier and casual, but at the same time can indicate he has total control

of the program he's hosting. The framing is a reference to the medium of communication where he works (TV), but at the same time is an efficient tool to make him funnier and accessible to everyone.

The fact that he's smiling and friendly brings him even closer, but it is the fact that he's closer to the viewers that actually make him accessible and part of everyone's daily life. Such a visual feature used in advertisements creates certain ties between the interactants and makes the figure easily recognizable.

4.5.2. Medium shot

Medium shot is useful in products (food, gadgets, products in general) advertisements, because the object represented is shown in full details, within the viewer's eye-range. Next ads illustrate this better. The first ad is two of Jojo Moyes' books (cf. Figure.72). It's possible for the viewer to see a general panorama of the product without having details available (small descriptions on the book cover) of the books; only the essential can be realized in this case (book cover, title, name of the author). It looks like as if the viewer were in an actual bookstore visualizing those books from a bookshelf's distance. Close, but not so close that all the specificities can be seen.



Figure.72

The same happens with the next ad (cf. Figure.73). The app announced is close enough to understand the ad, but it isn't enough to see details and perceive its functioning. From a medium shot distance,

the audience can have a pretty good idea of the product, as if it were in the consumer's hand. There's also a hand of someone viewers can't identify simulating the action, as if the person was actually using the product. The hand possibly belongs to a man, since it isn't soft and delicate.



Figure.73

A medium shot perspective also depicts people. The ad below (cf. Figure.74) shows this better. This ad brings the product in two different perspectives, both of them from a medium shot distance.



Figure.74

The machine, known as Moderninha, appears at the actress's hand, so that viewers can understand the size of the product, how practical it is, and it appears on the bottom of the right side of the ad, more highlighted so that viewers can see it better, with more details. Also note that not only are the machines at a medium shot, the actress is too. She's not that distance nor that close. The medium shot enables viewers to see her and the clothes she's wearing.

4.6.3. Long-shot

Long shots aren't very common in advertisements, which can be explained by the fact that by depicting represented participants in a close-to-medium shot is more efficient in terms of marketing strategy than to depict them from a distant point of view. Long shots sell the opposite of proximity and viewers or potential clients want something they can feel close to, something or someone they can look and identify.

The following example (cf. Figure.75) is a news ad that shows what appears to be police officers and investigators working on the case displayed.

Not only the officers are distant from the audience, but the whole scenario is, which can be explained for following reason: this advertisement is above all a media announcement; it isn't necessarily

selling a product (cell phone or skin products, products with immediate money return), but news.

News reports have become a cultural commodity – a process which traditional elements (such as the press) are turned into a product; however, media producers still have the responsibility of displaying information as closer as possible to the real fact. Also, journalists have to show a certain detachment from what is spread, which probably explains why this ad shows the crime scene in Paris from a distance, using the long-shot strategy.

Apparently, this ad isn't selling a product that consumers can buy and use it. A deeper scrutiny shows that this image is selling an institution, namely, UOL, which is the company behind this news report. In other words, ads today may sell a variety of commodities, ranging from cell phones, tendencies in social life to news reports.

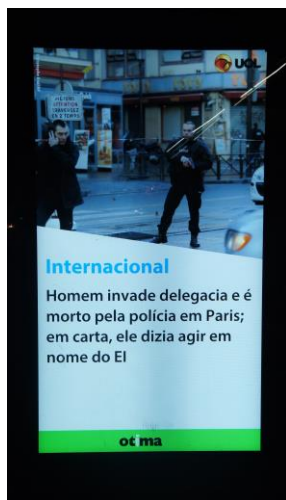


Figure.75

Another good reason for displaying the characters in a long shot image is that by distancing the represented participants from the audience, the news report from UOL (Brazilian news network) sells a certain degree of impartiality of the news; the participants aren't close enough to appear too sensationalist and imposing a certain view of the facts, but distant enough to let the audience take their own conclusions.

In the following example (cf. Figure.76) the male participant in the ad is portrayed in a long shot, while the woman is portrayed as a medium to long shot. Since the ad is a language course ad and the written text suggests that “por aqui, eu chego lá”, (through here I get there), meaning that studying there, chances are that one will be successful in the future, the idea of having characters distant from the audience may be indicative of someone who is still trying and studying to actually “get there”.

Visually speaking, both participants are projected distant from the audience, because they’re working on “widening their horizons”, which is a long way through.



Figure.76

4.7. Final Remarks

The system of gaze represents an analytical tool that allows us to read images produced in the context of different social institutions that organize the meaning and content of what is displayed in the ads, in order to reach the target audience. Sometimes, this interaction between ad producers and / or represented participants and viewers is direct and immediate, which seems to be the case of close shot images, with a frontal angle where the character is clearly demanding something from the audience, for instance. In different situations, the interaction shows a relation of power, where the represented participant is depicted in a high angle looking superior and luxurious. Not to mention what the visual features of offer and demands can express in an image.

The communication that occurs in face-to-face interaction is completely different from what happens in a mediated interaction,

because the context where interactants are differ completely, and when the viewer receives the message can't respond in the same way. As Kress & van Leeuwen (2006, p. 115) point out "producers are able to 'write' as well as 'read', viewers are able only to 'read'.

Hopefully, this chapter succeeded in making explicit how meanings are visually communicated by the system of gaze in the ads collected.

CHAPTER 5 THE SYSTEM OF MODALITY

“Reality is in the eye of the beholder; or rather, what is regarded as real depends on how reality is defined by a particular social group (...). In other words, reality may be in the eye of the beholder, but the eye has had a cultural training, and is located in a social setting and a history”.

(Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 158)

5.1. Initial Remarks

This chapter will look at how meanings are communicated in the ads. Here, I will use the semiotic tool, the system of modality (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). This mechanism for image analysis is based on a conception of veracity, according to the social context where the images are produced and displayed into society. In this sense, every human production (advertisements included) depends on the judgement of what is considered true, real, good, luxurious, trustworthy, religious to the social group these ads are produced by and directed at, in the first place.

Surely, the definition of reality has changed over the years with the advent of new technologies. However, in this chapter, I will take the commonsensical view as member of the society, where the ads were produced and collected, and that sees realism as close as possible, to the reality surrounding us. Although there are innumerable others realisms, especially now, with the use of Photoshop, Lightroom, Instagram, Snapseed. Such programs and *apps* interfere in the process of image editing by adding filters and many other distortions in color and lights. Therefore, realism taken into account here is the dominant standard conventionalized in photojournalism back to the 35mm photography (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), which is the realism that makes photos look closer to real life as we know it, that is, real is everything that is similar to our experiences of daily life.

Therefore, the analysis carried out here is based on some of the modality markers (contextualization, depth, illumination & brightness, representation) as basic textual cues that will help distinguish what is

regarded as truth and credible, according to the pattern of reality just mentioned above.

In the next sections, I will introduce and describe each analytical category exemplifying them with the ads collected from both Avenida Paulista and corresponding subway stations (whenever it's possible).

5.2. Modality markers and shades of reality

In traditional grammars, modality refers to linguistic elements that indicate the speaker's attitude toward a determined situation. However, here modality is understood as a visual feature that describes the degree of realism according to the patterns accepted within the Western culture. Some variations range from greater to a lesser degree of realism, which means that reality in images may range from complete realism to a complete distance from reality.

In this sense, the modality markers that will be presented here are a concise version of the analytical categories developed by Kress & van Leeuwen (2006), in order to guide the discussion upon credibility and truthfulness present in the advertisements collected.

5.2.1. Contextualization

Contextualization ranges from full to complete absence of context, passing through some degrees of abstraction in the middle. In a setting full of contextualization, modality is high, while in absence of contextualization, modality decreases.

In the following ads, I'll describe full contextualization and absence of contextualization. First ad (cf. Figure.77) is an ad from a language course (United), as follows below:



Figure.77

In this particular ad, there is no background context and there's a lack of perspective of depth, leaving a certain sobriety to the image. Also, no contextualization leaves this ad open to different interpretation and different audience, allowing all kinds of potential students attracted to United. Lack of contextualization doesn't necessarily mean lack of meaning, on the contrary it opens the content of this ad to a larger number of people, because it isn't directed to a specific audience, which if we think in terms of a language course, that's exactly what they look for: a varied audience – kids, teens and adults.

In other words, ads with no background and other contextualization resources are open to several meanings and interpretations. The ad producer, in this case, has lowered the modality and let the audience take their own conclusions, when it comes to the whole process of choosing an English course. Not to mention that the absence of background and other ambience elements also make the represented participant more generic. I would say that it's the way the ad producer found to say that United is a course for everyone interested in learning English.

The degree of reality offered by this image is low, even though the represented participant is a real person, the famous Brazilian actor, Henri Castelli, who probably was chosen to legitimize this brand (United). The only additional contextual information about United is provided by the icons centralized in the ad, so that viewers have a general idea of the kind of service they should expect, once they decide to enroll at the Language course. Other than that, the ad doesn't sell any

ideas of a particular lifestyle, potential jobs or dream trip, in order to help contextualizing, hence, the unrealistic configuration of the image.

If ad producers had decided to choose a full contextualization pattern, this image would communicate different meanings. However, here, Henri Castelli was chosen to give voice (or better, face) to this commodity and to ‘do most of the job’ in propagandizing about United’s courses. Within neoliberal context, it isn’t uncommon for the publicity area to focus on the image of a certain individual – the charismatic, the handsome, the clever, the rich, the well-successful neoliberal subject. This visual strategy focuses on the individual’s potential and sell it as a commodity, as much as any other product in the market.

Contrary to lack of contextualization, there’s a fully detailed background that provides enough connections and visual cues to help in the description of the scene. Following ad (cf. Figure.78) a spatial reference is made and helps in the elaboration of the context.



Figure.78

The ad announces special conditions to a loan for public servants through Banco do Brasil (BB). The visual clues, lead viewers to deduce that a trip is possible after a loan is taken. That after organizing one’s financial life, it’s possible to take some time off with family and that BB can actually help. Two suitcases in the middle of the ad correspond to the number ninety-six (96), which then we learn is the number of months one has to finish paying for this loan.

Here the combination of visual elements, help in the spatial contextualization of the ad. Viewers can deduce from the baggage claim

that they were displaced to an airport. Two suitcases in the baggage claim and another one coming, as if the machine was actually spinning, confirm that. Also note that the two suitcases are in blue and yellow, the exact same colors of BB's brand. All of these contextual features are representative to compose the context.

Depending on the perspective one is taking, this ad might be seen as unrealistic and odd, since it depicts two suitcases in exactly the same position representing the number of months that individuals have to finish paying the loan. However, from the point of view of those who are interested in actually taking a loan, this ad is completely realistic, because it provides initial information on how to take a loan. In fact, the first thing those interested in taking the loan will notice, will be exactly the two suitcases representing the number of months that those indifferent to a loan will find unreal or unnecessary.

A very neoliberal strategy is to focus on people's emotions and desires. Publicity emphasizes these urges and sells not only an ordinary trip, but some time spent with family. The problem is that neoliberalism excludes others that can't afford financing a trip or taking a loan.

5.2.2. Depth

Likewise, depth is a linguistic dimension that enriches a visual text with truthfulness, providing context and narrative to the image. For instance, a complete absence of depth in an image may lower the modality, while a more detailed background (maximally deep perspective) may heighten the modality. In other words, depth is another visual cue that helps locating the viewers spatially.

Depth can become unreal when, instead of using a central or angular isometric perspective, (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 162), the image has a kind of 'fish-eye' format distorting the characters and the landscape depicted.

First ad (cf. Figure.79) illustrates a more central – isometric perspective with a deep perspective on the back.

Trash is a Brazilian-American production and it shows both the main characters in the movie and contextualizes where the movie scenes take place. Brazilians, most certainly will recognize Rio de Janeiro, because of the famous touristic sight, Corcovado, placed right behind the actors, as part of the deep angle on the back. Also, the trash dump with kids playing around and the name of the movie itself, helps contextualizing the plot of the movie.



Figure.79

Both characters (Brazilian actors Wagner Moura and Selton Mello) have an unrealistic size (larger than the rest of the elements in the ad); they're much more highlighted than the boys, and they have severe demanding eyes, as if they are appealing to one's conscience, so that someone pays attention to the seriousness of the situation – kids from the periphery working in a trash dump and the whole social implications behind this. They're not smiling, not having fun or jumping as the poor boys, showing a clear contrast between two different worlds, the world of the apparently happy boys (depth perspective) against the world of adults well aware of the situation (frontal perspective).

It's interesting to note that the secondary name of the movie “a esperança vem do lixo” (hope comes from trash dump) is highlighted with a bright yellow light that comes from the trash on the back of the image. All details of contextualization lead viewers to deduce that this movie is about misery in an emerging country in South America, but it's also about hope, which is corroborated by the poor, black boys having

fun in a supposed-to-be-sad place. Illumination is also part of the scene backgrounded, and helps to contextualize the scenario and lead the attention of the viewers to the fact that hope is also a predominant message in the ad (cf. Section 5.2.3., Illumination and Brightness).

However, it's important to understand that contextualization goes beyond simply establishing a specific setting. As van Leeuwen (2008, p. 93) states “the discursive construction of social space may seem a straightforward matter of indicating where and in what kind of spatial arrangements things happen. But it is not necessarily as simple as that”.

Contextualization depends not only on setting the location and characteristics of things, but this spatial construction is rather a matter of social implications, where certain choices depend on the meanings and social functions that locations occupy in the world, as much as depends upon the conscious or unconscious ideologies the individuals responsible for constructing that space and / or its representation carry with them.

In spite of the unrealistic size of the human figures and the contrast of size between the two scenes, modality is high, because frontal angle, deep perspective, the light and texture could provide realistic information about Rio de Janeiro and poverty in the region. Again, two famous people being used to legitimize the image of the movie and attract viewers.

The following ad (cf. Figure.80) illustrates complete absence of depth and cartoon figures.



Figure.80

Realism, as previously said, is associated to the realism produced in journalism, closer to human reality and what is seen with our own eyes. In this sense, all that distances from this logic has low credibility, hence, low modality. The colors and the figures chosen for this ad are also illustrative in this sense. The ad below invites children to a Gourmet Club, where kids are allowed to cook in an event that takes place at a Shopping Mall in São Paulo. The information that is provided, in order to give contextual cues to the viewers also belong to the graphic design area and can't be related to the patterns of reality as we understand.

