

Universes of meaning for the low-income populace in Brazil: semantics of stability, of social ascent and mobility.

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Abstract

The objective of this research was to identify and understand the basic recurring semantics in the everyday life of the low-income populace in Brazil. To accomplish this, the study was based on the reflections regarding *popular language* by Michel De Certeau (1996) and Agnes Heller (1987), language-game by Ludwig Wittgenstein (1989) and the erosion of meaning of Arjun Appadurai (2004). We integrated the considerations about the contemporaneity with writings by Bauman (2008), Lipovetsky (1989, 2004a, 2004b) and Hall (1992) regarding the different subjects and the post-modern subject. The knowledge about the imaginary and the fantasy of Castoriades (1989) and the reflectivity of Zizek (2008), as well as the philosophical reflection starting from metaphors from spheres of Sloterdijk (2006) have contributed to the formation of the theoretical body. The results of this methodological bricolage have led us to identify three basic recurring semantics in the construction of meanings of consumption among the low-income populace, the semantics of stability, the semantics of social ascent and the semantics of mobility.

Keywords: Brazil, low income, mobility, social ascension, universe of meaning.

1 – The phenomenon of low income

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A cornerstone in the discussions regarding the phenomenon of low income, the book *The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid*, by C.K. Prahalad (2004) has brought the world's attention to this part of the population that seemed phantasmagoric, forgotten, socially abandoned. Certainly, in the reflections by Prahalad have contributed so that this part of the population was noticed no longer as a mass of exclusion or slighted by businessmen – who shared the current understanding that the responsibility over such contingent was the exclusive task of governments. We have since achieved the understanding that these people – most of the world population, about 4 billion (PRAHALAD, 2004:3) not only “existed” but also were part of social and economic processes and that it was possible to achieve riches and bring prosperity and development in a perspective that is both humanist and capitalist.

Despite the worldwide phenomenon, many reflections were based on low income population in Latin America, which according to Nardi (2009:29), based on information by Cepal (2007), presented the potential for consumption of 301 million people in the region.

Another central question that appears is to understand the economic and social limits and outlines of this population. According to CCEB – Brazilian Economic Criterion of Classification (ABEP, 2011) the low income individuals in Brazil are part of classes C, D and E. They are people who live with an income of under R\$1.459,00 (C1, C2, D and E) and represent approximately 78% of the country's population, the equivalent of 148 million people.

In Brazil, especially due to the economic stability from the last few years and governmental measures directed towards low income people, there is a growing interest from national and foreign companies and investors in this segment. Now they are no longer just the focus of governmental welfare policies, of confessional entities, of social services and civil society organizations.

The phenomenon of Brazil has specific outlines since it is in an upward ascent, which implies a distribution of income and a path towards equity and lessening of the less privileged layers, as can be seen on table 1, in which the DE class that represented

51% of the population in 2005, in 2011 represented 24%, a marked decrease in very little time. According to information from the Observador Brasil 2012 (Cetelem) report, we have once again noted the upward mobility of the Brazilian citizen: between 2010 and 2011, 2 million and 700 thousand Brazilians left the DE class and more than 230 thousand Brazilian joined the AB class. It was also noted a new increase in the average income available to Brazilians, with a growth of over 20% when compared to 2009/2010. We also note the average income of the C class Brazilians, which underwent an increase of 50% in this period.

