

2.3 **New sustainable cultures: (re)humanization, political act and nostalgia. The possibilities introduced by collaborative consumption without monetary benefits**

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× **Abstract**

Based on a Cultural Studies perspective, we address a critical-theoretical reflection supported by empirical data resulting from our research on the subject of new bricolage sustainable cultures as they reorganize traditional production processes aiming at social change. Our focus is on the analysis of the uses and discourses of Brazilians on collaborative consumption application devices that are not impaired by monetary benefits (the apps *Tem Açúcar?* [*Got Sugar?*] and *Beliive*). Within the conceptual framework brought by Botsman (2013) and as we are looking at the notion of consumption, we apply the expression 'collaborative consumption for non-monetary benefits' to refer to such specific practices. In that sense, our main research question is: what are the possibilities introduced by the dynamic of collaborative consumption for non-monetary benefits? So, we retrace our analytical considerations crossing three narrative axes: the (re)humanization of relationships; the political nature of consumption and the feeling of nostalgia.

Keywords: sustainable cultures, collaborative consumption, urban microeconomics.

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1. Introduction: object of study and methodological approach

We currently place our research interests on the studies of culture, performing an in-depth investigation over a conceptual object in particular, which are the material discursiveness enounced on the practices mobilized by digital applications of social interaction aimed towards collaborative consumption and not directed to monetary benefits. The larger research project² had to be sampled here in order to bring a core problematic around narratives and meanings built over new consumption practices as they are related to a contemporary project of collaborative economy for non-monetary exchange, and it grasps a new type of citizenship emerging from that. In a broader perspective, we investigate the possibilities introduced by the dynamic of collaborative consumption for non-monetary benefits.

For now, we present two initial conceptual clarifications. The first of them refers to the adoption of the notion of device application, that we incorporate alluding to the mechanisms implied in process of subjectivation, as developed by Agamben (2005). The second one of them regards the use of the expression 'collaborative consumption for non-monetary benefits' in reference to the specific context of our object of research. Such

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choices are justified because we are focused on consumption and also because we are in line with the terms that define the collaborative movement today, as addressed by Botsman (2013) – collaborative economy, collaborative consumption, shared economy and peer economy.

Starting from the already established problematic, we set as the more general objective of our article to understand new consumption practices emerging today, its meanings and its connection to a project of collaborative consumption for non-monetary benefits. Additionally, we also describe the concepts of communication, consumption, and collaborative consumption in order to give context to the discourses of the subjects heard by the research. Regarding the necessary sampling of the research, we have selected the locus of two application devices with matching characteristics to our research outline, meaning they do not imply the introduction of money to close the exchanges of goods and experiences: the applications *Beliive* and *Tem Açúcar? (Got Sugar?)*.

The research includes three methodological procedures besides the necessary bibliographic recovery: observation of the interaction among users in the selected application devices *Beliive* and *Tem Açúcar? (Got Sugar?)*; use of structured questionnaire for demographic and cultural consumption data recollection; and operationalization of in-depth interviews to the effective comprehension of the consumption practices for non-monetary benefits and its meanings.

The initial phase of the research included the observation of the interaction among users in the application devices, it helped recruit interviewees for the following phases of the research. Such selection of interviews was done randomly², resulting in a sample group of 10 participants³; a number that is enough to observe a recurrence of discourses and which is in consonance with the qualitative character of our research. To settle such group sample, the criteria were to be the user of one of the application devices in the study and live in the city area of São Paulo (geographic criteria founded on the presupposition that the capital of the state of São Paulo is the country center for behavioral tendencies). All the 10 selected subjects answered a structured questionnaire with focused questions on demographic and cultural consumption data before the in-depth interview to establish the understanding on their sociocultural contexts.

In the present article, first we perform a demographic and sociocultural presentation of the subjects of our research, believing that the understanding of the context of their lives will help clarify their speeches as social actors. In the same line of work and aiming at recovering their speech, we go on establishing the understanding of the same group of people on what is communication, consumption, and collaborative consumption. We raise these notions because we believe that they are on the core of the consumption practices for non-monetary benefits, which are our focus. At last, we try to give evidence of the meanings emerging from such practices; amongst which we highlight the (re)humanization of the relationships, the political nature of consumption and the feeling of nostalgia.

