

Entre o consumo dos cidadãos espaciais e dos sub-cidadãos: Reflexões sobre a pirâmide da cidadania midiática

Between the consumption of space citizens and sub-citizens: Reflections on the pyramid of media citizenship

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Resumo: *Este artigo apresenta um estudo sobre consumo, cidadania e comunicação, destacando o papel da mídia na construção identitária de cidadanias diferentes, baseadas no consumo de bens materiais e imateriais, na forma de existência compartilhada nas mídias sociais e na excentricidade de um dos itens constitutivos da cidadania, o lazer. Com pesquisas sobre o turismo espacial, em contraste com o agravamento da fome na Terra, este estudo reafirma a existência da pirâmide da cidadania midiática, criada por Cirino e Tuzzo (2016) e que representa os diferentes níveis de cidadania. As bases teóricas se firmam nas reflexões sobre sociedade e cidadania, com análise crítica de discurso midiático sobre as expedições interplanetárias de bilionários e o contraste com os miseráveis, demonstrando uma sociedade incivil (SODRÉ, 2021a), excluída dos direitos habituais.*

Palavras-Chave: *Consumo; Pirâmide da Cidadania; Mídia; Desigualdade Social; Comunicação.*

Abstract: *This article presents a study on consumption, citizenship and communication, highlighting the role of the media in the identity construction of*

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different citizenships, based on the consumption of material and immaterial goods, on the form of existence shared in social media and on the eccentricity of one of the constitutive items of the citizenship, leisure. With research on space tourism, in contrast to the worsening of hunger on Earth, this study reaffirms the existence of the pyramid of media citizenship, created by Cirino and Tuzzo (2016) and which represents the different levels of citizenship. The theoretical bases are based on reflections on society and citizenship, with a critical analysis of media discourse on the interplanetary expeditions of billionaires and the contrast with the miserable, demonstrating an uncivil society (SODRÉ, 2021a), excluded from the usual rights.

Key words: Consumption; Citizenship Pyramid; Media; Social Inequality; Communication.

Introduction

The year 2021 will go down in history due to some remarkable facts. For instance, the Covid-19 pandemic, which started in 2019, continued to evolve, demonstrating the need for the State to act developing health policies. Hunger worsened in dozens of countries around the world, reaffirming the invisibility of people cast to a sub-human condition. On the other hand, billionaires promoted a new space race for those who enjoy the possibility of carrying out space tourism as the novel leisure consumption.

The events highlighted the existence of different levels of citizenship, in which some fight for survival in search of the basics within the axis of health and food, while others have everything conceivable on Earth and enjoy the possibility of traveling to space, perhaps a new hobby for billionaires eager to post pictures of their eccentric trips on their social media.

Moreover, the wealthiest people in the world also explore the use of the capital they already own to generate more, a practice Sodré (2021a) describes as bonds capitalism, which is uncommitted to the territory in which it circulates, abstract, and committed to its logic of investments in stock markets, treasury bonds, and high-profit securities that generate social inequality. More recently, these investments can also involve cryptocurrencies and ticket sales for trips to space.

The relationship between rich and poor has always existed. However, the offers of modernity and the material goods that money can buy aggravate the division of society between those who have a lot and those who have nothing, widening the gap between citizens, categorizing them in absolutely differentiated hierarchies, establishing places of belonging in the world and now, beyond it.

According to Drake (2021), some space industry specialists say that the access barriers for space flights are difficult to cross, as they have always been, but gatekeepers are changing, and so are the criteria for choosing who flies. As space becomes a commercialized place, personal wealth (of just a tiny portion of society) decides who can leave Earth and

how because it is the world's millionaires and billionaires who can pay stratospheric values to fly or gift people with these tickets.

When his company launched *Inspiration 4*, Elon Musk said the flight would be opening the way to the stars for humanity. But to what humanity was he referring?

In that respect, we can make an analogy with the commonly used expression *everybody*. For example, we often hear people saying that *everybody* accesses the internet or that *everybody* is connected. We know these statements are untrue and that a considerable part of the world's population cannot access the internet because they do not have access to the equipment or the connection. In short, *everybody* does not exactly refer to all people but only those who have access, placing as excluded those who are no longer part of a statistic of exclusion, not only digital but also social and human.

To build the theoretical framework, we start with a reinterpretation through a critical reading of the media to analyze the context permeating these events. "The reinterpretation proposal consists of the theoretical and methodological review of the historical process of Critical Reading of Communication since its implementation in the 1970s" (TUZZO, 2014, p. 160).

According to Paiva and Gabbay (2009, p. 10), in Brazil and Latin America, the basic reference on the proposal of the Critical Reading of Communication has always been referenced in the work of the Brazilian Christian Union for Social Communication (UCBC). To instrumentalize the critical reading of the media, we opted for a critical discourse analysis, drawing from Fairclough (2001), who argues there is a three-dimensionality in the textuality composed by the text, discursive practices, and social practices.