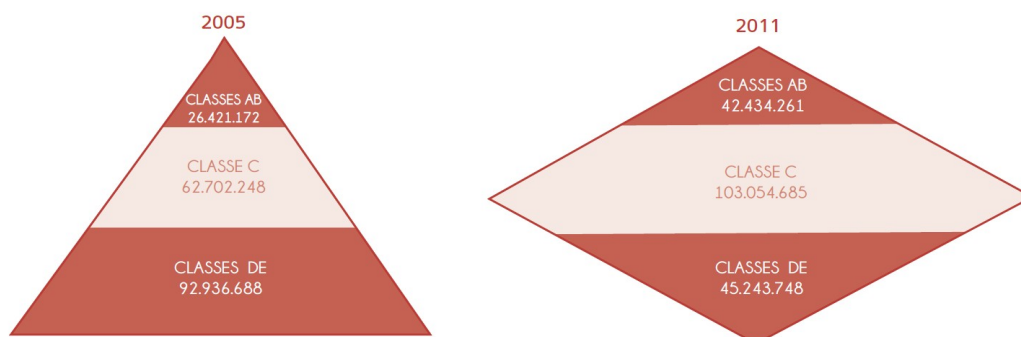
Table 1: Brazilian population distribution

EVOLUTIVO							
Classe	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
AB	15	18	15	15	16	21	22
C	34	36	46	45	49	53	54
DE	51	46	39	40	35	25	24

Source: Cetelem-Ipsos research (2011: 23)

We no longer have a social pyramid in the country, but an elongated diamond that indicates a body in growth more so than a geometrical space in stasis.

Figure 1: Graphic representation of social classes in Brazil



Source: Observatório Brasil 2012. Pesquisa Cetelem-Ipsos (2011:22)

How do these people think and act? What do they value? What is the impact of changes in their consumption relations? And how can we understand the most consequential communicational paths among changes so numerous and so deep in such a short span? These are some of the questions we attempt to answer.

2 – Ordinary language and everyday life: common aspects

The central question we raise in this article intends to associate C, D and E classes, understood as low income ones, with theoretical reflection upon language while everyday, popular and common sense expression. We seek this dialogue in Michel De Certeau's (1996) *ordinary language*, in the everyday life as defined by Agnes Heller (1988), in the language-game of Ludwig Wittgenstein (1989) and the erosion of meanings of Arjun Appadurai (2004), as well as Lipovestky's (2004b) concept of *turboconsumer*, Peter Sloterdijk's *spheres*, Slavoj Zizek's *parallax* (2008) and Castoriadis (1989) *imaginary*. Due to this, we intend to emphasize the importance of an interdisciplinary foundation to understand the universes of meaning of low income population in Brazil. We have noticed that the recent economic and social ascent of this populace has, on one hand, made clearer some characteristics that have always been part of the popular ordinary language, and on other hand, has been marked by new behaviors and meanings based on new forms of communication and access to education, culture and information that have always been on the fringe of their realm.

Currently, in lower classes, there is a tendency towards the consumption of products that represent social-symbolic inclusion (APPADURAI, 2004). The inclusion is a symptom of belonging in a world that was not part of the tradition of the family. This happens because of the conscience of rupture with historical and familial tradition. The fact that its constituents manifest a great will for inclusion, unlike what we could think, makes them more selective, critical and faithful consumers, that is, the moment they "get" the product or brand, they will hardly switch it. Given this, the language-game act as erosion of signs of consumption, but, at the same time, act as everyday tactics and strategies of reconstruction of constituted meanings (CASTORIADIS, 1989).

In this heterarchical context, their own ways of interpreting what represent or not inclusion end up unstable (SLOTERDIJK, 2006).

Part of the *raison d'être* of this slippery language, which we can hardly grasp to understand, is that this population lives the current condition of the sphere world, that is, an economic, social and cultural ecosystem, which mixes random relations between mass media and digital mobile technology (Sloterdijk, 2006). What guarantees relative stability in everyday life are its characteristics of familiarity. The great majority of the family members is close geographically, so they value their habitat (village, neighborhood, street...) as an extension of their own family. It's the topologic-anthropologic concept of the sphere bubble (SLITERDIJK, 2006: 89) which can explain, among other things, the great differences between lower classes (like the emphasis on sociability) and the A and B classes (like the emphasis on individuality). The identity in lower classes is constructed from a symbolic basis, defined as much by geographical and human determinations as by characteristics of mobility.