Courses and events to children are ever more common in town, that's why ad producers can't disregard this young audience, that since very early ages have been consuming all kinds of products. Even though the parents are the ones paying and taking their kids to such events, the ad is visually and verbally directed to children, so that they can feel represented in the image somehow. Modality is high in this ad, because it depicts elements that are closer to children's world (bunnies, eggs, drawings).

5.2.3. Illumination & Brightness

Illumination is a recurrent modality marker in images. A more realistic depiction shows participants affected by some source of light, while a more unrealistic depiction of characters shows other forms of light, such as shadows and darker tones. Modality is determined by the degree that ranges from a set of lights to a set of shadows. Similarly, the degree of brightness is what determines if the modality is high or low; if it's darker or brighter; if it affects the image, distorting it from the reality and so on. Both illumination and brightness are complex elements in determining the level of veracity in images.

I bring two ads below, where I describe how brightness and illumination were used in the realization of modality. First example (cf. Figure.81) is an educational ad from Cultura Inglesa that communicates a lot using a source of light.



Figure.81

Lightening in educational ads is a very recurrent practice. A possible explanation is that knowledge, is often associated in our Western culture with illumination, enlightenment, probably derived from idea of The Enlightenment, a philosophical movement in the 18th century, characterized by the belief in the superiority of human nature due to people's search for knowledge through sciences. A good metaphor is that being illuminated with a brighter light possibly indicates being touched by the "light of knowledge".

Moreover, the long tradition of metaphorical usage of a bright light (yellow to whitish light) and black / dark tones, to indicate good and bad situations, respectively, can be traced back to long gone years of mythology and ancient religions. In the Christian Bible, for instance, light is separated from the darkness in the first chapter of the book, Genesis, when the creation narrative is told. Traditionally, at least in Western societies, brides in their wedding days wear a white dress to symbolize their purity and innocence, while black is associated to fictional evil characters, such as witches, black cats and villains' outfits.

Cultura Inglesa's ad, for instance, bring this effect. A bright light that appears centralized in the image coming toward the photographed character, shines the image as a whole, denoting the experience of a young lady in a bright morning having the nicest

moment in a nice place in London town, which, of course, goes back to *Cultura Inglesa* as a contributor to that moment. This ad depicts a woman, who is taking a *selfie*; she isn't looking straight at the viewers, because she's concentrating on something viewers can't see, probably a camera. The impression she gives is that she's a tourist enjoying the city. Visual elements, such as the double-decker red bus, the red telephone booth, the historical buildings, place the woman in London.

Real and unreal are mixed. The image shows a tourist sightseeing around the city, the presence of an unrealistic red mouth holding the woman, posing as a tourist, kind of diminishes the veracity of the scene, but at the same time doesn't make it less realistic, because it isn't completely uncommon to see people characterized on the streets, so this situation poses as a truth.

Because of what we understand as realism, everything that is different from this logic, may be seen as unrealistic. Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) call it, 'a more than real' situation – an effect that differs from the standard because it depends on the photographic technologies and practices, which appears to be the case of *Cultura Inglesa's* ad. In other words, where real and unreal are placed in the same image, modality is high, because color, light, textures function as indicators of reality.

On the other hand, an image where a shadowy effect is created (cf. Figure.82) shows an example of low modality. Netflix's ad, for instance, distorts the human characters into fictional characters. This image is completely non-realistic and has almost no indication of realism in its composition, except for Netflix's name and some other information regarding the show.



Figure.82

The significance of illumination & brightness as strategies to sell products is important because it is the play of light that communicates exactly what the ad producer wants. A bright lighting can clearly be associated to a good and positive thing, and hence to a realistic pattern. However, a bright lighting when associated with other contextual features can be also an indicator of unrealistic beings. It all depends on how other visual cues are intertwined to compose the image.

5.2.4. Representation

Understanding how individuals are portrayed by ad producers reveal prominent notions of people's identities, especially because neoliberalism has the widespread tendency of focusing on individuality and on how people carry on with their social lives and practices. Such entrenched economic order, requires certain attention on how people and social life are portrayed by those producers of content in society. In times, where we've been witnessing the return of a conservative wave worldwide, it's indispensable to be aware of reproduction of certain discourses in the semiotic landscape surrounding us.

This first ad (cf. Figure.83) brings someone well-known to the Brazilian audience, Father Marcelo Rossi, he once in a while, releases books and CDs with his concert songs that seems to be well received by the audience.



Figure.83

In this ad, Father Marcelo Rossi is depicted as a celestial character – above in the skies, hands near the chin, as if praying, meditating, looking peacefully at the viewers. The book, which he is part of, is surrounded by clouds and a bright light coming from behind.

Some of the visual elements approach him to the audience, such as the very fact that the book is portrayed in a medium shot, as explained previously (cf. Chapter 4), giving the opportunity for the audience to take a good look at the book as if it were in a bookshelf on a store, displayed to be appreciated by potential consumers. The kind of illumination, the sky, the white clouds, and the bright light that pops up from behind the book surrounding it, also helps in the construction of this celestial character. For obvious reasons, though, this ad is an example of an unrealistic image.

The focus is to promote the life of Father Marcelo, a characteristic that is frequently associated with neoliberal subjects and the promotion of individuals, as discussed previously (cf. Chapter 3) and the elements that surround the priest's work, in this sense. In a modality scale of representation, the whole image can be defined as hyper-real, because of the impossibility of his book being actually in heaven, lowering the modality of the ad, even though Father Marcelo Rossi is represented in full detail and as a realistic character.

Next ad (cf. Figure.84) brings the description of a professional, a pharmaceutical.



Figure.84

The pharmaceutical is depicted in her work place and the visual elements around corroborate with that. The pharmaceutical in the ad isn't looking at viewers, so she's there to be appreciated by them. Looking at the visual resources, it's possible to recognize the pharmaceutical working in a drugstore. She's looking at the client and they are both interacting, one can only guess that she is helping the client regarding some medication.

Background and depth helps to contextualize the place around them. The drugs placed on the shelves helps with that too. There is a certain oblique angle that works on the depth of the image helping in the construction of the scenario. The close, frontal shot is another indicative that they're interacting with one another and that the main idea is to show this engagement to the viewers, in order to make them realize the importance of communicating with a professional in this area.

In the ad the representation of the pharmaceutical is active, in the sense that she is performing her profession in her workplace effectively. By contrast, the nurse from the ad below (cf. Figure.85) which I have already commented in Chapter 4 isn't represented as active, since instead of working, she's being assaulted and unable to perform her duties, being represented in a passive way, though.



Figure.85

Therefore, the ads presented above (cf. Figures.85 and 86) have a high degree of credibility and modality. Both ads depict everyday scenes from two kinds of workers: the nurse and the pharmaceutical. They were placed in their working environment and ad producers attempted to show what situation these professionals face in a daily basis. Not to mention that the framing that both ads have doesn't interfere in the scene; on the contrary, they provide extra information about the professionals and help in the contextualization of the scene.

Next ad (cf. Figure.86) brings the representation of a well successful person, an innovative mind, as the ad itself says. Another example of a neoliberal subject, Instituto Mauá de Tecnologia helps consolidating the idea that a triumphant person depends on the individual solely and that talent and success is either an innate characteristic or a something one acquire after a lot of effort.



Figure.86

This ‘innovative mind’ described in the ad, can be easily associated with the man represented. He seems proud of himself and the whole ad focus on exalting that. Only when the viewers pay closer attention to the ad is that they can find out that the ad is actually about a promotional documentary about the institution and that the man is the is the vehicle of publicity of this institution. The focus is on the successful stories of people that, like Instituto Mauá, value such innovative minds.

The promotion of this magic formula, creativity equals successful people, establishes an unattainable pattern to achieve. This is what became known in Brazil and overseas, especially among administrators and businessmen, as the Steve Jobs’ syndrome. Of course I’m not trying to diminish Steve Jobs, who by the way, is beyond words of talent and success; the barriers he had to overcome in life and how he could make amends are very inspiring. But this advert treats a matter of success and consequently everything that is tied to it to an innate characteristic of individuals - talent, creativity, completely disregarding the individuals’ background, the chances one has, especially the money one has to afford such an institution.

Next ad (cf. Figure.87) depicts a recent edition of the Brazilian magazine *Veja*.



Figure.87

This advertisement shows general information about the well-known magazine in Brazil, Veja. This magazine is usually criticized for having a more conservative discourse and being against members of left parties, such as former president Lula, shown in the image. This ad depicts an edition of Veja where the ex-president is being accused of ruling a corruption scheme. The ad shows visual elements that supports that Lula doesn't really care about the crimes he's been accused of. The hand gesture he's doing is not only pejorative, but also demonstrates he's disinterested.

Another visual element is that this ad presents itself as realistic as possible, because it sells the magazine by showing its cover, the real product. Modality, though is high, because ad producers depicted the magazine as it is sold. However, one thing that called my attention is the fact that this is not a conventional advertisement, simply displaying a product and expecting it to sell. This is, above all a political campaign about a certain political topic, following a certain ideological position.

Therefore, this ad could have chosen a different cover, but instead they chose a controversial topic. One reason why they chose this specific cover is because it was recently released or because a topic so

appealing would attract much more attention. The fact is that not only ad producers, but Veja itself approved the display of this material on the street, which leads to conclusion that this ad has other intentions behind the selling of the product.

Other contextual elements, such as some general information about the magazine (phone number and icons informing about the availability of Veja for tablets and smartphones) are available in the ad to indicate that this product can be visualized by different means.

The following Veja's ad depicts what is apparently a magazine cover with the following message "Veja pursue, pursue the truth", which appears to be another campaign to promote the magazine and sell it to consumers, when, in fact, there's a message behind it that can be understood as a the right this magazine has to reply to those accusing Veja of going after members of left parties and reinforcing a conservative view among readers.

Therefore, when the ad indicates that Veja pursues the truth, in other words, it's saying that the magazine is trustworthy enough, because its responsibility is with facts, not with minor political conflicts.



Figure.88

However, the ad presented previously, the one where former president appears (cf. Figure.88) uses a political fact recently well publicized in Brazil and conveniently turns it into a marketing strategy. The magazine cover brings 6 different small boxes containing Lula on each of them, doing exactly the same offensive gesture, that by the way, is taken out of context. There is no evidence that Lula actually did such a gesture over each situation described below his photo, which means that Veja is providing a value judgement in what was supposed to be an ordinary advertisement of the brand Veja. Or else, journalists are fabricating the news and putting into their own version of the story.

Viewers can imply that the message that magazine producers (as much as ad producers, because they were conniving with this ad) the gesture done by Lula shows his lack of interest in each of the matters displayed under the box (Mensalão, Petrolão, Sítio de Atibaia, etc), all issues that Lula was allegedly involved according to Veja. The value judgement in this case is pretty clear – producers believe that Lula is undoubtedly guilty of all the cases mentioned.

It is only in the bottom of the ad, due to other pictorial elements that viewers receive actual information about the magazine, as the red arrows will show, giving viewers the opportunity to recognize that this is actually an advert about a magazine that is looking for potential subscribers, as the “assine agora” (subscribe now) information, phone number and reading formats, let the audience know.

Lula, as social actor, is portrayed here not only as someone potentially guilty of all the cases enumerated, but also as someone that apparently doesn't seem to care much, as shown repeatedly by his body language. On a reality scale, Lula is being completely decontextualized

5.3. Final Remarks

This chapter attempts at doing some exploratory work with the images collected, having the system of Modality as the basis for the analysis carried out here. The system of reality is a set of analytical categories that describe the models of reality based on what the authors from the grammar of visual design (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006) understand as a theory of the real.

The theory of the real, doesn't, necessarily, establishes a universally acknowledged version of what is true or real and what is not. The idea is simply to set some parameters to take into account of how people decide to read images. It cannot be disregarded the fact that the impressions

that individual have from reality is an ideologically constructed one, and thus, can't be dissociated from the community one is inserted. Members from a certain social group, especially if they belong to a dominant powerful group are the ones who most certainly will dictate the rules concerning what may be considered real or not, therefore, a system of Modality helps unveiling meanings and values.

While linguistically speaking, the term "modality" refers to the truth value of what is realized in written statements, based on certain levels of veracity (the use of words as maybe, possible, etc) in visual language, these same levels of what is true or not are expressed through the shades of a certain color and the lack of another. It is the opaqueness of an image that may determine the authenticity or the imprecision (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

Image producers may choose to depict an image closer to reality as possible to announce a product or a concept of life. But they can also choose to depict a product in a more conceptual and metaphorical way.

What I've been trying to show in this chapter is that each advert may bring a different level of reality and that contextualization, backgrounds, depth, illumination & brightness and the representation of social actors are elements extremely helpful to point out this reality. It is by observing the context in which a participant is placed, that the ad can actually reveal what kinds of meanings, values, ideologies are behind this image. While black students were portrayed in a decontextualized background, with hyper real lights, completely displaced from an educational institutional or somewhere else (cf. Figure.49) white students are depicted in a number of different contexts, with a different illumination and a completely established setting (cf. Figure.7, Figure.9, Figure, 10).

CHAPTER 6
WIDENING THE ANGLE:
ASPECTS OF VISUAL COMMUNICATION IN THE
NEOLIBERAL ORDER

**“Context may function as the retrieval source
to clear up indeterminacies of meaning”**

(Eggins, 2004, p. 86).

6.1. Initial Remarks

This chapter addresses relevant aspects that were communicated in ads and don't necessarily fit the descriptive and analytical categories proposed in the previous chapter. Therefore, Chapter 6 brings a discussion about prejudice, discrimination, legitimization of social actors and social roles in society. All of that, having the debate of neoliberalism and liquid modernity society as background.

Each section will present written and visual language analysis, when it comes to the use of the same images, especially because the same image can be interpreted in many different ways, from innumerable perspectives.

The idea here is to focus in a much wider discussion that can't be neglected, mainly because the central point of this whole dissertation, is to see how neoliberalism affects the ads produced by media/ad producers, and what kinds of meaning are displayed in the urban space based on this neoliberal view of the world.

For the analysis carried out here, I will use the concept of ideology, as provided by Hodge & Kress (1988, p.3):

“a set of contradictory versions of the world, coercively imposed by one social group on another on behalf of its own distinctive interests or subversively offered by another social group in attempts at resistance in its own interests”

Therefore, individuals will be analyzed here, taking into account the fact that they represent the interests of a privileged minority.

6.2. Excluded participants at Avenida Paulista and surroundings

One thing to say about excluded participants is that there is always a reason why certain kinds of people are being excluded and that it's important that we (citizens, scholars, educators, etc) start raising questions about it. The choice of including or excluding a social actor may have to do with a lot of reasons, but it can never be seen as an innocent act, because there is no such a thing is an innocent ad, an innocent news report or an innocent discourse.