2. Empirical approaches: demographic and sociocultural contextualization

Based on the epistemological broad spectrum of the Cultural Studies, we have done fieldwork with direct empirical approach to the subjects that are actors and agents on the application devices. From this point of the article on we will describe the main results of our research in the attempt to respond to its launching matter. We point to the main references found in our corpus and to the significative strands of such discourses.

It is worth noticing that we have started from the demographic and sociocultural contextualization (including an investigation on the consumption) of the subjects. That epistemological approach is due to a basic central principle of discourse analysis of French influence which says that all enounced discourse should be understood as being built the way it is because it is invested of context shaping its formation. We establish, then, that the social placement and the consumption habits regarding genres and cultural productions

2. The non-probability sample based on convenience: “[...] refers to a sample selected with a few systematized criteria, and it helps complement the sample in the easiest most simple way” (Yasuda & Oliveira, 2012, p. 128).

3. We have established the size of the sample (5 users of each application device) based on a statistical principal proposed in the 1990s by Jacob Nielsn, a specialist in website user research. As he developed research on the interaction of users in digital interfaces, he concludes that 5 is a necessary minimum size sample to identify the most relevant behavioral patterns (Knapp, 2017, p. 234).

resonate in what the subjects say. We are aligned with Brandão (2004), when she recovers Bakhtin within the field of discourse analysis: “the linguistic matter is just one section of the enouncing; there is also another, nonverbal, that corresponds to the context of the enunciation” (Brandão, 2004, p. 8). The context is also equivalent to the so-called conditions of production that are what “establishes the discourses” (Charaudeau & Maingueneau, 2006: 114).

Thus, we point out some data on the profile of the interviewees, they range from 27 to 58 years of age; two of them identify as being of the male gender and 8 as being of the female gender; 4 of the interviewees are single, 4 of them are married and two are divorced. 7 of the interviewees live in the city of São Paulo – most of them in central neighborhoods or in the South area (Liberdade, Aclimação, Consolação, Vila Mariana and Centro), but also in one neighborhood in the Northeast area (Jaraguá) and one in the North area (Vila Amália) of the capital – the other subjects live in the cities of São Caetano do Sul (Santa Paula neighborhood), São Bernardo do Campo (Planalto neighborhood) and Vinhedo (Chácara Cascais neighborhood); all of the within the State of São Paulo.

5 of the interviewed women were born the city capital; one of the interviewed men lives within the city area of São Paulo (São Bernardo do Campo) and another is from an inner-city state (Limeira). Lastly, there is one participant from a city in the state of Minas Gerais (Alfenas), Southeast of Brazil; and another from the state of Paraná (Londrina), South of the country; and one participant from the state of Paraíba (Campina Grande), Northeast of the country.

In terms of education, 4 of the participants are graduated and one undergraduate; amongst the others, 4 have a post-graduation degree and one is in course. In relation to professional field of work, there is a data scientist; an image consultant; a salesperson; and one freelancer; 4 teachers and one which is currently not performing regular professional activities.

In relation to house income, we have the following distribution: one of the interviewees earns up until R\$ 2.078,00 (two Brazilian minimum salaries); six inform their income ranging from R\$ 2.078,00 a R\$ 4.156,00 (two to four Brazilian minimum salaries); two inform their income ranging from R\$ 4.156,00 to R\$ 10.390,00 (four to ten Brazilian minimum salaries); and one of them informs the range between R\$ 10.390,00 to R\$ 20.780,00 (ten to 20 Brazilian minimum salaries). Regarding the sociocultural consumption habits, all of them, even if attested on occasion, read books (printed or digital editions); most of them reads the news from websites/news portals with a high frequency; they occasionally or rarely go to the movies; 80% of them watches movies and series trough paid streaming platforms frequently or very frequently, and 90% of them watches videos on free online platforms frequently or very frequently.

Most importantly, it catches our attention the fact that the option ‘never consumes’ was only present for tradition media such as TV, radio and movies; that was not true for digital media (video and music streaming and podcasts). It is unanimous that all of them access the internet frequently or very frequently; as well as they access social media (such as *Facebook*, *Instagram* e *Twitter*) and message exchange apps (such as WhatsApp). At last, traveling is more frequent (60% of the interviewees) than attending shows (frequent or very frequent for 40% of the interviewees) and going to the theater (frequent or very frequent for 40% of the interviewees).