Everyday life brought challenges that were faced by the collective and not only by isolated individuals. Ties of familiarity exist far beyond the residential space. Fundamental characteristics that explain the reason why most who ascend socially do not leave their neighborhood. To share intimacy is the typical universality of the construction of community identity in lower classes. The main task must be the defense of public space: a place where private problems are translated to the language of public questions and public solutions are sought, negotiated and agreed upon for private problems. It's a very different scenario from the realities of A and B classes. That is, in the lower classes, private questions are discussed and emerge from public exposition and are reaffirmed as private. The private problems do not become public questions due to the fact they are vented in public; even under public scrutiny they are still private (DE CERTEAU, 1996).

In this interplay between public and private, the sacrifice of satisfaction takes immediate precedence due to distant objectives and the sacrifice of individual satisfactions in the name of the group's welfare, especially in the female universe. This phenomenon has taken place despite great access to information which is, increasingly,

followed by access to culture and education, which has also allowed for a great approximation to the symbolic universe of the A class. It's exactly the proximity and living with A-class products that creates a curious situation: lower income people are developing a more critical and selective imaginary. However, this critical sense cannot be, pure and simply, considered an inter-class indoctrination, but an immense imaginary universe which acts in an unordered fashion and diversifies, increasingly, the groups that exist within lower classes and their symbolically dynamic everyday lives (HELLER, 1988).

Lower classes are learning to deal, in an emotional level, with the short temporality of the consumed objects of desire. They are living the experience that consumption is weekly or even an everyday event, just like the temporality of the symbolic universe associated with the products is shorter. They live in a reality that, nowadays, messages are non-additive and hardly carry a long temporality. That is, we either grab your attention immediately or not at all. Within this reality, the advertising representation of spaces that are interdictory, that is, that merely serve to be admired by its magnificence and don't invite visitors to interact, lose strength with each passing day (BAIRON, 2011: 28). The great question is that ostentation represents abundance, quantity and familiarity, and never only contemplation and exclusivity. The signs of abundance express an important imaginary to all of popular tradition. The abundance is full of interpretants of victory over scarcity, from within which objects of desire represented in great quantities mean satiation and satisfaction: for instance, a table full of a food or a basket full of groceries act, mostly, as victories over adversity. The brands and products are only instruments of this device (PEREZ, 2004).

That leads the world of emotional interpretants to be defined by constant reinvention. Due to historical difficulties, the constituents of lower classes deal in much less dramatic fashion with the notions of crisis. Communication technologies have also acquired a high degree of affection. The symbolism of dialogic communication through mobile technology, social networks etc., have ultimately represented the extension of the surroundings of familiarity we mentioned above (BAIRON, 2010). To improve this house is a metaphor of social expansion, which not only means to increase self-esteem,

but also to construct a social and economic habitat. Each decorative object, home appliance and electronic device acts as a material symbolic element of social ascent, not only within familial intimacy, but also among neighbors and friends. There is great multiplicity in the offer of products, which could be related to an equal multiplicity of the manifestations of self in contemporary times, reinforcing the meaning of ascension and victory against scarcity. Therefore, products and services act as a sort of reflectivity or mirroring of this condition of familiarity, and despite obscured limits, they will always be present in the imaginary of the common man. In environments that are conducive to social ascension, people live the feeling of recognizing what is best in themselves through the products consumed. Next to the action of language-games that only value the meanings of the world's things through familiarity with everyday action (WITTGENSTEIN, 1989).

The space in which aesthetics happened, in accordance with only some models, also does not exist anymore. Principles like multiculturalism and cultural diversity have subjectivized the trend of aesthetic standardization. Nowadays the constituents of lower classes can live with more freedom, especially due to their transit in more than one reality when it comes to their aesthetic and behavior options. They live in the reality in which diversity cannot be overcome. They experience strongly the present unconsciousness in the act of consumption, that is, with time, it makes the consumption of “expensive” goods as well as the relations between aesthetic and healthcare actions that are increasingly automatic and unconscious (DE CERTEAU, 1996).