During the years of 2014 and the first semester of 2016 – when I spent some considerable time collecting images at Avenida Paulista – only few ads depicted black people (5 out of 77 ads, around 7%). It can't be a coincidence that during these two years only a few ads managed to depict black people.

Some features are important to notice in the case of the two educational ads. First, both ads belong to different private colleges, which means that it is more likely that different media producers designed these ads. So, it isn't a coincidence that the only black characters depicted have the same features, as follows: (i) young adults in the beginning of their professional careers; (ii) decontextualization of the background; (iii) framing dividing the space between the characters and the written text.

Comparing with the white people depicted in other ads, the black characters depicted here are young adults without a career consolidated, they're represented as students, as we can confirm by their accessories (books and backpack) and they dress casually, as if they still have classes to attend. By contrast, white characters are depicted in their professional contexts, as if they have a career consolidated, usually in their work or at any course, boosting their career and with formal clothes, indicating that they're not in the initial years of their career. Opposing to white characters that are pictured acting in different moments, black characters in educational ads are standing, looking straight at the viewers, with their school accessories (books and a backpack) and no action involved. Meanwhile, white people are pictured in many social actions, such as studying, working, travelling.

The way black and white people are portrayed is significant, because puts them differently as social actors in society. This means that white people are usually seen and depicted as entrepreneurs, successful or at least in better social conditions. Black people, though, are often portrayed in an inferior position, as less important or repressed social actors. In a way, this differentiation reflects what we see in real life:

black people being constantly diminished or repressed in many social practices. Therefore, when ad producers chose to display black people as inferior individuals, they were simply reproducing a pattern already in practice in our society.

Another feature that called my attention is the lack of background in educational ads portraying black people.

In the first ad (cf. Figure.89) the boy has been positioned in an inclined relaxed, casual way. The background is blurred, making it impossible to recognize what context is behind him, thus, no suggestions are made for him, visually speaking. Ad producers would have depicted him at a school, at a library; however, they decided not to.

The modality is low and the background brings a hyper-real texture that doesn't suggest or impose any kind of reality to the boy. It is impossible to predict what kind of future this boy might have, especially because no contextualization is providing additional information. If we compare with other ads, for instance, where all the young professionals are, besides the fact of being white in professional environments or acting as if they were studying and concentrating or hanging out with their equally happy and successful peers.



Figure.89

In the second ad (cf. Figure.90), the representation of the black student is from a different educational institution that ‘coincidentally’ decided to depict her with an irregular pattern on the background, some blurry lights, not showing any prospects of any kind of future, to the

best or worse, similarly to what happened at Estacio ad, presented earlier.



Figure.90

Again, possibilities are opened here, but aren't given and established, as occurred with other educational ad. The information displayed in the ad below is that she's probably a student, since she's holding books, but her actions aren't very accurate, she can be either coming to college, as much as she can be leaving. She isn't involved in any specific action, as mentioned, and she's looking at the viewers in a very friendly way. She is also one of the few cases of long shot distance (Appendix I, II).

This distance may be explained by what Hall (in Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 124) calls "invisible boundaries". Even though she's smiling, depicted in a frontal angle, a demand, the long shot indicates she isn't that close as imagined, communicating social distance in relation to the viewers, thus, failing to direct its message to other black people in society who may be interested in entering higher education.

Furthermore, note the contrasting spaces used to separate the students from the textual information, which is well marked by the framings in the border between written text information and the characters, forming two different spaces. Framings can be pictured by different things, such as the limits of a tree or a mirror. When the disconnection between the spaces is clear, the semiotic potential represents separation and independence. Van Leeuwen (2005) calls this disconnection between spaces of segregation – "two or more elements occupy entirely different territories, and this indicates that they should be seen as belonging to different orders" (p. 13).

Estácio's ad is a good example of segregation. The difference between the two spaces (picture and text spaces) is that they look quite distinct and that although there aren't any frame lines to separate both spaces, the edges of the written text space form very clear and abrupt boundaries, where the boy has parts of his arms suppressed. Also, the picture space and the written text space are very well delimited and they're not affected by each other.

By using framings around the characters, ad producers designed two different worlds – one world for the textual information about the college and a world where the characters represented are inserted. In other words, both black characters are apart from the “world of college and studies”, which visually communicates a discourse of exclusion and prejudice.

In the case of Anhanguera's ad, the part “Sem crise” from the written space reaches the pictorial side of the ad. In this case, van Leeuwen calls an overlap, when “frames may be porous – for example, part of the picture may break through the frame or letters may be half in the pictorial space and half in the textual space” (2005, p. 13). Neither way, these framings indicate that the spaces depicted in the ads belong to different orders and signify distinct values.

In both ads, written language is assertive and straightforward (Estude em Jabaquara or Sem crise com parcelamento garantido), showing a combination of imperatives and declarative sentences providing only promotional information about the colleges.

The other black character, is a professional from the health area, probably a nurse; the visual elements in this ad (cf. Figure.91) are distinct from the educational ads presented above, but not less interesting.



Figure.91

Starting with the same elements presented in the two other ads, the nurse also isn't acting *per se*, she's a passive actor, since she's been attacked by a man, probably the husband of the woman backgrounded. Again another black character that isn't portrayed acting, on the contrary she's been attacked by a white man, putting her in a passive situation. The fact that she's cornered only shows her vulnerability and the superiority of the man over her.

Extra attention should be given to the fact that ad producers chose a white man, as her attacker, instead of a black man, adding extra meaning to this image. A black man attacking her could be interpreted solely as a man's aggression over a woman, while a white man attacking a black woman raises doubts whether this has anything to do with that mistaken idea that white people are superior to black people.

In the background, contrary to what happened on the previous ads, there's a contextualizing background showing - who we deduce is the wife of the aggressor – a pregnant woman who seems to be in pain and nervous, one can only imagine it's because of her own condition or because of the whole situation, and she's in the hospital waiting to be attended by the doctor.

Depth in the image, highlights two opposing scenes: the one where the black woman is under attack and the one where a pregnant woman waits to be treated in the hospital. Viewers' eyes go straight to the scene where the black woman is under attack and slide down to the pregnant woman scene. This may seem to contradict Kress & van

Leeuwen's idea of reading path (from left to right); however, one has to remember that the black woman and her aggressor had their size increased favoring the visualization.

In respect to framing, again, we have another case of porous framing where the pictorial space is invaded by some written text elements, as a superimposition. van Leeuwen (2005, p. 12) calls attention to the fact that in overlaps in advertisements are "likely to occur between the fantasy envisaged in the picture and the reality given by the text and the picture(s) of the product"; And that's what happens in a certain way, because the written message is calling our attention to what appears to be a frequent practice. Also, notice that the borders of the frame are used as a wall to corner the woman and convey the idea of entrapment.

The last ad that portrays a black person is the charity ad below (cf. Figure.92).



Figure.92

This friendly little girl is another example of black characters in the ads collected. She's represented as someone in a vulnerable situation, asking for donations, indicating that she's probably poor. As the ad itself points out, this is an ad directed for those interested in making donations. Some visual characteristics are important to note. First, this ad also brings a decontextualized background and no depth. It is a flat, simple, straight to the point ad. The girl is placed in a frontal

angle, close shot, looking at the viewers, demonstrating satisfaction, perhaps gratitude. And she's a black girl.

The question that remains here is why such an ad isn't depicted by a white little girl? It can't be an arbitrary choice, the fact that, positive situations are directed to white social actors and negative situations are carried out by black people, usually being passive or completely inanimate. Besides, using a black girl as publicity validates the notion that black people are in need of help, and most possibly, white people's help. I looked for more ads of this campaign to see if white characters were displayed too, but unsuccessfully.

It's important to bear in mind that these ads were collected from a city dominated by neoliberal practices, so it isn't a surprise that all of them carry traits of neoliberalism. A neoliberal ad is an ad that convinces viewers, very subtly, that all individuals have the same opportunities, that diversity is respected, appreciated and accepted. In the case of the black little girl appealing to those who have more to help, for instance, there's an extra factor we should take into account. Neoliberalism promotes the idea of a benevolent side, where citizens should help other citizens whenever one feels like capitalism, society, government have failed them.

In other words, neoliberal practices conduct thousands of lives to a miserable condition, but there's always a generous side that fosters individuals to help individuals in order to minimize the damages. Benevolent people have always existed; however, neoliberalism turn their practices into something that worth propagandizing, such as when several women nowadays have their hair cut to donate to children with cancer and display their actions on innumerable Facebook's campaigns. A good-will practice that was supposed to be private, out of their hearts, become a matter of exhibitionism.

Also, in a neoliberal city, where neoliberal practices are predominant, it is no surprise that such an aggressive economic order would show its benevolent side, such as it is shown in the charity ad, the ad from a black nurse being attacked. Of course, there has always been this attempt from politics to shape attitudes and behaviour in some way – from everyday choices to major initiatives of large companies.

The difference is that society has become increasingly complex and individualized, and only the widespread of different values and ideologies can change on the part of individuals and institutions. Years of dictatorship worldwide and repression and difficulties between wars may have lead people to complete discredit in direct control and order; that is why, a subtler approach is advised and frequently taking over

many towns in Brazil and worldwide. In this sense, adverts nowadays don't impose, they suggest.

Next section, I will elaborate more on the difference between informative ads and (ads that superficially instruct the viewers, just as a reminder and let them act) and more suggestive ads (ads that tell viewers to do something).

6.3. Men are from Mars; women are from Venus. Are they really?

First of all, it isn't my intention to reinforce the whole male-female dichotomy here, but to raise questions whether the ads collected are accurate in the representation of women. Again, this is not an attempt to generalize how men and women are portrayed or how men are depicted in comparison to women. But it's a way to raise some serious questions, such as why are women still being depicted in such careless way in 2016?

It isn't that women and men are portrayed differently, simply because they are different. They are portrayed differently, because society (individuals, families, institutions) has always seen, treated and taught men and women to be, to live and to behave in very distinct ways. So, it's not that women and men are biologically different, which they are, but it's because their gender roles are constructed in such a way that sometimes it seems almost impossible to deviate from the establishes roles they are supposed to perform.

Now, looking at the ads from the critical lens of gender, although it isn't part of the focus of this dissertation, it's possible to make some important considerations: 1) men are portrayed focused and working; 2) the word beauty is often associated to women; 3) men work for public contests (*concurso público*), women don't; 3) a black person is being attacked and she's a woman; 4) women are depicted with sex clothes, men don't.

Following the order just presented, the first ad (cf. Figure.93) shows men working and studying dressing for formal occasions. Not even one ad shows a woman studying for a public contest, which is odd, especially considering that the last Brazilian survey (*Censo*) showed that women are around 2 years more educated than men and that they're the majority in charge of their families and homes, contradicting reality and statistics. The closest an ad make reference to women studying to a public contest is the ad from *Livraria Saraiva* (cf. Figure.94) where two young women are depicted as if they're interested in studying for the

OAB test (examination for future lawyers in Brazil), but it's kind of disappointing to see how both of them are depicted – having fun, enthusiastic, wearing casual clothes, but not at all serious about the situation, as occurs with men in the ads. Even though they're probably looking at something OAB related, they don't reflect a serene attitude, as men are portrayed below.



Figure.93



Figure.94

As stated, the word beauty is frequently associated with women. Even when men are depicted in cosmetics' ads, there is always a certain sobriety on them. The following ads put together women and beauty in a very natural association. Not to mention that they're both depicted as products of consumption, as much as the brand being sold (Boticário and Natura), since they're both offers and make no visual contact with the viewers.



Figure.95



Figure.96

Note that men, when showed in cosmetics ads are depicted differently, playing their father role, showing a responsible side, most importantly acting. The word beauty isn't mentioned in any moment.



Figure.97

The only thing that is been portrayed is the relation between father and son. Even though, the participants are offers, they're offers in very distinct manner if compared with how women were portrayed in the previous Boticário and Natura's ads. The object of consumption here is the father and son relationship, while women are the object of consumption *per se*.

Sexy clothing is constantly associated to women, who have their breasts sexualized, legs exposed, as opposed to the way men are depicted. In the following ad, the American actress, Jennifer Aniston is being depicted in a low-cut dress, while no men in the ads collected were depicted as such.



Figure.98

Some may say that it's because such a fancy party, such as the Screen Actors Award, requires different clothes. I wonder why no man was chosen to be depicted for such a prestigious award. It can't be coincidence that women, even in informal occasions as a romantic date, are always sexy and showing parts of their bodies. Note that in the ad below (cf. Figure.99), the woman is well dressed, but again she wears a low-cut dress, while the man is discreter than the woman.

In addition, note that only women were depicted in this kind of ad. I'm sure men, talented actors attended to this ceremony, as well, but as an ideological decision ad producers chose to portray only women, instead of both of them.



Figure.99

Women, to be more precise, had their bodies disciplined to be docile, sexy and feminine for many years for their husbands. To be “feminine” is an indication that a woman follows a certain kind of style, hair, way of speaking, walking, etc. Women, as neoliberal subjects, have changed this perspective and started acting as individuals in pursue of professional status and economic rewards. They're trying to show that it is possible to dress, manicure, be feminine, but also a mother, a wife, because one role doesn't exclude the other. They're now manicuring for their own satisfaction.

Neoliberalism take advantage of the fact that women now are professional beings with careers consolidated, and it makes look as if it is important for women to have cosmetic surgeries and other beauty procedures with the main argument of a career move, to look presentable at their work environment, and so on. Neoliberalism fosters that women who take care of their bodies are actually investing in their future, and that return will come, eventually. Basically, the rationale nowadays is different – women take care of their bodies because they're inserted in a financial game of loss and gain within the neoliberal logic.

The way women are represented in the ads tell a lot about media producers and society, and how discourse is constructed in a way.

6.4. Indirect ads versus direct ads

Ad producers find many ways to reach the target audience. One way to approach potential consumers is to make good use of indirect and direct ads. What I call here indirect advert is an ad that encourages a certain lifestyle or it is simply an “I exist ad”. It's the kind of an informative ad that doesn't necessarily try to sell anything, but instead chooses to build a connection with future clients by not forcing anything on them. The ad (cf. Figure.101) below illustrates this idea of indirectness.



Figure.100

This ad doesn't make any reference to UOL, Brazilian content, media and information company. In fact, the objective of this advert seems to simply show some world news on economics. The advantage of indirect marketing is that it promotes a natural and more authentic way of communication with the audience, and since it is so subtle, it almost passes unnoticed. Not to mention that the audience doesn't feel much pressure, which establishes a different kind of relationship between viewers and ad producers – a bond of trust.