3. Basic conceptions: the notions of communication, consumption and collaborative consumption

Still going for a contextualized perspective on the participants of the research and their speeches, we now present our findings on their conception of communication, consumption, and collaborative consumption; because we understand that such broader framework guides the practices and discourses around the studied application devices. It is also a case of intersection with another of our ongoing research (Rocha & Pereira, 2018), which investigates the notions of consumption and consumerism recurring to the same participants involved in the present research. We were able to gather from our sample that communication is most often understood for its reciprocal and empathic nature, valuing the aspect of information exchange. In other words, there were no mention to communication being a one-sided action; it was understood by all in the form of a *process*, as Hall (2003) would state it talking about reception.

*It would be relationship. I understand communication as human relationship. (M., 40 years-old).

*It is comprehension. (N., 56 years-old)

*The people being able to give and receive information, like that, right? (F., 36 years-old).

*Communication is to speak and listen in any comprehensible form. (I., 58 years-old).

*It is to have the other understand you. And you give information in a way the other is able to understand. (M., 47 years-old).

*Communication means power to speak to the people, to say what you feel, give your perception on everything. And also to know how to listen to the other, to know how to be informed in the right way. So communication is that exchange of information, I don't know. (T., 29 years-old).

On its turn, consumption appears to be always very centered on economic activity, which is naturalized in our way of living, guided by a capitalist system that tends to excess, to the superfluous. Meaning that the speeches in their great majority follow the notion stated by Rocha (2005, p.130), according to which "consumption is nothing to be thought about, it is to be condemned as consumerism", "[...] results in a common sense, an ideological ground in which is possible to comfortably state that production is something noble, while consumption is not. Production is a sacrifice that enhances oneself, and consumption is the pleasure to be condemned."

*In a way, it is an economic activity, I don't know. (M., 28 years-old).

*It is everything that you use too much. Something that you use a lot or that is needed, right? (N., 56 years-old).

*I think that consumption to me is currently the basis of the world. [...] Buying, consumption is happiness nowadays [...] (M., 40 years-old).

*Hum, consumption I think it is something that most of the times comes as imposed and that turns out being unnecessary. (F., 36 years-old).

*[...] to have things, material things mainly, that we don't need. (T., 29 years-old).

116 Collaborative consumption, on its turn, was always described by the participants in a larger semantic realm including what is in line with conscious practices, the use of collectives and the valorization of small producers:

*I think that it is a healthier and more conscious form of economic activity, you know? From the stand point of my pocket, but also environmentally. (M., 28 years-old).

*I have my consumption, and I don't need that consumption anymore, so I will collaborate with somebody else so that she or he can benefit from the same product I have benefited from, understand? I will collaborate with her in a consumption action that the person would have to go to the store and buy it in 10 parcels (F., 27 years-old).

*So I think that instead of you buying, I don't now...a jewelry in a big shop like Zara, you go buy it from a handicraft shop that you know the person who made it. Understand? I think that would be collaborative consumption. I think it is when you are collaborating with a small entrepreneur. (M., 40 years-old).

*It would be a way [...] of getting to what I need without necessarily having to buy the thing like that. Not going through the traditional ways that you would buy and throw away, buy and throw away. (C., 38 years-old).

*Oh, collaborative consumption would be to consume, use, have the opportunity to use something that someone lent to you, gave to you, understand? (N., 56 years-old).

*A form of consumption, let us say, more collective, or collaborative, I don't know, is to consume, first of all, to consume only what is necessary, right? And get it from people or sources that are worth privileging, validating, legitimating, right? The work of the person, that job. (F., 36 years-old).

*Collaborative consumption, now we are talking. That is when we are talking about renting a car. You don't need to own a car, but rent it just to take a specific trip, or to stay with it for a while. That besides many other things. I think it a way of being concerned about the planet. (M., 37 years-old).

*Collaborative consumption, I believe it is everything that we are able to share and that ends up benefiting everybody, right? [...] Maybe it is a community Garden. I don't know, a ride system that help many people; however, it does not end up costing a lot to each of these people as if it was individual. So, I think that it is the gathering of people that are able to make use of the same good, be it a product or a service, and it results in financial benefits to all of the involved. (T., 29 years-old).