It is no coincidence that in the universes of meaning of lower classes the woman has taken the lead, among other things, in social and economic aspects. This new reality hugely increases self-esteem and places women in an everyday scenario of leadership. The predominance of the feminine overrules the emotional narratives (signs) regarding products and services and encourages the recomposition of moral and ethical values. One of the most significant symptoms is embedded in the increase of the feminine insertion in the educational scope, as noted by INEP (2010), showing that women represent 44.2% of those acquiring college degree, against a male participation of 38%.

The act of studying in college being something inaugural for most families, especially in the case of female graduates, act as a symbolic interpretant of social ascension that is completely unprecedented in Brazilian history. The narratives that unfold show not only the person in ascension... but the whole family being symbolically carried by the woman. Beyond a social and familial resignification, education is a good that also provokes deep changes on a psychological level, because it raises self-esteem and offers more security towards the speed of changes.

3 – Semantic immersion in everyday life: several aspects

After articulating the interdisciplinary theoretical immersion that allowed us to go deeper into the body of the research, we started with the sign reception phase. The empirical research was structured through the integration of different paths and qualitative techniques. 8 discussion groups were conducted, with projective technical applications and the intention of understanding social values and to cultural and identity questions, such as education, culture, family, work, consumption etc. The second phase collated the qualitative results of 18 extensive interviews, with both specialists in public policies for low income people and researchers of the subject – focused on understanding the influences of governmental actions in different spheres, as well as with salespeople, tradespeople and those who hire people who fit the low income criteria, to better understand the noted motion of meaning.

The third phase depended on immersion through ethnographic approach, followed by photoethnographic and film registry, with over 100 hours of observation, as well as the observation of participants in different places in the Southeast and Northeast regions of the country. The spaces contemplated both the home and public environments, especially in situations of consumption, as much in rituals of seeking, as well as purchase, use, possession (MCCRACKEN, 2003) and discard.

In order to structure and integrate the results of theoretical reflections with the empirical phase, we chose Peirce's (1977) semiotics as our path, offering us efficient conditions for analysis and presenting conclusions once we employ the Peircian interpretant concept as a desirable meaning effect, even if this requires an interpreting

mind to come to term. Thus, to reach the interpretants (potential and “real” effects of meaning), we started from a qualitative-iconic emotional analysis, segmented as: objects of desire, familiarities and fantasies; functional singular-indicial: temporalities, spatialities and sociabilities, so we can finally approach the level of the interpretants.

The results of this methodological bricolage has led us to identify three basic semantics in the construction of meanings of consumption of low income population, the semantics of stability, the semantics of social ascension and the semantics of mobility, which can be verified in a summed form in table 2, and later, in a more detailed manner.

Criteria	Stability	Social Ascension		Mobility	
	Objects Desire	Modest everyday	and	Bold sophisticated	Intangible and tangible
QUALITATIVE ICONIC EMOTIONAL	Familiarity	More dedicated to someone else		More dedicated to self	Dedicated to self, including someone else
	Fantasies	Affective Familial	and	Pragmatic and hedonistic	Intellectual and cultural
	Temporality	Static – future as maintenance of status		Immediate: agile and pragmatic consumption	Subjective: preponderance of knowledge
SINGULAR INDICIAL FUNCTIONAL	Spatiality	Local: complete donation to the immediate surroundings		Global: focused on individuality	Liquid: adapted to subjectivity
	Sociability	Priority for family and neighborhood		Priority for individualism	Priority for self-growth
LEGI SYMBOLIC FINAL		Predominance of the emotional level		Predominance of the logical level	Predominance of the functional level

Source: The authors

The **Semantics of Stability** refer to the context of narratives made evident by people who presented themselves as satisfied by the achievements they reached. They are usually manifestations from people and families who recently passed into the C class, coming from lower classes, D (family income of R\$680,00) or those who were in the E class (family income of R\$415,00) and moved into the D class (the mobility in some situations was so transforming that some individuals passed from total exclusion – E class – directly to the C class, especially as a result of better job opportunities and income transference policies by the Federal government in the last 9 years.