Public display of international news has a certain impact on the construction of people's opinions and beliefs. There is a tendency in neoliberal societies – and in Brazil is no different - to look after dominant groups and wealthy countries' interests. Capitalists are sympathetic to the idea of opening unexplored marketings. Cuba and the USA restored diplomatic affairs in the end of 2014, after years of deteriorated relations. After that, there's been an increasing effort to maintain Cuba closer to the USA, in terms of commercial matters.

It would be of much profit to entrepreneurs to make other countries follow Cuba's steps and open their marketings to private interests, too. It's important to remember that UOL (company in charge of displaying the news ads at Paulista) belongs to Grupo Folha and is one of the largest media conglomerate in Brazil. It is of their utmost interest to spread out measures that they will eventually benefit from.

Another example of indirect marketing is the following ad from Skol. The ad doesn't say that Skol is the best beer in the marketing nor compares it with another brand. This ad seems more of a reminder showing that this product is available and that consumers are welcome to buy it. Also, the ad is being associated with summer, specific time of the year where there are a lot of parties and events in town.



Figure.101

Subtly, this ad presents the brand, without being so authoritative on the viewers. The icon in the middle of the ad is of an “ON” button, which if this was actually a real button, it would be completely optional to press it. Real or not, this ad gives the viewers the option of pressing it or not. But don’t be mistaken. This doesn’t mean that Skol is less intrusive on its marketing strategies, because the human existence is subordinated to the pursuit of private profit and it is of Skol’s best interests to reach the audience and sell their product. The mechanism of approaching individuals may be different, but the interests are certainly aligned with any neoliberal entrepreneur.

Direct ads, on the other hand, are more invasive because they communicate directly with the audience. Addressability comes in many ways – use of imperatives, visual gestures that points to the viewers, the indication of a website or link, so that the audience can reach the company, and so on. The following ad (cf. Figure.102) can illustrate that better.



Figure.102

The bank presents one of its products (Crédito consignado), shows the facilities to pay and receive the loan, and yet, shows a couple doing, what the viewer may only suppose is a loan transaction by their tablet. All of these elements are strong indicatives that the audience is being led to believe that Banco do Brasil meets all the requirements to provide a loan easily. Let's not forget that Banco do Brasil is a Brazilian institution with more than 60% of their assets belonging to the Brazilian government, which means that the remaining 40% of their assets respond to private interests. Private transactions are profitable to banks and investors, which explain why they're so encouraged with all kinds of adverts.

Another example of direct market is the following ad (cf. Figure.103). The interactive ad below not only sells the benefits of the product, but also sells the idea that the coconut water "Obrigado" is a product necessary to one's daily diet. Ad producers target the viewers through many different ways, such as distinct channels of communication (social networks, website), the use of personal pronoun

(sua dose diária/your daily dose), the keyboard, so people can type their CPF (Brazilian untransferable document).

By providing a small sample of the coconut to clients, this company also provides a unique individualized experience to people passing-by. This form of smart marketing is aggressive, but also efficient, because it personalizes the experience of trying Obrigado. It's interesting to note that the neoliberal discourse is rooted in small details of a product campaign that fosters personal and individual experiences to the self as an ideal of self-fulfillment. Words, such as welfare (bem-estar), enjoy (aproveite) and others are a recurrent in the neoliberal discourse, not only because neoliberalism promotes a kind of individualism that is almost pathological, but especially because it turns simple human actions into a commodity or a commoditized life experience.



Figure.103

6.5 Are all advertisements neoliberal?

Neoliberalism is the economic philosophy that understands profit and capital accumulation as the very essence of democracy and welfare. It also provides the rationale for many private interests that affect society nowadays, influencing as much as possible the social, economic and political spheres. Therefore, the answer to the title of this section is YES, this author believes that all adverts displayed in São Paulo (and analyzed here) are neoliberal, for the simple reason that most cities worldwide are intertwined by a number of economic relations and interests that devastate urban spaces everywhere.

Not to mention that, São Paulo is just another town that has opened the doors to the invasive logic of neoliberalism, altering the economy of the city. This is particular evident when one notice that the city has undergone a massive privatization of public resources and its most relevant partnerships are from the private sector, where state-owned industries became private, and suddenly faced the challenges of dealing with a multitude of private interests that reflect direct on the city, on the citizens and the way the city is governed.

Therefore, the very fact that there's a municipal law forbidding all kinds of ads in the streets and avenues, and later on, in 2015 rules changed and Avenida Paulista received an incredible number of new regulated economic-focused ads, as previously explained (cf. Chapter 1) is enough reason to state that ads in the city are looking only to the interests of a few, especially those in charge of major financial transactions and power decision in the city.

Let's not forget that the city is a reunion of political, social, ideological and artistic motivations. As the Mozambican writer, Mia Couto states: "The city isn't solely a physical space, but a forge of relations. It is the center of a time where own identities are fabricated and re (fabricated)"⁷. In other words, cities get their influences from different sources, from people to institutions. Not to look at these interferences is the same of ignoring or simply rejecting the voices part of the city.

⁷ My translation from the original: "A cidade não é apenas um espaço físico, mas uma forja de relações. É o centro de um tempo onde se fabricam e refabricam as identidades próprias". Quote taken from the exhibition "Museus e Paisagens Culturais" at Solar da Marquesa de Santos – São Paulo, May 22nd, 2016.

6.6. Final Remarks

This chapter looked at the meanings displayed in the advertisements and expanded the discussion to another perspective, taking into consideration matters related to prejudice and inequalities. The amount of information people are forced to face in a daily basis is significant, especially in a large city, such as São Paulo. That is why a more accurate analysis of the discourses spread in the cityscape is essential to the understanding of the forces and interests behind the images displayed in town.

The main focus in this chapter was to raise awareness to the way social actors are represented in ads, in order to identify what kinds of values are directly associated to these participants whenever they are brought to light. The importance of knowing why black people are being excluded from the mainstream semiotic landscape says a lot about Brazilian society and doesn't add much to the whole historical debt that this nation owes to generations of black people after years of neglect and compulsory service during the slavery period.

Moreover, I pointed out very briefly how women were portrayed in the ads and the choices made by ad producers and companies advertised. The ads portraying women revealed that the female beauty is still a concern of cosmetics companies and the emphasis is on women's face and beauty. Frontal angles and close shots are indicative of this tendency. While men are portrayed in formal environments, women are either depicted in decontextualized contexts or poorly represented in formal environments. Either way, the representation of women lacks in accepting that the social roles women have reached are completely different now from years ago.

Still, I've pointed out the reasons why the adverts collected are highly influenced by the neoliberal discourse and how neoliberalism uses its ideology and rationale to foster its precepts in the images produced by ad producers. In this sense, ads were constructed in two distinct ways – indirect and direct. As explained previously, indirect market doesn't pressure the audience to buy their products, it simply reminds consumers that the product is available in the market and that it is another option to be considered. Direct ads, though, are more aggressive, because they target the audience by displaying facilities, advantages, contact numbers and websites, comparing with other brands, etc.

In brief, what this chapter has aimed at achieving was to advance the discussion started with a socio-analysis chapter (cf. Chapter

3), and a visual analysis (cf. Chapter 4 and 5) and detail other meanings, focusing in analyzing cultural and social matters implicated in the ads.

CHAPTER 7

SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

“In advertisements, the images give us the dreams of glamour or fulfillment, or the allusions to forbidden pleasures and gratifications; the words give us the information we need (if any), the specification of the product, the addresses where we might buy it, the price”. (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 136)

7.1. Initial Remarks

This chapter focuses on the choices made by ad producers in the written language displayed in the advertisements. Communication happens mainly through interaction and negotiation of meanings, that is why, the systems of Mood and Modality are the basis for the analysis carried out here, as previously explained (cf. Chapter 2).

The level of detail used in the discussion of SFL in this chapter is intended to provide only enough basis for showing what kinds of meanings are promoted in the ads. Above all, this will be a language discussion focusing on the significance of how written language was used in the promotion of neoliberal values and the representation of social actors.

I'll look at the whole grammatical structure of the interpersonal meaning, paying closer attention mainly to Subjects, especially, because this dissertation analyzes the echoes of neoliberalism and how it affects subjects' lives. Also, I'll focus on the relation between declaratives and imperative sentences, as well as nominal sentences, as a convincing strategy to attract consumers. In the appendix (cf. Appendix III) the written language shown in the ads are analyzed according to the grammatical structures of the interpersonal meanings to help visualizing the Subjects and the rest of the sentence.

Language has a powerful influence over people; this is especially true in the field of marketing and advertisement strategies. Language choices made by media producers have the purpose of conveying the meanings they want to in order to influence people to consume whatever producers sell: courses, events, food, a specific idea, a lifestyle or a behavior pattern to be followed. Combined, verbal and

visual language are powerful tools of persuasion. In commerce, persuasion aims at changing an individual's (or a group's) attitude, behavior, choice, by using written or spoken words to convey information.

Advertising producers have to take into account the emotive power of the words they use. Surely, different people will interpret their words in a different way, but the decision about what to communicate and what to conceal must be a witty and strategic one. In this sense, the advertising language is normally very positive and assertive of what they're trying to sell.

Curiously enough, there is a predominance of declarative/statements in the ads collected. A more logical (at least I thought) choice for ads, in general, would be the imperative mood in sentences, because since we're dealing with products (ideas, commodities, services) makes sense that the urgency to convince people would preponderate. On the contrary, evidence show (cf. Appendix I) that imperatives aren't the majority and that declarative sentences state about the quality of the product or some general information about the product was the preferable linguistic choice. It's important to remind what Thompson (2014) said about different speech roles:

“A statement is any stretch of language that functions to give information to the addressee; a question is any stretch that functions to elicit information from the addressee; a command is any stretch whose intended function is to influence the behaviour of the addressee in some way; and an offer is any stretch whose function is to initiate or accompany the giving of goods & services to the addressee” (p 47-48).

Next sections, I'll elaborate more on how the choice of declarative sentences by ad producers.

7.2. The use of statements in ads

Statements communicate an idea, a position or an attitude. They usually give facts about something. In other words, they set the scene, tell what is going on or simply give the background. The importance of this kind of linguistic structure is that it provides solid and reliable information a person can count on or at least believe it is. One may think

that if statements are in the ad, it's because they're true. Examples such as "O desafio ficou gigante" or "Dia das crianças é no Complexo Tatuapé" (cf. Appendix III) show that the audience is attracted by positive evaluations or the promotional discourse conveyed.

Stating constructive discourses about a company, a product or a lifestyle seems a skilled way of exerting a certain influence over people's behavior, because it's subtle, non-aggressive, and apparently disinterested, even though we know it isn't. As previously said, declarative sentences provide information about something to the addressee. Information can be general and informative, so that the readers can initiate a first contact with the product/company as follows:

Melhor que ter um Carrefour perto de casa, é ter um dentro de casa. (cf. Appendix III)

Para quem vive conectado, inovação nos serviços online. (cf. Appendix III)

Dorflex Music Experiment. Músicas que ajudam a aliviar a dor de cabeça tensional. (cf. Appendix III)

Information also can be a simple promotional message, which is often realized by statements or offers. In case of offers, a response isn't necessarily required from the readers. The first situation is exemplified as follows:

Smartfit. A academia inteligente. Mês que vira presente. A 1ª mensalidade paga. (cf. figure Appendix III)

Note that the form-function correspondence shows a declarative form functioning as a statement, providing general, but appealing information about the gym. Instead of using a question to invite consumers to enjoy a free month at Smartfit, something like, "How would you feel with a first month free at Smartfit?" or a command, "Come to Smartfit and enjoy our facilities", ad producers decided to use statements. A statement avoids any kind of ambiguities, because it's clear, structured in more than one sentence "Mês que vira presente" and "A 1ª mensalidade paga". This sells better, because allows readers to 'digest and process' the whole information of the ad without look so desperate and manipulative.

Also, looking at the neoliberal discourse, by presenting the gratuity of a service, ad producers and the company behind this ad made use of a valuable strategy to attract avid consumers in search of better

payment conditions and prices suitable to their personal finances. The idea of turning the monthly payment into something worth advertising, only shows the marketing intent of the ad.

Other examples of form-function pairings bringing declaratives and statements are as follows below:

Crédito consignado Banco do Brasil. É fácil de pegar e pagar. É pra facilitar. (cf. Appendix III)

Liderando mudanças de resultados. (cf. Appendix III).

It's interesting to note how all the examples above focus on the matter of efficiency, change and readiness of things. Neoliberalism seems to be redefining our priorities and it's setting a whole new level of urgency. Lack of attachment can be seen in individual's social relations but on how people relate to products around them; "A maquininha sem aluguel" represents the very same willingness to disposal things and to discard things whenever one feels like doing it.

However, is not always that form-function follows the same declarative/statement combo. In many cases, the declarative form is intended as an offer. Some examples below illustrate that and the explanation comes after:

Sua dose diária de bem-estar: água de coco Obrigado. Aproveite (cf. Appendix III)

São Paulo tem 120 km de ciclofaixas. Boralá. (cf. Appendix III)

Ministério da Cultura apresenta: Gabriela. Baseado na obra de Jorge Amado (cf. Appendix III)

In the first example, the exchange will only be complete if a non-verbal action is carried out, for instance, if the reader accepts the offer, type the CPF and collects the bottle of coconut water Obrigado. Since part of the communication needs a non-verbal action, language has a more ancillary function. Goods & services (cf. Chapter 2) are offered to the addressee, requiring a gesture as a response. In other words, language isn't crucial in the offer situation. In some cases, it's possible to reply with a "Thanks for the coconut water", but this is definitely not a situation that requires this kind of reply, because the reader is receiving this offer from a machine in the middle of the street.

The second and third examples expect the readers to engage. Language has also a secondary role, although ad producers can't know

for sure if the readers will accept the offer, for fairly obvious reasons. It's worth mentioning that the second example brings the Brazilian word "Boralá" (Let's go) which construes intimacy and informality with the readers.

Would it make a difference if, instead of using more declarative sentences, ads resorted to imperatives? Imperatives confer to advertisement or any social interaction involving language, the sense of obligation and duty and this would appear to be too bold and presumptuous, if the producers' idea is to keep things natural and cordial. Imperatives would give an inaccurate tone to the adverts and blow potential consumers away. Ad producers usually try to bound pleasure to commodities, which is realized in the written text and on the images.