Considering the enouncing's above, collaborative consumption, in the perceptions of the interviewed users, is outlined beyond the limits established by Botsman (2003), that defines it as a fraction of collaborative economy, as a new form of consumption, based on sharing, exchange or rent of material or symbolic goods privileging access and not property.

4. Agency and power of the consumption without monetary investment

In the effective search for evidence and for the most significant traces in the discourses on the social interaction application devices that do not imply monetary benefits, the keywords stated by the interviewees and that are more directly related to the practice are: friendship; cooperation; solidarity; help; exchange; experiences; alternatives; honesty; utopia. The debate we are to put forward now are then crossed by each one of them.

It comes to our attention how the dispositive is spontaneously mentioned in the first recovery of the interviewees' life stories. The spontaneous mention of the application happens because it is precisely related to the lifestyle or philosophy of life of the subject:

**So, I have recently went to live on my own in as apartment building downtown. The Tem Açúcar? [Got Sugar?], Where you found me, is a platform I have been using a lot, to furnish my home, to get thing and to give things I don't need as well. (M., 28 years-old).*

Regarding the sort of request/offers that the participants have been making through the application devices, we have noticed that the operations performed by the users are extremely diverse considering the wide range of possibilities of actions that the networks themselves provide: centered more on the donation of material goods on *Tem Açúcar?* [Got Sugar?] and more focused on immaterial experiences in *Bellive*; according to the essence and specificity of each platform.

In relation to the bonding through the application devices, we have observed that social interaction is not the main motivation to enter these spaces, but rather bonding can potentially happen and the users are open to it.

**So, this girl, she, we have started a friendship, she became a part of our cause, see? So, every time she, for example, gathers newspapers, or if she has anything that she feels that might be useful to us, she gives us a call. Then we go down there to get it. There has been some cases like that. (N., 56 years-old).*

Now responding more directly to our general objective and trying to understand how the application devices are invested of significance (Orlandi, 2007, p. 26), we have highlighted the meanings attached by the interviewed social actors to the application devices. Analyzing such procedures of making meanings emerge, we have identified three main narratives build around those application devices, understanding them as being: an alternative to what is hegemonic; tools for justice and tools for the connection among people interested in offering goods/experiences.

**However, to me, if we go far beyond, it is something that enables alternatives. Alternatives to the system, right? [...] We are not ending capitalism, but there are ways of surviving in it. (F., 36 years-old).*

**I am making a choice that, I am not saying goes against capitalism, but it becomes an alternative to traditional consumption. (C., 38 years-old).*

**To open the field of vision of the people to a new way of bargaining services. (M., 47 years-old).*

**Look, I think it means an opportunity to offer and to get services fairly. [...] I think it is only fair, you know? I think it is only fair. When you look at the rates of one hour of a persons' work. It is so different. There are people working a lot to get nothing. I think everything is so unfair, you know? But here what rules is the necessity. You need someone to do something. And the other can do it. So, in times of need, money does not matter, understand? I need someone that can clean. I need someone to clean and a gardener. That is what I am looking for. I teach English language and handcrafting. So, whatever if the woman that does gardening studied only until elementary school. I need a gardener. So, her work hour is so valuable as mine, understand? So that is kind of the reason. (I., 58 years-old).*

**It brings the vision of being together really, a vision of 'I have but I don't need it, I will help someone that does need', see? And that person that I have helped may or may not help someone. But I have to believe that the help that I give today will make a memory in the subconscious of the other person, a seed of the idea that helping one another goes far beyond, you know? You are not just thinking about yourself; you are thinking about the other. (F., 27 years-old)*

**I think the connection among the people. Opportunities because you can learn a lot there. You get to know a lot of people. And you can take this knowledge for many sectors of life. So, I think that the platform can bring a lot of benefits since it does not have a capitalist interest, right? It is only about the interaction among the people, exchanging what they know and they don't need to be paid with money (T., 29 years-old).*

The moment the participants are openly questioned if they understand the use of the dispositive in question as a form of political activism, the result is that those who have an understanding about politics on a broader sense, as a human positioning in face of the issues brought by life in society, agrees that their own approach is political. Those who relate the term politics to a narrower view, associated with political parties, disagrees on the political use of the application devices.

We have found that the political aspect of the application devices for non-monetary benefits are in the possibility of escaping the hegemonic ruling system, although its political nature is mainly associated with offering access: to provide access to an experience or product that one would not get if depended on money. Even so we should point out that there are still identifiable contradictions regarding access.