These people show a certain conformism, explained by the recent ascension and by the satisfaction it ensues. They are still under the effects of the pleasure of minimal conquests, small comfort, not longer being excluded from a good share of the essential services of life in society. A very significant expression in this perspective: “we literally moved from the donkey’s rump into Dafa”, as mentioned by one of the interviewees from Feira Água de Menino, Salvador, Bahia, referring to the change in “mobility”, from the donkey to the popular and low-income accessible motorcycle.

The surroundings are extremely valued. The lived space, the house, the neighborhood, local commerce, everything is a sign of security and must be maintained. Total priority is addressed to family and close relations, especially neighbors, revealing an enormous dimension of collectivity and even a concept of extended family. The objects of desire are present, even if contained and modest, like the everyday improvement of home appliances, in which the purchase intermediated by money is the path to that, there are situations where exchanges are still a strong mechanism of movement in the material world.

Familiarity is an integral value, and it is present in several aspects (spatiality, sociability...) and it is what guarantees the belonging and psychic security. Fantasies are predominantly affective and also familial, going through “*offering a better life for children...*”, “*managing to visit parents who are so far away*”, as an intended interpretant the is a predominance of the emotional level to guarantee the psychic identity reinforcement.

These people, on one hand, acquired great resistance to crises and difficulties, through a larger shared life with more material and symbolic problems than with conceptual and imaginary ones. On the other hand, such imaginary acts through a universe of narratives that sustain the satisfaction with the conquered world, a type of conclusion that staying socially where you are is the main symptom of social conquest.

Another characteristic with fundamental impact for communication is the demand for orientation from living inaugural moments, as can be observed in several situations of consumption related to access and procedures of embarking in bus stations and airports, mobile telephony with smartphones, touch technologies, but also the behavior in stores and restaurants where it is evident the lack of knowledge regarding basic and even legal rights like preferential lines or priority service. The semantics of stability has a mark of continuity, time is centered on permanence, that is, the future as maintenance of the present, without projections and evident conquests. It's the appreciation of the immediate surroundings, of the neighborhood, local commerce, the known space that also signals towards development. The most clear search is for the extension for the future of what is had today, and in this aspect, it is important to remember that mobility is recent and memory of a bad and so present past is pure drive for the permanence that was conquered. It is the desire of "leaving it as is, because it's very good", paraphrasing Luiz Gonzaga (1912-1989) and also as a homage to his birth centennial, the tone is "Oh, this is way too good!"

The **Semantics of Social Ascension** refer to the context of narratives that are more individualistic and singular. They deal with expressions and behaviors dedicated to more individual than collective conquests. The feeling of immediacy and ownership of socially marking objects is more meaningful than the projections on medium and long term. The great aspiration is in being immediately accepted by Society, to belong, and thus, the signs of consumption that express such condition are very appreciated, a privileged space for brands. These people identify themselves with the Symbolic Universe of the A Class, including the acquisition of products and brands of this referential universe, which is confirmed by Lipovestky & Roux (2005: 94) "... luxury is not so destined only to the elite clientele, but to the elitist part in each of us". They seek

alternatives of anticipation of consumption, using credit, sales and similar devices, always with a perspective of hooking the universe of exclusivity that is so appropriate to the luxury market.

Among all of this there is an appreciation for narratives of achievement, like “I won”, “now I can” and of course “I deserve”, in which are inscribed the acquisition of products and services like self-indulgencies, not only of material good but gastronomic and leisurely experiences.