A quick word on nominal sentences must be presented here. Nominal structures refer to nonverbal sentences, usually without a finite verb. It usually consists of a Subject and Complement without any verb to link. They can be employed to offer some kind of information, solicited or not. The examples above corroborate that.

Moderninha. A maquininha sem aluguel. (cf. Appendix III)

Jornalismo mais perto de você. (cf. Appendix III)

Curso completo para Banco do Brasil e Caixa Econômica
(cf. Appendix III)

Band. Esporte de corpo e alma. (cf. Appendix III)

This nonverbal structure communicates with the readers by means of a very concise idea, almost as a proverb or a maxim, what enhances the veracity that is given to the text. In a way, all the nominal sentences presented above advocate for their products their selling.

7.3. The use of the imperative form in ads

In commands, the main objective of the communication is to influence the audience's actions. The exchange in commands doesn't rely completely on the reader's responsive, especially in case of advertisements, where the ad producer has no control over the reaction of the audience. Usually in real dialogues, the speaker answers the question or obey instructions. For obvious reasons, may be true or not about adverts in the street selling a product.

Data collected revealed that imperatives don't occur so often, as declaratives sentences, and this will be explained in the next section.

What I observed is that the imperative form has an ambiguity; it doesn't function as a command, but as an offer, a solicitation, an invitation. Commands are direct authority exercised over someone. There are a number of ways of making commands subtler, politer, for instance, it's possible to turn a command into a question or to simply use a 'please' after it. In Offers, usually the interlocutor gives someone the opportunity to accept something. A possible explanation is that commands sounds too strong to direct to potential clients, for this reason, ad producers may have chosen to smooth the tone a little bit. The following examples clear this up.

Seja fluente. Faça inglês na United. (cf.Appendix III)

Amplie os horizontes. Faça inglês e espanhol no CEL-LEP.
(cf.Appendix III)

Seja um especialista Excel e amplie suas oportunidades.
(cf.Appendix III)

Comece já a estudar na Anhanguera e pague só depois de formado.
(cf.Appendix III)

Chegue mais rápido sem carro, o app para quem anda sem carro em SP. (cf.Appendix III)

As I mentioned, these examples are imperatives, but they all function, in terms of the basic speech roles, not as commands, but as offers, since they're intended to involve the readers without much pressure. The semantic value added with these imperative forms is softened by the invitations that come right after the command (Faça inglês na United, Faça inglês e espanhol no CEL-LEP, amplie suas oportunidades, etc) adding essentially politeness to the whole sentence, because open for negotiation in a way that commands normally don't.

In the Master Chef's ad (cf.Appendix III), for instance, **"Imagine uma panela de pressão do tamanho de uma cozinha"** asks viewers to imagine a pressure cooker, which isn't the same as asking them to watch the program, something that isn't even mentioned. A reference made to a pressure cooker has the idea of describing the very stressful situation the participants are facing. This way, viewers are invited to watch the show in a very attenuated way.

7.4. Statements over commands: a matter of soft power

Neoliberalism makes us believe that we actually have a saying on all of our choices. What truly happens is that individuals have been bombarded with a massive amount of publicity and content that don't necessarily reflect their habits. Publicity is so ingeniously architected by media producers and a few wealthy behind the market forces that becomes almost impossible to escape from the constant attack. The media has a fundamental political role as an interpreter and disseminator of ideas, not to mention that it has contributed to sustain the dominant ideology of neoliberalism.

Suggestions over impositions are much more acceptable and compatible with today's style of living. People buy what they believe will provide enough satisfaction and pleasant experiences. They also buy what is trendy, the last word in fashion, technology, tourism. And advertisement is, of course, a visible important part of neoliberalism. It is through the spread of the consumer ideology and of a certain modern lifestyle that neoliberalism attracts followers.

Statements are the culmination of this mechanism of attraction behind neoliberalism, because they communicate an idea without the imposition of a concept, agreeing with the whole significance of the neoliberal order of not imposing a lifestyle, but suggesting a way of behaving. Neoliberalism is pervasive not because it exerts pressure over people and governments, but because infuses itself into political, social and cultural structures without coercing actors. On the contrary, states are tacitly agreeing with neoliberal practices, such as the cut of public expenditures affecting important social programs, reducing governmental regulation, facilitation for private enterprises, the acceptance of the concept of individuality, even if it means, excluding vulnerable people from the equation.

Imperatives, on the other hand, are used as orders or commands. It's a language technique that makes the act of buying a product, urgent, and consequently promotes this crucial feeling to the consumer. However, not all consumers might agree with such a pressing appeal. Aggressive slogans and sentences in advertisement don't guarantee obedience from the viewers' side; it only forces harder on the audience, which doesn't necessarily mean positive results.

Not to mention that imperatives may sometimes be understood as impolite and inappropriate, especially if it's in a written text where the interactants can't possibly know the tone of voice used and disperse any misunderstood. This may explain why in the ads collected,

producers chose to use the imperative form functioning as an invitation or suggestion, instead of orders and commands, so that they could eliminate any confusion in communication.

7.5. Questions that matters

Questions were also found in the advertisements collected, although in smaller amount if compared to declarative and imperative sentences, though not less effective. Interrogative questions are used in publicity when producers want to address directly to the audience, inciting them, and requesting their engagement with what is being displayed. Curiously, some ads show interrogative forms functioning, in terms of basic speech roles, not as a question, but as a command – since it was trying to influence people’s attitude. The example below is illustrative in this sense.

Sabe ler? Faça algo por quem não sabe. Doe R\$1 por dia e ajude a alfabetizar 3 crianças. (cf. Appendix III)

The fact that a question is used to communicate with the audience adds politeness, and softens in a way, such a sudden questioning. On the surface, one may think that ad producers are simply asking for donations for a good cause, when, in fact, they’re using such a delicate matter - illiterate children in an emerging country - to ask for money for an institution that isn’t much clear on the ad. I’m not sure if it’s Ótima or Instituto Ayrton Senna that is sponsoring the advertisement. Anyway, the interrogative form has included a certain tone of inclusiveness of the audience.

The following example brings another evidence of an interrogative form.

Seu gerente trabalha pra você ou para o banco? (cf. Appendix III)

This example, particularly, is provocative, because it questions the loyalty of the viewers’ bank manager, since people usually trust their money to bank managers.

The interrogative sentence used to question viewers about their managers’ credibility, has also the power to induce readers to think that some bank managers work exclusively to the bank while others don’t. It’s a false assumption, especially knowing that bank managers have a

monthly goal to achieve and their clients are the main target in this economic transaction. There's no such a thing as a bank manager that works or thinks exclusively in their clients. They do what they have to do to keep the bank's interests as a priority.

The following example brings a declarative turned into a question. This time, the interrogative form functions as an offer

Vamos testar a sua vontade de McShake? Participe do game de memória. Toque na tela. (cf.Appendix III)

This example is functionally working as an offer not only because the verbal exchange indicates, but because the ad itself has a different format from the other ads from Avenida Paulista. It's one of the interactive ads, where the viewers may actually engage with the machine and play with it. The fact that ad producers chose a question to interact with the readers makes all the sense, since it guarantees the interaction between readers and the ad.

7.6. Identifying the neoliberal subject in advertisements

The Mood (Subject + Finite) is the most important part of a clause. By understanding them both, it becomes secondary the understanding of the Residue Predicator, Complement, Adjunct. Both Subject and Finite provide important information regarding the entity and validity, respectively, of the information displayed. For instance, it is through the understanding of the Subject that we find out the entity and social structures behind the any discourse. Also, by knowing the Finite, it's possible to state if the clause is valid (not modalized), if it's negatively or positively valid, and so on (Thompson, 2014).

In order to understand better, the whole discursive logic behind the publicity language, the following sections will discuss about Mood – different kinds of Subjects and Finite.

7.7. Subject as companies and institutions.

Companies and institutions are easily recognized in the following examples. Note that the Subject is italicized and underlined to help in the visualization. Comments come below:

***O Ministério da Cultura, Bradesco e Bradesco Seguros* apresentam: acervo em transformação.** (cf.Appendix III)

O canal para quem gosta de arte. (cf.Appendix III)

Netflix anuncia que segunda temporada de Demolidor será lançada no dia 18 de março. (cf.Appendix III)

A mais tradicional escola de negócios do Brasil (cf.Appendix III)

Faculdade Cantareira. Conheça e surpreenda-se. (cf.Appendix III)

A maior feira de games da América Latina (cf.Appendix III)

A Saraiva prepara. Você passa. (cf.Appendix III)

Some considerations regarding neoliberalism and the entities represented are important at this point. First of all, all the Subjects are somehow connected to the private sector or are indicative of a private-public partnership (e.g., A Saraiva, o Ministério da Cultura, Bradesco e Bradesco Seguros, etc.). Secondly, going back to the old traditional liberalism, Harvey (2012) tells us that the focus was on property, while nowadays is on the contract. I explain. Contract is a mechanism typically used in neoliberalism – the privatization of public resources, formerly run by state-owned companies, can be seen as a block of contract; also the frequency of contracts is smaller (cf. Bauman’s notion of fluidity, Chapter 2); it’s no longer interesting to keep one’s job for many years, but to be flexible enough to follow new opportunities, as long as one feels comfortable with.

In this sense, it’s interesting for these companies to reverberate visually or by verbal exchange, the logic of markets (offer and demand). This way, Netflix keeps generating a certain expectancy towards their programs, attracting potential TV viewers and customary viewers. Otherwise, TV shows are cancelled if there is no response from the audience and money is lost. The same happens to the Brazilian TV channel, Arte 1, where the appealing is made through emotional means, since Arte 1 is directed to art lovers, as said in the clause.

Equally important, superlatives are used as part of the Subject, to enhance the quality of the service and show concern in promoting their companies and events. Moreover, a spatial association is made in relation to these events - for instance, Game Show is the biggest game’s fair at Latin America, while FECAP is the most traditional business’s

school in Brazil. I bet many other institutions say the same, in different manners with very distinct verbal choices. Faculdade Cantareira, on the other hand, decided to highlight the name of the college as a Subject and leave extra information (an invitation to get to know the Cantareira) as a post-modifying clause.

These clauses, inserted they are in times of increasing neoliberalism, denote strong appeal of transformation, grandiosity, success, interactivity – keywords to neoliberalism as an economic structure and philosophy. It's important to mention that competition is the core factor applied not only among countries, but regions and cities. That is why it's so important to emphasize as Subjects, the entities that are competing for citizens' attentions and let them aware of the products they're selling.

7.8. Subject as abstract entities

Here, by abstract entities I mean, Subjects that aren't human beings or don't represent a company or a particular institution. The examples below illustrate that and the language discussion comes in sequence:

A oportunidade que faltava para você mudar sua vida! (cf. Appendix III)

O desafio ficou gigante. (cf. Appendix III)

Jornalismo mais perto de você. (cf. Appendix III)

Notice that the Subjects above refer to nouns that don't necessarily represent a company, a person or any institution. Mostly, they refer to abstract notions of success and challenges, that are pretty much connected to the neoliberal tenets of uninterrupted prosperity for individuals who pursue their careers and self-realization. Also note that personalization is used in the first and third examples above. The use of the personal pronoun you indicates that the audience was referred to, which creates a feeling of intimacy and solidarity between ad producers and readers.

Other examples below follow the same path, not only because they represent conceptual entities as Subjects (Concurso Público, Dia das Crianças, Férias), but also because the whole clause is very assertive when it comes to determine what is good to the viewers, creating the

impression of a pseudo-interactivity between ad producers and viewers. The Subject “Seu dinheiro no banco” forges a proximity that doesn’t exist; and the complement is extremely evaluative, when ad producers assume that people’s money goes straight to the bank.

Concurso Público é o caminho. (cf.Appendix III)

Dia das Crianças é no Complexo Tatuapé. (cf.Appendix III)

Férias é no Complexo Tatuapé. Brincadeira tem hora. (cf.Appendix III)

Seu dinheiro no banco rende muito. Para o banco. (cf.Appendix III)

7.9. Final Remarks

The interpretation of the interpersonal meaning made it clear that interaction through subtlety is preferred than direct commands. In other words, there seems to have a predominant use of declarative mood over imperative and interrogative. In a society of consumers (Bauman, 2007-1), consumerism is part of individuals’ social lives and there is no need to turn citizens into consumers using aggressive linguistic mechanism, since this process is very much consolidated in neoliberal societies.

Choosing institutions and companies as Subjects, show some of the agents behind the ads and leave the viewers aware of the economic transactions orchestrating in town. Not to mention that choosing abstract notions to represent Subjects is very representative of the characteristics of neoliberalism as a world economic order and that are so cautiously displayed in societies, on TV, on the internet, on street ads, etc.; waiting to be accepted and incorporated into citizens lives.

The interpersonal analysis looks carefully at interaction between people, which explain why it’s relevant to bring to discussion many entities involved in the verbal exchanges and how they address to the viewers.

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION

“Familiarity with the political and social aspects of society is therefore an inherent part for creating meaning, comprehending and interpreting the broad repertoire of Linguistic Landscape texts in the public space” (Shohamy & Waksman, 2009, p. 321, in Shohamy & Gorter, 2009).

8.1. Final Remarks

Advertisement is a social practice that is, simultaneously, strategic and communicative. With the spread of ads people are informed of new products, new tendencies, new lifestyles, and consequently are expected to respond to these publicity appeals by consuming whatever is being announced. As Odih (2007, p.90-91) states: “Advertising promoted itself as an effective instrument for the creation of a society composed of people self-motivated to consume an endless supply of commodities”.

Advertisement is frequently associated with a central form of propagation of capitalist ideologies, because it fulfills all of capitalism’s expectation that it’s only through consumerism that people can satisfy their needs and desires (Odih, 2007). Therefore, advertisement is intended as a form of manipulation, in line with the ideology of neoliberalism.

As a social practice, advertisement can be recreated, disseminated, consumed, accepted, challenged or abandoned by the individuals that engage into this social practice (Fairclough, 1989). It’s only when individuals accept advertisements (what is being advertised) and engage in this interaction, that this social practice starts being reinforced in an existing social structure. In this sense, advertisement can’t be seen as a mere announce from stores and companies, but as serious mechanism of spread of ideologies belonging to a determined social group, since according to Simpson (1993) “language can be used by powerful groups to reinforce this dominant ideology” (p.6). Therefore, the present dissertation has rejected the misconception of ideological neutrality in discourse and had focused on describing and discussing the advertisements collected.