In fact, it is reasonable to state that there is an inherent dialectic to the very conception of the digital application device which does not involve money exchange: those who really need to meet free goods and services are lower socioeconomic classes that most of the times do not even have access to the internet, let alone be aware of the existence of such tools and be in touch with those networks. Are the interviewees informed of such inequality? So, being true to this train of thought, the adoption of such application devices would not be overall political because they do not privilege the access of those in greater need.

118 Anyway, we feel that there truly are contributions of those tools to the political uplifting of access (even if still restrictive) for the interested people and that they are in fact able to interact optimizing the searches and promoting a greater spectrum of offer/demand that maybe someone's private network would not reach, besides presenting a satisfactory raise in the spectrum of possibilities. Even if the interviewee is already performing a similar type of action doing donations to closer contacts or institutions or if the person offers services without the mediation of such networks (for example: voluntary yoga lessons in a park and English language lessons for the manicurist), the application devices end up being useful and practical tools to better accomplish the actions.

Lastly, we should highlight how much the matter of the humanization of the relationships is spontaneously brought up on the participants speeches: we have recollected statements such as "the platform raises such a human aspect of the person" and "I would say that this is a human attitude" in relation to the choice of performing consumption actions not made through conventional paths that would involve monetary benefit, but through application devices that do not:

**Making my Independence stronger, you know? To see that there are people that are really not attached to material goods to the point of trying to sell it. Because I have seen a lot of good products there that if it was the case of greed people, those who only think of the money, they would be selling it over the Internet, not giving it, understand? So I go by this principle as well. For example, there is a machine here and I put an ad for it. I could easily sell it for 100 reais, 150 reais, especially now. But I prefer giving it to someone that I know is in need as I once was, someone that would not be able to buy it, understand? So I think that besides everything the platform brings up that human side of people. (F., 28 years-old).*

**I would say that it is the human attitude. Mainly because my mother was one to always help the others. My mother came from Bahia, right? She came here to São Paulo young, she was 13, 14 years old. So every time she went to Bahia to visit her father, or when she got married again and went to live there with her husband, or when she traveled to Pernambuco, or to any other place, on the way back she would find someone at the bus station, at the airport, trying to stay in São Paulo for a while and our house would become sort of a hostel. So sometimes one entire family would come. [...] That is because she just wanted to help. So, I have a little bit of her in that. [...] I try to help in other ways because of the opportunities I have had. (M., 37 years-old).*

Similarly, as we provoked the interviewees to think about the possible humanization that *Tem Açúcar?* [Got Sugar?] and *Beliive* mobilizes there was unanimous agreement as in the following excerpt:

**Look, I have seen, for example, a young boy that said, I mean, his bio was like: 'I don't know much of anything, but I want to help'. See? That was in his bio. So, I think that is an example [of humanization] (I., 58 years old).*

5. Final considerations

We have faced directly our empirical data recovering what interested us the most, which were the meanings that emerged from the enouncing's on social interaction digital trough application devices that enable consumption without monetary transaction and as a result we observed the establishment of three major narratives that justify the use of such application devices instead of traditional ways of acquiring goods and services. Such application devices appear, in a first semantic layer, as alternatives to the traditional hegemonic capitalist trails for the access to consumption, trying to escape it and then making the choice to use them may be an argument strong enough.

On a second layer, the alternative forms represent by the application devices would be fairer in relation to consumption because they put all the offers and demands at the same level of value and of access. That is different from the usual capitalist dynamic, which values differently and unequally the work hours and products/services of people and does not enable access. In a third semantic layer, the application devices potentialize connections between people that are interested in the same goods/experiencer and that would not be reached without such mediation.

Considering such discursive materialities we have observed, we gather that the signification of the application devices that organize collaborative consumption without recurring to monetarization may be summarized as digital ways of subverting the capitalist system by optimizing a fairer access to consumption. The 3 major narratives carry 3 different meanings, and we should develop them further? The (re)humanization of relationships; the political nature of consumption and the feeling of nostalgia.