In the semantics of social ascension, we note a strong appreciation of the present, with evidence of agility and pragmatism in several behaviors and expressions. The most important value related to spatiality relates to the individual, with special attention to the appreciation of the private space (having an exclusive room, for instance), but can also be materialized through consumption of fashion and personal objects. When it comes to sociability, it only makes sense from individualism, and the focus is on the individual and his capacity to be recognized singularly. The objects of desire are different, bold and many times sophisticated, such as CK cologne, or even related to iPhone, iPad, iPod technology... familiarity is overlooked in lieu of appreciation of the individual, what many times can negate this condition. Fantasies are pragmatic and absolutely hedonistic, going through questions related to “getting ahead in life”, “winning the lottery”, “buying a car”.

We identified this the predominance of the logic interpretant, which completely agrees with the narratives of the turboconsumer described by Lipovetsky (2004b).

The **Semantics of Mobility** are based on the context of narratives geared towards the more abstract world, with emphasis in values such as cultural consumption, education and personal growth. The possession of objects is not a priority, but a means to reach more intangible values. We first construct the image itself, to later be recognized. We find here the emphasis in the consumption of trips, cultural tours like museums and expositions, extensions courses and cultural dissemination (both in person and online), as well as the improvement in the quality of formal education, commonly represented by the private school when it comes to primary and middle school.

The semantics of mobility are centered in the subjectivity of temporality since

the appreciation is in personal growth, with clear focus in the growth of knowledge. Spatiality is liquid and no longer centered only in evidence and marks of familiarity, also finding the digital as a possibility for mobility (intellectual and not only social). When it comes to sociability, the importance is directed towards the growth of the individual, which indirectly benefits society, but only by derivation. It is a familiarity geared towards the individual, but that includes the next. The objects of desire are centered in intangibility and personal services and travels appear with great importance, both through Brazil, *“I want to know the whole country”*, as well as abroad, *“you know, I still haven’t travelled abroad, I will start with Buenos Aires?”*. It should also be noted the importance of cultural life, from going to museums (even if they seek the days with free or cheaper admission, or through donations), temporary expositions, movies, *“it’s cheaper on Wednesdays”*, street art, parks and squares, *“at the Horto there are music shows on Sundays”*, but also formal education and culture dissemination courses, usually attended through public offer, cultural institutes and/or social and religious organizations. The objects of desire are more intellectualized and cultural, like studying English *“I know I have to learn English, and I will”*, *“now I will go to college, I couldn’t before”*, *“going to the movies once a month is a luxury, isn’t it?”*. There is also evidence of the appreciation of experiences, not only in present discourse, as well as in projections of the future *“I want to ride a hot air balloon, it must be awesome!”*, *“I travelled by airplane for the first time and loved it”*, *“I went in a store and was offered coffee, I never imagined this could happen!”*, *“now that I do my nails at the salon, reading a weekly magazine, I am quite full of myself”* ... As we have seen, despite several emotional aspects, there is a predominance of functional interpretants since there is an explicit search for social mobility from intellectual investment in several aspects. They demand experience, experimentation and living with cultural values. We have already noted here manifestations of a post-modern subject predicted by Hall (1992: 13) and his identities under displacement.

In these semantics, there is a predominance of the universe of meaning of education and culture, provoking the appearance of an ascertained critical sense when it comes to the use of up-to-date information and the continuous search of education

improvement. Language courses, photography, but also sound operator and DJ, game content production, fashion and personal care appeared repeatedly in quotes, especially amongst the youngest. People that place themselves in these semantics have a clear conscience that it is necessary to study and to always be constantly informed to ascend socially, what is revealing of a profound social transformation.