By means of particular interpersonal / interactive system, the ads analyzed conserve certain prejudiced discourses and social inequalities sustained and reinforced by the ideologies displayed in the urban space. I believe that ads aren't produced and reproduced in a vacuum (Thompson, 1993) completely separate from social order; on the contrary, they are inserted in the microcosm of neoliberal societies, in which social and economic disparities are consolidated. This way, it's possible to observe antagonistic interests struggling to be consolidated.

As the corpus indicate, the role of advertisement as carriers of social meanings is diffused mainly by the linguistic and visual evidence. Hence, ads collected, portray a consistent and ideological snapshot of society: black people being excluded or passively represented, men displayed in formal and professional environments, cosmetics being directed to women, economic transactions dictating lifestyle. In other words, the investigation conducted for this doctoral dissertation is an attempt to look closer at the linguistic landscape of a large city, such as São Paulo, in the context of the neoliberal order.

In more practical terms, this work was developed throughout a sequence of chapters as follows:

Chapter 1 (cf. Introduction) presented where the idea of investigating ads came from, together with the main objectives, the significance, and the basic rationale of this dissertation. It's the first contact readers had with this work. Hopefully, it guaranteed a full understanding of the guiding principles of this work.

Chapter 2 (cf. Review of Literature), brought the main tenets of Systemic Functional Linguistics, Social Semiotics and contemporary social theory. Social theory plays an important role in the descriptive part and in the expansion of data discussion. All of these perspectives contribute to the discussion that revolves around the neoliberalism and the ads collected.

Chapter 3 (cf. Advertisements in neoliberal times) brought the interpretation of the ads according to some of the main tenets of neoliberalism in liquid times was presented. I chose some of the most prominent features of neoliberalism and used them to describe and reflect upon the advertisements. It is shown how neoliberalism turns social life into a commodified practice, changing social relations and attitudes towards life. The entrepreneurial subject is an unfortunate product of this whole process.

Chapter 4 (cf. The System of Gaze) brings the analytical description and interpretative work based on Social Semiotics. Here,

images are attached to the social theory, so that readers can understand how producers used (consciously or not) some of the basic fundamental of the neoliberal discourse in the design of the images. Gaze is a visual feature used to convey meaning, in a way, that it changes, as the purpose of the ad producer changes. It all depends on the values transmitted.

Chapter 5 (cf. The System of Modality) discusses the nuances that lead an image to be considered trustworthy or unrealistic, taking the point of view of naturalism, as applied in real life as we know it. The categories of brightness & illumination, representation of social actors, depth and contextualization were very helpful in this sense. Also important is to mention that the concept of reality is a subjective one, because it depends on individual perceptions, and the understanding one might have about a scene / place / fact. Surely, ad producers may use this visual characteristic as an element of strong significance to the message conveyed.

I thought it would be relevant to expand some notions of neoliberalism and point out issues regarding inequality, gender matter and excluded participants in a different chapter. Thus, Chapter 6, raised a discussion on how social actors are portrayed by ad producers and how they reinforce discourses that have deleterious effect on people's lives. Excluded participants and undervalued characters are depicted this way for a reason. Individuals are measured by their personal and professional achievements, but also by their gender, social position and race.

Chapter 7 reported some linguistic evidence to support the claim that individuals are absorbing a neoliberal discourse present in advertisement texts. An SFL analysis was carried out for each major sentence found in the ad and it was possible to reflect upon the main elements of the interpersonal metafunction. Subjects are predominantly institutions that belong to companies or that show some sort of partnership between public and private sector.

In the present chapter, Chapter 8, I briefly, revisit the results related to these chapters, evaluating the work done in this dissertation in respect to its strengths and limitations and I leave a little reflection on the space individuals occupy; additionally, I show why it's so important to have citizens occupying the city, transforming public spaces into a collective site, so that citizens have many opportunities to participate in communal activities.

8.2. Research questions revisited

1) From a social theory point of view, do the ads present characteristics of a neoliberal logic on them? How do they present this logic?

Yes. Neoliberalism is an economic and political philosophy that believes that the competition is a defining characteristic of the human nature. As McGuigan (2014) states neoliberalism is “a principle of civilisation that shapes the socio-cultural makeup of people through socialisation in the broadest sense” (p. 224). However, neoliberalism is often unclear regarding what people refer to and understand by it. Its most common usage is as a set of ideas, an economic ideology or a political project carried out by developed countries. Basically, what neoliberalism has been doing worldwide is redefining the role of citizens, by looking at them as consumers, whose personal choices are best defined and exercised by the logic of buying and selling, a pervasive rationale that promotes meritocracy and punishes inefficiency. Any attempt at limiting this liberty of choice, competition and the logic of meritocracy is considered opposed to the progress, hence, to neoliberalism. The neoliberal discourse is, though, getting infiltrated in people’s lives through a very persuasive manner, that is propaganda. In the ads collected, producers promoted some of the basic values of neoliberalism, in very discreet way, visually and verbally. As a social practice, advertisements help individuals to internalize and reproduce neoliberal values. For instance, ads that advocates that people’s effort will be rewarded, displays a very partial version of the facts, because it doesn’t take into account that individuals are also surrounded by other forces beyond their power. With market-driven mechanisms, ad producers in accordance with the interests of companies design a more captivating advertisement as possible, displaying what they believe will attract more consumers; therefore, it’s possible to state that the relation between context and ads aren’t arbitrary, on the contrary, they’re produced based on the meanings displayed in society (context of situation) and on what individuals understand as true, reinforcing the broader context of capitalism, globalization and neoliberalism in times of liquid modernity. Another evidence that advertisements spread the neoliberal discourse is that, first and foremost, ads are the final product of capitalists looking for profit. A city that follows the market-force logic and is regulated by its principles, is more than interested to spread

its ideologies and values so that potential consumers can be reached by companies' interests and goals. Moreover, it becomes evident through the ads that "choice is vital in the sphere of consumption" (McGuigan, 2014, p. 225), not only in terms of ordinary products, such as cell phones, but also regarding lifestyle and social attitudes. Ads show that it's one's and only one's responsibility to choose a product or a behavior, almost as if there is no kind of pressure being exerted on individuals to make those specific choices. In other words, individuals are constantly held responsible for everything they choose – good or bad. And that's happening only because the neoliberal subject is progressively being constructed in people's minds. Neoliberalism is an economic policy and also part of people's reality (Harvey, 2005). Basic concepts of neoliberalism were displayed in ads, such as the inevitability of interconnectivity (internet language, more info on websites, the necessity of faster internet, etc), the almost complete neglect of black participants, where ads depicted them poorly, in terms of visual cues, with no background and contextualization to help viewers in the whole process of imagining the context when they face the ad for the first time.

2) Linguistically speaking, what are the elements of the Interpersonal metafunction found in the ads? In other words, who are the Subjects in the clause, what are the predominant mood (declarative, interrogative, imperative), how are these ads verbally represented?

The configuration of the verbal exchange leads to an assertive text, representing companies as trustworthy enterprise, well aware of the quality of their service, leaving no doubt regarding their product or lifestyle. All of these are enabled by declarative sentences that emphasize how functional and well established the companies are. Moreover, promotional sentences provided appealing textual interchange to convince readers of how outstanding companies or products are, were also evident in the ads. Declarative sentences presented the efficiency consumers expect to find, combined with a certain eagerness to replace and consume new products, following the characteristics of a liquid modernity society (Bauman, 2007-1, 2007-2). Imperative sentences functioning as offers, tend to smooth the tone of the message, instead of presenting an authoritative status. Since Imperatives can result in failure, if viewers don't respond to the appeals displayed in the ads, declarative sentences appear to be the most effective choice in terms of discourse and image description. Basically, it was found two types of neoliberal subjects: 1) companies and

institutions concerned with consumers' opinions, and 2) implicit You's, in case of imperative forms, where the message was directed to viewers and potential buyers. Few occurrences of questions (interrogative sentences) demonstrate that the focus of verbal interaction is to engage with readers in a way that is unquestionably safe for ad producers to state their purposes and intentions. The status of truth is presented by the complete absence of modalization of the Finites/Predicators that were mainly in the present tense, forging a connection between viewers and ads through the consolidation of the present events in language. Ads collected are representative of an economic order (neoliberalism) that uses discourse to reach people substantially through propaganda, because as Fairclough (1989, p.23) states: "language is one strand of the social". Therefore, texts as advertisements, are a product of social, cultural, historical and economic processes in which they are produced.

3) From a social semiotic point of view, how is the interactive relationship between viewers and ads oriented by ad producers visually speaking? In other words, what are the elements of Mood and Modality realized on the images?

Regarding the system of gaze, there's an expressive number of frontal angles and close shot images, in order to call consumers' attention. Frontal angles and close shots, as exhaustively presented, are used in advertisements because they bring together the audience and the ad content or whatever companies are trying to convey. Very few occurrences of medium and long shot images, though, only show that the purpose of advertisements is to attract people and make sure they feel compelled to buy the product or lifestyle displayed in the ads and not to keep viewers away. Offers are superior to demands (42 offers and 31 demands). Depending on how offers and demands are used, they can help attracting the audience. For instance, an offer, can unpretentiously, show a product or a character without being too imposing. A demand, on the other hand, is quite effective to attract viewers and make them close to the depicted character. Regarding the system of reality, most of the ads are depicted in full detail and the represented participants are most commonly realistic, except black characters that are most often depicted without background, as previously said. or any narratives to help readers to understand. The use of background and depth, as visual resources, also helped in the construction of realistic characters and scenarios. And that's the hidden power of content producers – to state a

concept or an idea without seeming authoritative and intrusive, but suggestive and closer to one particular group's reality. The absence of old people and the very limited number of black people is also very relevant in terms of visual meanings, as if they were deleted from social practices depicted (van Leeuwen, 2008). Worth mentioning that some cases of artists (actors and TV hosts) are used in the ads to legitimize credibility that is given to companies and their products.

8.3. Are there substantial differences between Avenida Paulista X Subway stations 'ads'?

No. Both mediums spread a neoliberal discourse, through images and written texts. Differences between the two mediums have to do with the format in which ads are displayed. Other than that, ads from Avenida Paulista and the subway stations are very similar in content. Some differences, though, are as follows: ads from Avenida Paulista are much more dynamic, giving viewers the opportunity of sometimes interacting, by playing or receiving samples of the products; and they are also animated. Ads from the stations, on the other hand, are static and made of special paper, thus, not animated. In other words, differences between ads from Paulista and stations have more to do with format, frequency which they are displayed, and interactivity with viewers, because, in terms of ideological values, both spaces express the main precepts of the neoliberal order; as evidence has shown, individuals are fostered to become avid consumers and behave according to the market precepts following the interests of a powerful elite of consumers and tendency makers (McGuigan, 2014, Harvey, 2005, Dardot & Laval, 2014).

8.4. Research limitations

This research presents an overview of the construal of meaning in relation to the meanings displayed at Avenida Paulista in São Paulo, in the bus stops and subway stations, so it can't be generalized and extended to other neighbors of São Paulo, urban spaces (ads in museums, squares, downtown, churches) or even other cities in Brazil. Also, data was collected by the author of this dissertation during regular days of São Paulo and it's important to consider that São Paulo is always a very busy city, full of people and the work of photographing proved to be a challenging one, because there were always many people

around and it was hard to count on the collaboration of everyone to move out of the way.

Moreover, this dissertation only focus on the advertisements in recent times, in order to look how neoliberalism is influencing ad production in a busy, multicultural city, such as São Paulo, which means that this work hasn't tackled on ads from older ages, in order to do an investigation of semiotic changes over the years. Hence, it would be interesting for farther research to expand the data to different cities and contexts considering perhaps regional differences and ads from the streets, since in São Paulo it isn't possible to find more on the streets because of the municipal law cited in previous chapter (cf. Chapter 1).

8.5. The urban space as a place of resistance and suggestions for future research

In spite of the constant and massive attack citizens suffer in the city from capitalists and media producers, the city still belongs to its citizens. David Harvey (2012) calls a “collective right” (p. 3) to the right people have of claiming the kind of city they want to encounter, what lifestyle they want spread over the media and city and the social relations people will engage. In other words, the city is where citizens live, therefore, they must feel comfortable enough, as individuals or as a collective group to take advantage of the resources and opportunities the city provide.

The cultural, political, social, but mostly, economic manifestation embodied in advertisements come from a superior power imposed on citizens. Company owners and market strategists exert their economic ambition over people in a way that seems almost impossible to struggle against. However, other spaces are being occupied and changes can be observed in the landscape around us, affecting the collective people (people's power) over the process of urbanization itself.

In this sense, many urban interferences can be found in the cityscape, as an immediate response to what happens in society in the political / economic arena. The images below were collected from Avenida Paulista in São Paulo, similarly to the data collected for this work, and they carry out, what I consider, an important manifestation of individual's needs to express their personal beliefs and ideologies,

beyond the virtual sphere (Internet), family context, and professional / academic environment.

Streets, especially in a global-neoliberal-capitalist city, such as São Paulo, reproduce what the desires and necessities of their residents. As Harvey (2012, p. 4) puts it “these days it is not hard to enumerate all manner of urban discontents and anxieties, as well as excitements, in the midst of even more rapid urban transformations”. Consequently, this theme would be interesting for further research, not only to broaden the original data of this work, but also to examine how meaning is construed in different other locations, by different other social actors, considering that texts and its cultural significance change when context and content producers do.

The first image below (cf. Figure) has to be understood inside the political crisis Brazil is facing right at this moment.



Figure. 104

This other image (cf. Figure.105) is also illustrative of a certain political view and as a semiotic text, it reproduces meanings in the city, therefore, could be analyzed in another research.



Figure. 105

In opposite direction to this view, comes the image below (cf. Figure.106). Not only it brings to light this political ideology, but also, displays a relevant semiotic value into the city. Contrary to what the image above (cf. Figure.105) presented, in terms of significance and legitimization of a social actor (in the present case, former President, Lula), the image below depicts Lula as a traitor or as the producers of this image wanted to express, as a Judas (in a clear allusion to the Judas doll that is beaten every year during celebration of Holy Week in Brazil in many cities of the country).



Figure.106

Other images depict an encouragement, a motivational saying (cf. Figure.107), condemns the subway's cartel in São Paulo, by wisely replacing the subway's symbol by the name cartel (cf. Figure.108) or simply, embellish the city with songs (cf. Figure.109) and messages (cf. Figure.110).