Within such narrative framework, we have observed coming from the interviewed subjects, the perception on collaborative consumption being unanimously understood as an optimized alternative to consumption itself. Even when the social actor relates the notion of collaborative consumption to the aspect of a consumption consciousness and a prestigious attitude for the small producer, thus expanding the concept as proposed by Botsman (2003), the practice of sharing goods online is implied. Regarding consumption in general, it is recurrently described in the order of excess and exaggeration; perpetrating a shallow perspective which is not in dialogue with the notion of sociocultural practice aiming at supporting individual and collective symbolic needs (Canclini, 2006). Communication, on its turn, is understood as a two-sided process, meaning the realization that there need to be two poles – production and reception – for the effective stabilization of both meaning and message.

The actions put forward trough collaborative application devices for non-monetary benefits are seen by the users as being political when they understand that it promotes access to goods and that it escapes the hegemonic system. It means that it is political when here is conscious choice for one form of consumption and not the other based on the convictions of those in position to decide on the consumption.

In that sense, we understand that the political nature of consumption is legitimated as politicity considering the conceptualization that Freire (2008, pp. 34-35) was already applying in the 1980's as he related politics and education. Politicity would then be the essential quality of the educational practice as an act which implies conscious choices based on conceptions and perspectives on the world (Freire, 2008: 34-35). In our case, consumption is understood as politicity because it also implies decision making underlying positionings and beliefs. They are political actions that escape the traditional political spaces and operate in the daily lives of people (Rocha, 2012).

Even if our study is focused on the observation of youth, we can profit from what Jurandir Freire Costa (2005) recovers on the raise of the number of young individuals with a 'new way of thinking', believing in ideals of justice and respect for the other acting as true agents of social change.

³³ *I see no way out except if we recover the trust in our power of transformation as the creator that we are. However, I repeat that we need to set back from the position we have been put, that of individual exclusively focused on our own selves. Thus, change demands that we realize that what we do in our day to day lives in any professional or cultural activity is relevant. What each one of us does is important, very important! The world is made of small everyday gestures and the larger beliefs that support it. (Costa, 2005, p. 88).*

Emphasizing what Costa (2004) brings and relating to what we have recovered on the enouncing's on the practices engendered in the application devices under analysis we are able to operate within our daily lives in the gaps and creations – with the agency of technical innovation – putting forward a new perspective and new actions over reality and consumption, in that case, can be a positivity enhancing practice. Those activities obviously do not have to be restricted to the agency of young people, who are in the focus of the author because, as we have observed in our research, there is not an age limit to the 'new' habits.

As much as the shift in thinking has enabled the emergence of dispositives that articulate consumption without the presence of money and thus without the monetary benefit of one of the parts, it is arguable that the same application devices incentive, on their turn, social change. Thus, we unveil a cycle that feeds itself back; there is an opening for individual and collective consciousness which is in the base of such dispositive as much as it comes from them. In the core of the entering those application devices, there are sociabilities which are indirectly organized as agents of the practices, consumption practices included. And all that put into movement through digital application devices. Technology and consumption seen thus as agents of transformation and citizenship.

The Brazilian/Latin American actors that we were in touch with reveal their agency when they put themselves in the position of making criticism and resistance to what is established and when they choose practices that raise the political quality of consumption and when they fight for more equity in consumption relationships; all of that trough digital application devices that promote consumption without the need of the monetary coin in exchange relationship, that meaning to put changes forward.

Considering all the arguments that are intertwined in our study, we would like to come to a close by emphasizing the potential of invention that Simmel (1998) has observed in early modernity as he recognized the dehumanization of relationships as money was introduced in Modern society. In that sense, we are to reveal the potential to (re)humanize relationships trough digital application devices that without the monetary capital give what is human back to the exchange and making more of them than that just commercial contracts.

So, once we are talking about a recovery of an 'old' way of being, of belonging and acting in the world and in everyday life, the matter of nostalgia is present. As we go back to a more human connection even if it is still mediated my digital technology, privileging a relationship that is not profit oriented but is based in trusting a neighbor and even trusting strangers those applications mobilize a certain feeling of nostalgia that, according to Batcho (2013) may be structured as a strategy to overcome times of crisis leading once again as we have mentioned before to social change.

Even if the social bonds are built trough application devices for non-monetary benefits are not the hegemonic commercial bonding (because the ruling capitalism would not allow) it is extremely important that they are ongoing. Those networks can effectively enable human connection as they privilege, even if in a restricted way, human rights through the free access to material and symbolic goods.

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