As we have seen, there is a great diversity of values, aspirations, feelings, priorities and pragmatic actions and others completely subjective emotional ones in everyday life from the so called low-income population in the country, which cannot be neglected. It is notorious that the strength and speed with which the “phenomenon” was revealed (on a worldwide and local level) have taken us, in some cases, to jump to conclusions, especially when it comes to the scope of consumption and material culture. In scholarly, business and popular circles, it was not uncommon to hear “now all I have to do is buy a flat screen and all will be alright”, “if the Brazilian citizen is at Casas Bahia buying something, he is happy”... this thought, not uncommon, was geared almost exclusively towards the understanding that the social ascension of the Brazilian public would only take him to the consumption of material goods, which has been proven in our research to be a great and even prejudicial mistake. There are important differences and that should be question when we have to consider the low-income populace, the complexity is a challenge and a distanced, laboratorial or foreign look will not answer these expectations and, thus, new challenges to research are presented.

Also in an innovative perspective in the understanding of the complexity of low income, we bring attention to Fogaça’s (2011) text regarding the differences over the consumption of insertion and the consumption of ascension within this populace, as well as analyses regarding issues of taste and the role of publicity within this context. This and other reflections start to appear in the scope of communication research, what is a boon to the field.

Final thoughts

To understand the low income population in Brazil is a huge challenge. The size,

spatial continental distribution and diversity bring strength to a complex phenomenon. However, reality imposes itself and propels us in the search to discover more. In order to rise up in this attempt to understand we have conciliated the theoretical reflections of De Certeau (1996), Heller (1987), Wittgenstein (2001), Appadurai (2004) and also the problems regarding Castoriades' (1989) imaginary and Zizek's (2008) reflectivity, integrating Bauman's (2008), Lipovestsky's (2005, 2004a, 2004b) and Hall's discussions about contemporaneity. As a moving and fleeting social phenomenon, we follow, in an attempt to achieve some fixation, qualitative methods of research of reception, starting from discussion groups with application of projective techniques, deep interviews with immersion specialists with an ethnographic approach in situations lived by the people selected as the target of the research. Even if we have integrated theories and methods, the limitations of the research are many, since they integrate all the way from theoretical hybrid options of communication, anthropology, social sciences to philosophy, passing through the selected methods and restrictions of time and space. Regarding this aspect, for instance, it is important to take into consideration that the Southeast region was privileged for discussion groups and Southeast and Northeast for the interviews and ethnographic approach. The Southeast region was chosen due to convenience and its economic importance, while the Northeast was chosen because it grows and develops above the national Brazilian average (IBGE, 2010), as well as integrating 9 Brazilian states and having a population of over 54 million inhabitants.

Thus, the three semantics made evident have surfaced by the force of their recurrence, which is made possible by the subscription of theories and methods that seek to conciliate the learning. The semantics of stability being the tone of permanence and satisfaction with achievements. The revealed objects of desire are modest and commonplace. They reveal people who are living inaugural moments and want to keep this condition of satisfaction, stretched to the future. The universe of fantasies is more affectionate and familial, just as sociability is appreciated by the surroundings of what is known and lived. In the semantics of social ascension people are more individualistic and hedonistic. They seek pragmatism in their solutions. They are bolder and more

innovative and value the signs of privileged social classes, with great importance being given to the consumption of immediate-recognition brands. They are under the predominance of the logic interpretant. The semantics of mobility are totally distinct from the previous ones. The objects of desire are more complex and intangible, contemplating experiences and life. People are dedicated to themselves, but integrate the next and appreciate the continuous intellectual improvement, both in the perspective of formal education as in complementary formation. Fantasies are more intellectual and cultural and are under the predominance of the functional interpretant, since they understand that the future is determined by continued knowledge.

One of the possible outcomes of the current research is to seek deeper understanding of these semantics in other spheres of social life, and also an attempt to quantify these segments in order to figure their numerical representation in the low income population. The same goes for studies of segments of consumption and media impact which contributed to a deeper and wider understanding.

And thus, with limitation, many challenges and some findings, we close this research regarding the universe of meaning of low income Brazilian population manifested in recurring semantics.

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