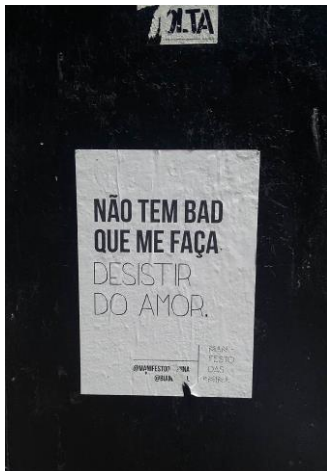


Figure.107



Figure.108



Figure.109



Figure.110

8.6. Final Remarks on the Conclusion Chapter

There's always something to be seen, enjoyed and scrutinized when it comes to the city. A city is the place where identities are formed, individuals act and interact and History is made. When I began writing this dissertation, I was different, Brazil was different. We had a newly elected female president – the first one in the history of our country – President Dilma Rousseff was the first woman to be in charge of our nation. And this was huge; Brazil size-huge. While I finish this dissertation, Mrs. Rousseff has recently been impeached out of her office and now a different time has begun: workers' rights are being disrespected and we've been witnessing the rising of conservative positioning in many fronts. The city is being reinvented under the aggressive neoliberal logic, privileges and the same old elites remain.

Sadly, Eduardo Galeano was right:

*Grow with Brazil.*⁸

⁸ *Grow with Brazil.* Display ads in New York newspapers exhort US businessmen to join the precipitous growth of the giant of the tropics. The city of São Paulo sleeps with its eyes open. The din of development shatters its eardrums; factories and skyscrapers, bridges and highways, sprout with the

Grandes anúncios nos jornais de Nova York exortam os empresários norte-americanos a participar do impetuoso crescimento do gigante dos trópicos. A cidade de São Paulo dorme com os olhos abertos; aturdem seus ouvidos a crepitação do desenvolvimento; surgem fábricas e arranha-céus, pontes e estradas, como brotam subitamente, certas plantas selvagens nas terras cálidas. Mas a tradução correta daquele slogan publicitário seria, sabe-se muito bem: “Cresça à custa do Brasil”. O desenvolvimento é um banquete de escassos convidados, embora seus esplendores enganem, e os pratos principais estão reservados às mandíbulas estrangeiras (p.347).

Galeano, Eduardo (1970 [Reprint 2013]). **As veias abertas da América Latina**. Porto Alegre: L&PM Pocket.

suddenness of tropical plants. But if accuracy had a place in publicity, the slogan would be: “Grow at the expense of Brazil”. Despite its deceptive splendors, this development is a banquet to which few are invited and whose main dishes are reserved for foreign stomachs. (English version retrieved from Google books in September, 24th, 2016).

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**APPENDIX I
MOOD ANALYSIS**

CHAPTER 1

Chapter 1	Mood type	Speech functions (labels/language function)
Figure.1 and 2	Nominal clause Declarative	Offer Statement
Figure.3 and 4	Declarative	Offer

CHAPTER 2

Chapter 2	Mood type	Speech functions (labels/language function)
Figure.7	Imperative	Command
Figure.9	Nominal clause Declarative	Offer Statement
Figure.10	Declarative	Statement

	Declarative Imperative	Statement Command
Figure.11	Nominal clause	Offer
Figure.12	Nominal clause Imperative	Statement Command
Figure.13	Nominal clause	Offer
Figure.14	Declarative Nominal clause Imperative Imperative	Statement Offer Command Command
Figure.15	Imperative	Command
Figure.16	Declarative	Statement

CHAPTER 3

Chapter 3	Mood type	Speech functions (labels/language function)
Figure.17	Nominal clause Imperative	Offer Command

Figure.18	Nominal clause Declarative	Offer Statement
Figure.19	Nominal clause	Offer
Figure.20	Nominal clause	Offer
Figure.21	Imperative Imperative	Command Command
Figure.22	Declarative Declarative	Statement Statement
Figure.23	Imperative Nominal clause	Command Offer
Figure.24	Imperative Nominal clause	Command Offer
Figure.25	Imperative Declarative	Command Statement
Figure.27	Nominal clause Nominal clause Declarative	Offer Offer Statement
Figure.28	Declarative	Statement
Figure.29	Declarative	Statement

Figure.30	Interrogative Declarative	Question Statement
Figure.31	Declarative	Statement
Figure.32	Imperative	Command
Figure.33	Imperative	Command
Figure.34	Declarative	Statement
Figure.35	Nominal clause	Offer
Figure.36	Declarative Imperative	Statement Command
Figure.37	Imperative Nominal clause	Command Offer
Figure.38	Imperative Nominal clause	Command Offer
Figure.39	Declarative	Statement
Figure.40	Declarative Declarative	Statement Statement
Figure.41	Imperative Declarative	Command Statement
Figure.42	Declarative	Statement

	Nominal clause Imperative Imperative	Offer Command Command
Figure.43	Imperative	Command
Figure.44	Declarative	Statement
Figure.45	Declarative Imperative	Statement Command
Figure.46	Declarative	Statement
Figure.47	Declarative Declarative Imperatiive	Statement Statement Command
Figure.48	Declarative	Statement
Figure.49	Nominal clause Imperative	Offer Command
Figure.50	Imperative	Command
Figure.51	Nominal clause	Offer

CHAPTER 4

Chapter 4	Mood type	Speech functions (labels/language function)
Figure.52	Imperative	Command
Figure.53	Declarative	Statement
Figure.54	Nominal clause	Offer
Figure.55	Declarative Declarative Declarative Declarative	Statement Statement Statement Statement
Figure.56	Declarative Imperative	Statement Command
Figure.57	Imperative Nominal clause	Command Offer
Figure.58	Imperative	Command
Figure.59	Declarative Declarative Imperative	Statement Statement Command

Figure.61	Declarative	Statement
Figure.62	Declarative	Statement
Figure.63	Declarative Declarative Declarative Declarative	Statement Statement Statement Statement
Figure.64	Nominal clause	Offer
Figure.65	Declarative	Statement
Figure.66	Declarative	Statement
Figure.67	Declarative Nominal clause	Statement Offer
Figure.68	Declarative	Statement
Figure.69	Nominal clause	Offer
Figure.70	Imperative	Command
Figure.71	Declarative	Statement
Figure.72	Declarative	Statement
Figure.73	Declarative Declarative Interrogative	Statement Statement Question

	Declarative Declarative Interrogative Declarative Imperative	Statement Statement Question Statement Command
Figure.74	Nominal clause	Offer
Figure.75	Declarative Declarative	Statement Statement
Figure.76	Imperative Imperative	Command Command

CHAPTER 5

Chapter 5	Mood type	Speech functions (labels/language function)
Figure.77	Imperative	Command
Figure.78	Declarative	Statement
Figure.79	Nominal clause	Offer
Figure.80	Imperative	Command

Figure.81	Declarative	Statement
Figure.82	Nominal clause Declarative Nominal clause	Offer Statement Offer
Figure.83	Declarative Nominal clause	Statement Offer
Figure.84	Declarative Declarative	Statement Command
Figure.85	Declarative Declarative Declarative Declarative	Statement Statement Statement Statement
Figure.86	Declarative Declarative	Statement Statement
Figure.87	Declarative Declarative	Statement Statement
Figure.88	Declarative Declarative Nominal clause	Statement Statement Offer

CHAPTER 6

Chapter 6	Mood type	Speech functions (labels/language function)
Figure.89	Imperative	Command
Figure.90	Nominal clause Imperative	Offer Command
Figure.91	Declarative Declarative Declarative Declarative	Statement Statement Statement Statement
Figure.92	Declarative Imperative	Statements Command
Figure.93	Imperative Nominal clause	Command Offer
Figure.94	Declarative Declarative Imperative	Statement Statement Command
Figure.95	Imperative	Command
Figure.96	Imperative	Command

	Imperative	Command
Figure.97	Declarative	Statement
Figure.98	Declarative	Statement
Figure.99	Imperative	Command
Figure.100	Declarative	Statement
Figure.102	Nominal clause Declarative	Offer Statement
Figure.103	Nominal clause Imperative	Offer Command

Figure.4 – example. No analysis is needed.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
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CHAPTER 2

Chapter 2	Offer	Demand	Angle	Size of frame	Contextualization	Representation	Depth	Illumination	Brightness
Figure.7	-	X	Frontal	Medium shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.9	-	X	Frontal	Medium shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.10	-	X	Frontal	Medium shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.11	-	X	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.12	-	X	Frontal	Long shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.13	-	X	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.14	X	-	Horizontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.15	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Abstract	X	X	X
Figure.16	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	-	X	X

CHAPTER 3

Chapter 3	Off er	Dema nd	Angle	Size of frame	Contextualiza tion	Represent ation	De pth	Illumina tion	Bright ness
Figure.17	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.18	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.19	X	-	Oblique	Close shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.20	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	-	-	-
Figure.21	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.22	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.23	-	X	Frontal	Medium shot	-	Abstract	-	X	X
Figure.24	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.25	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.27	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.28	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.29	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.30	-	X	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X

Figure.31	-	X	Frontal	Long shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.32	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.33	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.34	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.35	-	X	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.36	-	X	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.37	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.38	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.39	X	-	Frontal	Long shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.40	-	X	Frontal	Medium shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.41	-	X	Frontal	Medium shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.42	X	-	Horizontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.43	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Figure.44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Figure.45	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	-	Abstract	-	X	X

Figure.46	X	-	Frontal	Medium shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.47	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	-	Abstract	-	X	X
Figure.48	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	-	Abstract	-	X	X
Figure.49	-	X	Frontal	Medium shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.50	-	X	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.51	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	-	X	X

CHAPTER 4

Chapter 4	Offer	Demand	Angle	Size of frame	Contextualization	Representation	Depth	Illumination	Brightness
Figure.52	-	X	Frontal	Medium shot	-	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.53	-	X	Frontal	Medium shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.54	-	X	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.55	-	X	Frontal	Medium	-	Detailed	-	X	X

				shot					
Figure.56	-	X	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.57	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.58	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.59	X	-	Frontal	Medium shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.61	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.62	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.63	X	-	Oblique	Medium shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.64	X	-	Oblique	Close-to-medium shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.65	-	X	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.66	-	X	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X

Figure.67	-	X	Frontal	Medium shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.68	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.69	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.70	-	X	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.71	-	X	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.72	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.73	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.74	-	X	Frontal	Medium shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.75	X	-	Frontal	Long shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.76	-	X	Frontal	Long shot	-	Detailed	X	X	X

CHAPTER 5

Chapter 5	Offer	Demand	Angle	Size of frame	Contextualization	Representation	Depth	Illumination	Brightness
Figure.77	-	X	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.78	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.79	-	X	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.80	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.81	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.82	-	X	Frontal	Medium shot	-	Abstract	-	X	-
Figure.83	-	X	Frontal	Close shot	X	Abstract	-	X	X
Figure.84	X	-	Frontal	Medium shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.85	X	-	Frontal	Medium	X	Detailed	X	X	X

				shot					
Figure.86	-	X	Frontal	Medium shot	X	Detailed	-	-	-
Figure.87	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.88	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	-	Abstract	-	-	-

CHAPTER 6

Chapter 6	Offer	Demand	Angle	Size of frame	Contextualization	Representation	Depth	Illumination	Brightness
Figure.89	-	X	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.90	-	X	Frontal	Medium shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.91	X	-	Frontal	Medium shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.92	-	X	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X

Figure.93	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.94	X	-	Frontal	Medium shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.95	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	-	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.96	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.97	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.98	-	X	Frontal	Medium shot	X	Detailed	-	X	X
Figure.99	X	-	Frontal	Medium shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.100	-	X	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.101	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Abstract	-	X	X
Figure.102	X	-	Frontal	Medium shot	X	Detailed	X	X	X
Figure.103	X	-	Frontal	Close shot	X	Detailed	-	X	X

APPENDIX III SFL

CHAPTER 1

Figure 1 and 2

Arte no metrô, um museu subterrâneo.
Nominal clause

São	91 obras de arte	instaladas	em várias estações.
Finite	Subject	Finite/Predicator	Adjunct
Mood			Residue

Figure 3 and 4

Ministério da Cultura, Bradesco e Bradesco Seguros	apresentam	Acervo em transformação
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement/Nominal clause

CHAPTER 2

Figure.7

Seja	um especialista Excel	e amplie	suas oportunidades
Predicator	Complement	Finite	Complement

Figure.9

Curso Completo para Banco do Brasil e Caixa Econômica.
Nominal clause

A oportunidade	que faltava	para você mudar sua vida
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement
Mood		Residue

Figure.10

A Saraiva	prepara.
Subject	Finite
Mood	

Você	passa.
Subject	Finite
Mood	

Prepare-se	para a 1ª fase do Exame de Ordem	com os Cursos Preparatórios Online Saraiva.
Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Residue		

Figure.11

Novo Malbec Supremo	com exclusivo e elegante toque francês.
Subject	Adjunct

Figure.12

Funk	sem ostentação
Nominal clause	

Para não se enrolar no cartão	acesse	o canal da ABECS	e confira
Adjunct	Finite/Predicator	Complement	Finite

Figure.13

Estomazil Pastilhas	alívio imediato e boa digestão
Nominal clause	

Figure.14

Você	tem	muitas chances de ganhar.
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement

Fundo de investimento Bradesco.	Invista	já.
Nominal clause	Predicator	Adjunct

Acesse	bradesco.com.br	e	saiba	mais sobre a promoção.
Predicator	Complement		Predicator	Complement

Figure.15

Refresque-se	de energia positiva.
Predicator	Adjunct

Figure.16

McFritas grande	vira	mega.
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement
Mood		Residue

CHAPTER 3

Figure.17

Sua dose diária de bem-estar:	Água de coco Obrigado.
Nominal clause	

Aproveite.
Finite

Figure.18

Rosa e Azul Renoir.
Nominal clause

Se	uma criança	faz falta	em um quadro	imagina	em uma família.
Adjunc t	Subjec t	Finit e	Adjunc t	Predicato r	Adjunc t
Residu e	Mood		Residue		

Figure.19

Peugeot 2008 Allure automático. A melhor compra do ano de 2016.
Nominal clause

Figure.20

Pós-graduação e MBA FECAP. Nas áreas de finança e gestão de negócios.
Nominal clause

Figure.21

Acredite	na beleza
Predicator	Complement

Acesse	Boticário.com.br/acreditenabeleza.
Predicator	Complement

Figure.22

Você, universitário,	conte	com a Editora Saraiva.
Subject	Finite / Predicator	Complement
Mood		

Conteúdos de qualidade	com preços	que cabem	no seu bolso.
Subject	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator	Adjunct

Figure.23

Viva	intensamente	cada minuto	com o 4G da Vivo.
Predicator	Adjunct	Adjunct	Adjunct
Residue			

Vivo. Líder absoluta em 4G no Brasil
Nominal clause

Figure.24

Comece já a estudar	na Anhanguera	e pague	só depois de formado
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Predicator	Adjunct	Predicator	Adjunct
Residue			

Vestibular agendado 2015.
Nominal clause

Figure.25

Recline. Gire. Transforme. Trabalhe e divirta-se.
Predicator

Se	tem	Intel,	tem	muito r
Adjunct	Finite/Predicator	Complement	Finite/Predicator	Compl

Figure.27

O fenômeno do Facebook	agora em livro.
Nominal clause	

Pó de Lua	por Clarice Freire
Nominal clause	

Para	diminuir	a gravidade das coisas.
Predicator		Complement
Residue		

Figure.28

Sr. Clarke	está	duas vezes mais apaixonante	na continuação de perda.
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Mood		Residue	

Figure.29

Aung San Suu Kyi, vencedor do prêmio Nobel da paz,	integrará	Ministério do novo governo de Mianmar.
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement
Mood		Residue

Figure.30

Quer mudar	o rumo	da sua vida?
Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Residue		

Concurso público	é	o caminho.
Subject	Finite	Complement
Mood		Residue

Figure.31

A Sabrina	promete mostrar	tudo na Record:	talento, carisma e seu jeito alegre de ser.
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Mood		Residue	

Figure.32

Viva	sua beleza viva.
Predicator	Complement
Residue	

Figure.33

Imagine:	uma mulher:	superfeminina, rosto irresistível, olhos verdes, cabelo incrível.
Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Residue		

Figure.34

Novo Cenoura e Bronze:	preserva	o colágeno	e protege	a beleza natural da pele.
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement	Predicator	Complement
Mood		Residue		

Figure.35

Novo Malbec Supremo com exclusivo e elegante toque francês.
Nominal clause

Figure.36

Novo Detox Capilar	Purifica e nutre
Subject	Finite/Predicator
Mood	

Digite	seu CPF	e	retire	sua amostra grátis.
Predicator	Complement		Predicator	Complement
Residue				

Figure.37

Impulsione	sua carreira
Predicator	Complement
Residue	

A mais tradicional escola de negócios do Brasil
Nominal clause

Figure.38

Comece já a estudar	na Anhanguera	e pague	só depois de formado
Predicator	Adjunct	Predicator	Adjunct
Residue			

Vestibular agendado 2015.
Nominal clause

Figure.39

O que	faz	de você único	é	o que você faz de original.
Subje ct	Finite/Predicator	Complem ent	Predicat or	Complem ent
Mood		Residue		

Figure.40

Ele	sempre	acreditou	que a verdadeira inovação está nas pessoas e não na tecnologia.
Subject	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator	Complement
Mood	Residue	Mood	Residue

Mentes inovadoras	se atraem.
Subject	Finite/Predicator
Mood	

Figure.41

Seja	consciente.
Predicator	Complement
Residue	

Dica de economia de energia:	lâmpadas fluorescentes	são	mais econômicas
Adjunct	Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement
Residue	Mood		Residue

Figure.42

Você	tem	muitas chances de ganhar.
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement
Mood		Residue

Fundo de investimento Bradesco.
Nominal Clause

Invista	já.
Predicator	Adjunct
Residue	

Acesse	bradesco.com.br	e	saiba	mais sobre a promoção.
Predicator	Complement		Predicator	Complement
Residue				

Figure.43

Envie	dinheiro	para mais de 200 países	de forma simples e confiável.
Predicator	Complement	Adjunct	Adjunct
Residue			

Figure.44

Liderando	mudanças de resultados.
Predicator	Complement
Residue	

Figure.45

Seu dinheiro	no banco	rende	muito	para o banco.
Subject	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Mood	Residue	Mood	Residue	

Invista	em quem	vai trabalhar	para você	com você.
Predicator	Subject	Predicator/Finite	Complement	Adjunct
Residue	Mood		Residue	

Figure.46

Uma relação única	merece	um presente especial.
Subject	Finite	Complement
Mood		Residue

Figure.47

Férias	é	no Complexo Tatuapé
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Adjunct
Mood		Residue

Brincadeira	tem	hora
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement
Mood		Residue

Confira	a nossa programação	
Predicator	Complement	
Residue		

Figure.48

Dias das Crianças	é	no Complexo Tatuapé	Luz, câmera e muita diversão!
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Adjunct	Complement
Mood		Residue	

Figure.49

Sem crise com parcelamento garantido

Nominal clause

Pague	com 30% ou 50% da mensalidade	sem juros
Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Residue		

Figure.50

Aprenda a fazer	Kitkat gigante
Predicator	Complement
Residue	

Figure.51

Teatro Safra	Grandes artistas, grandes espetáculos.
Nominal clause	

CHAPTER 4

Figure.52

Imagine	uma panela de pressão	do tamanho de uma cozinha
Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Residue		

Figure.53

O desafio	ficou	gigante
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Adjunct
Mood		Residue

Figure.54

Estomazil Pastilhas	alívio imediato e boa digestão
Nominal clause	

Figure.55

Para você	é	a lanterna	de um celular
Subject	Finite	Complement	Complement
Mood		Residue	

... Para um médico	a única fonte de luz	para fazer uma cirurgia	e salvar uma vida.
Subject	é (implicit = Finite) + Complement	Predicator	Predicator
Mood		Residue	

Para salvar vidas médicos brasileiros	fazem tudo	de	com quase nada.
Subject	Finite/ Predicator	Adjunct	Adjunct
Mood			Residue

Mas	eles	não	querem	ser heróis
Adjunct	Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement
Residue	Mood		Residue	

Figure.56

Retiramos	doações
Predicator	Complement
Residue	

Doe	roupas, móveis e outros objetos.
-----	----------------------------------

Predicator	Complement
Residue	

Figure.57

Impulsione	sua carreira
Predicator	Complement
Residue	

A mais tradicional escola de negócios do Brasil
Nominal clause

Figure.58

Compre	o novo Malbec Noir	e concorra	a um Audi TT	por semana.
Predicator	Complement	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Residue				

Figure.59

Poderia	ser	Rodin
Finite Modal	Predicator	Subject
Mood		Mood

O canal	para quem gosta	de arte
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Adjunct
Mood		Residue

Consulte	sua operadora de TV por assinatura.
Predicator	Complement
Residue	

Figure.61

Clicada	com Iphone 6s	por Melissa C.
Predicator	Adjunct	Adjunct
Residue		

Figure.62

Ministério da Cultura, Bradesco e Bradesco Seguros	apresentam	Acervo em transformação
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement
Mood		Residue

Figure.63

Quando	um profissional de saúde	é
Adjunct	Subject	Finite/Predicator
Residue		Mood

quem	perde	é
Adjunct	Predicator	Finite/Predicator
Residue		Mood

Eles	trabalham	pela vida.
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Adjunct
Mood		Residue

E mesmo assim	médicos e profissionais de	são agredidos	no trabalho.
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	enfermagem		
Adjunct	Subject	Finite/Predicator	Adjunct
Residue	Mood		Residue

Figure.64

Cursos em todas as áreas do cinema
Nominal clause

Figure.65

Um aluno	nunca	esquece	um grande professor nem o que ele ensina
Subject	Modal adjunct	Finite/Predicator	Complement
Mood			Residue

Figure.66

Netfli x	anuncia	que segunda tempora da de Demolid or	será lançada	no dia 18 de março .
Subje ct	Finite/Predic ator	Subject	Finite/Predic ator	Adjun ct
Mood		Mood		Resid ue

Figure.67

Chegou	a sua vez.
Predicator/Finite	Complement

A sua opção para o sucesso.
Nominal clause

Figure.68

Ela	está chegando	em São Paulo.
Subject	Finite	Adjunct (place)
Mood	Residue	

Figure.69

Peugeot 2008 Allure automático. A melhor compra do ano de 2016.
Nominal clause

Figure.70

Viva	sua beleza
Predicator	Complement
Residue	

Figure.71

Luiz Bacci, o menino de ouro	brilha	muito	na tela da Band
Subject	Finite	Adjunct	
Mood	Residue		

Figure.72

Quando	uma história	termina	outra	tem que começar.
o	a			.

Adjunct	Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement	Predicator
Residue	Mood		Residue	

Figure.73

Chegue	mais rápido sem carro
Predicator	Adjunct
Residue	

O app	para quem	anda	sem carro em
Subject	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator	Adjunct
Residue			

Você	usa	IOS ou Android?
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement
Mood		Residue

Em qualquer dos dois sistemas	você	já	pode usar
Adjunct	Subject	Modal adjunct	Finite/Predicator
Residue		Mood/Reside	

Que vai ajudar a encontrar	os melhores caminhos	a pé, de bicicleta, de transportes públicos (...) ou taxi.
Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Residue		

Não baixou?	É	simples.
Finite/Predicator		Complement
Residue		

Utilize o QR code ao lado	e descubra	sempre	sua melhor rota
Predicator	Predicator	Modal Adject	Complement
Residue			

Figure.74

A maquininha sem aluguel
Nominal clause

Figure.75

Home m	invade	delegacia	e é morto	pela polícia em Paris;
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement	Predicator	Adject
Mood		Residue		

Em carta	ele	dizia agir	em nome do EI
Adject	Subject	Finite/Predicator	Adject
Residue	Mood		Residue

Figure.76

Amplie	os horizontes.
Predicator	Complement
Residue	

Faça	Inglês e Espanhol	no CEL-LEP.
Predicator	Complement	Adject
Residue		

CHAPTER 5

Figure.77

Seja	fluente.
Predicator	Complement
Residue	

Faça	inglês	na United
Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Residue		

Figure.78

Servidor do Estado de São Paulo com o Crédito Consignado Banco do Brasil, você	tem	mais vantagens
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement
Mood		Residue

Até 96 meses	para você	organizar	suas contas	e reunir	a família.
Adjunct	Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement	Finite/Predicator	Complement
Residue	Mood		Residue		

Figure.80

Venha sentir	o gostinho de ser um minichef	e se divertir	na oficina gourmet.
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Predicator	Complement	Predicator	Adjunct
Residue			

Figure.81

Professores	especializados em acabar	com o inglês meia-boca.
Subject	Finite	Complement
Mood		Residue

Figure.82

Uma série original Netflix	Hemlock Grove
Nominal clause	

Todo monstro	tem	seus demônios
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement
Mood		Residue

Todos os episódios já disponíveis
Nominal clause

Figure.83

A vida do padre	que encanta	multidões
Subject	Finite	Complement
Mood		Residue

Já nas livrarias
Nominal clause

Figure.84

Faz	bem	ouvir	seu farmacêutico
Predicator	Complement	Predicator	Complement

Residue

É	um direito seu,	exija!
Predicator	Complement	Predicator
Residue		

Figure.85

Quando	um profissional de saúde	é
Adjunct	Subject	Finite/Predicator
Residue	Mood	

quem	perde	é
Adjunct	Predicator	Finite/Predicator
Residue	Mood	

Eles	trabalham	pela vida.
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Adjunct
Mood	Residue	

E mesmo assim	médicos e profissionais de enfermagem	são agredidos	no trabalho.
Adjunct	Subject	Finite/Predicator	Adjunct
Residue	Mood	Residue	

Figure.86

Ele	sempre	acreditou	que a verdadeira inovação está nas pessoas e não na tecnologia.
Subject	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator	Complement
Mood	Residue	Mood	Residue

Mentes inovadoras	se atraem.
Subject	Finite/Predicator
Mood	

Figure.87

Lula	comandava	o esquema.
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement
Mood		Residue

O senador Delcídio Amaral	antecipa à Veja	a segunda parte de sua delação	e detalha como
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement	Predicator
Mood			

o governo	vazava	operações da Lava Jato	usando	as senhas “ventos frios” e “questões indígenas”.
Subject	Finite (past)	Complement	Finite	Complement

Figure.88

Veja	persegue
Subject	Finite/Predicator
Mood	

Persegue	a verdade.
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Predicator	Complement
Residue	

Veja.	Os olhos	do Brasil.
Nominal clause.		

CHAPTER 6

Figure.89

Estude	em Jabaquara
Predicator	Adjunct
Residue	

Figure.90

Sem crise	com parcelamento garantido
Nominal clause	

Pague	com 30% ou 50% da mensalidade	sem juros
Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Residue		

Figure.91

Quando	um profissional de saúde	é
Adjunct	Subject	Finite/Predicator
Residue	Mood	

quem	perde	é
Adjunct	Predicator	Finite/Predicator

Residue	Mood
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Eles	trabalham	pela vida.
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Adjunct
Mood	Residue	

E mesmo assim	médicos e profissionais de enfermagem	são agredidos	no trabalho.
Adjunct	Subject	Finite/Predicator	Adjunct
Residue	Mood		Residue

Figure.92

Retiramos	doações
Predicator	Complement
Residue	

Doe	roupas, móveis e outros objetos.
Predicator	Complement
Residue	

Figure.93

Impulsione	sua carreira
Predicator	Complement
Residue	

A mais tradicional escola de negócios	do Brasil
Nominal clause	

Figure.94

A Saraiva	prepara.
Subject	Finite
Mood	

Você	passa.
Subject	Finite
Mood	

Prepare-se	para a 1ª fase do Exame de Ordem	com os Cursos Preparatórios Online Saraiva.
Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Residue		

Figure.95

Viva	sua beleza viva
Predicator	Complement
Residue	

Figure.96

Acredite	na beleza
Predicator	Complement

Acesse	Boticário.com.br/acreditenabeleza.
Predicator	Complement

Figure.97

Uma relação única	merece	um presente especial.
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Subject	Finite	Complement
Mood		

Figure.98

Ao vivo,	tudo	pode	acontecer.
Adjunct	Subject	Finite	Predicator
Residue	Mood		Residue

Figure.99

Compre	o novo Malbec Noir	e concorra	a um Audi TT	por semana.
Predicator	Complement	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Residue				

Figure.100

Cuba	fecha	acordo com empresa americana	para serviço de ligações telefônicas diretas com EUA.
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement	Adjunct

Figure.102

Crédito consignado Banco do Brasil.
Nominal clause

É	fácil de pegar e pagar.	
Finite/Predicator	Complement	Finite/Predicator
Residue		

É	pra facilitar.
Finite/Predicator	Complement

Figure.103

Sua dose diária de bem-estar:	Água de coco Obrigado.
Nominal clause	

Aproveite.
Finite/Predicator