In this sense, when examining media products, we are not exclusively analyzing the textual structure but also practices of content production, distribution, and consumption, as well as social realities involved and interconnected in the symbolic systems of each piece of news and the events narrated therein. In this research, we apply the critical reading to

analyze the corpus, correlated to the theoretical and conceptual aspects proposed here, focusing on the pyramid of media citizenship.

This work also has a reflexive theoretical basis on society and citizenship as a framework, supported by authors such as Marshall (1967), Souza (2012), Tuzzo (2014), Figueiredo and Tuzzo (2011), and Sodré (2021), for the critical discourse analysis of pieces published in the media from 2019 to 2022 with a focus on space tourism and hunger on Earth. The focus was to undertake a descriptive investigation with a qualitative sample by convenience through a search for keywords related to the themes mentioned above, arranging news clippings for the presentation of the scenarios narrated in the test of the pyramid of media citizenship structured by Cirino and Tuzzo (2016).

Don't look up: media sub-citizenship of the right to life

The science fiction film *Don't look up* (2021, Netflix) highlights the elusive role of news outlets that, thinking only of serving their investors, chose not to report with the necessary seriousness the nearing collision of a comet with planet Earth, putting all humanity at risk. Here, we can establish a parallel when we see news that clearly deals everyday with worldwide sub-citizenship and understand the reasons, motives, and explanations to support this scenario. In this way, if we choose to look up, we will see that some are walking on the moon, but if we look down or to our sides, we will see that many are no longer able to survive on Earth.

If considering citizenship “[...] a status granted to those who are full members of a community [...]” (MARSHALL, 1967, p.76), we can see that there is subjectivity in this process of being a citizen, which goes beyond obtaining nationality registration documents or even paying fees and taxes in a specific geographic location.

Due to this intangible, fluid, and sometimes nebulous nature of the criteria for being a citizen, inequalities and discrimination exist and profoundly impact the lives of a large part of the population deprived of basic survival rights for not fitting into a pre-conceived citizenship profile.

Since citizenship is a status, a level to be climbed, fatefully, not everyone has that possibility, being at the mercy of social benefits, including those from State resources. The mechanisms of this distinction between bodies and beings intrinsically link to the meritocratic system of living in society, which directly draws from the effort versus the result of every individual.

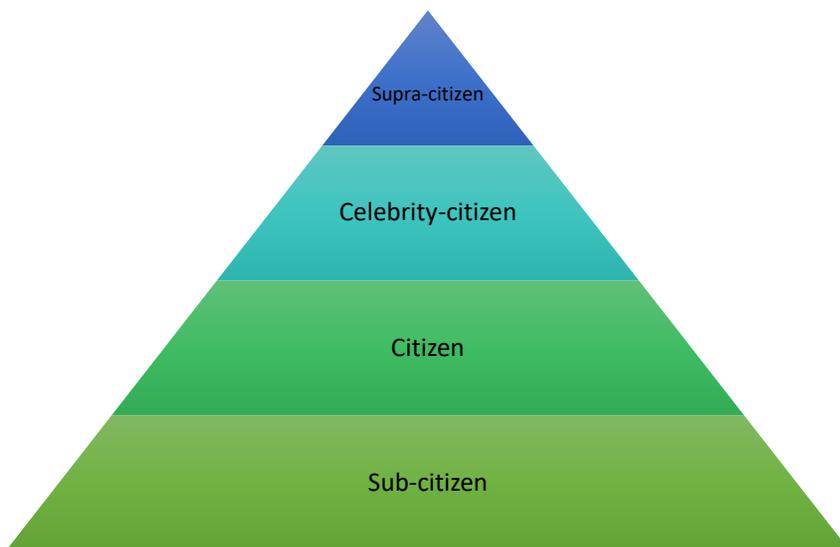
The big issue with this structure aimed at rewarding efforts and achievements is precisely the fact that everyone is not on the same starting line. That is a race in which each one is in different marks, far from each other, with equipment and conditions that are also different, which leads us to believe that it is a system that needs revisions on the role of the State and the necessary historical repairs.

According to Guarinello (2008, p. 35), that is noticeable since Ancient Greece in the forming of city-states: “we cannot understand the formation of these communities only as a process of inclusion since the closure of the city-state necessarily implied the definition of the other and its exclusion.” In this way, any categorization or structuring of limits for the inclusion of people into a given status segregates and leads several other bodies to obscurity.

When we establish spaces for people with classified requirements, we ignore all others that fall outside the defined standard. Thus, the status of being a citizen configures around itself other beings that do not reach it.

Previously, we proposed (CIRINO and TUZZO, 2016) a hierarchical gradation of media citizenship in contemporary society, aiming to organize the amalgamated forms of mention of the most common press vehicles when we visualize the conception of discourses, which interfere in the formation of public opinion and the construction of social representations of citizenship (TUZZO and BRAGA, 2009), configuring markedly different places for human beings. For the construction of each of the layers of the pyramid of media citizenship (Figure 1), we also considered the theoretical reflections of authors such as Marshall (1967), Souza (2012), Tuzzo (2014), Figueiredo and Tuzzo (2011), and Sodr  (2021).

Figure 1 - Pyramid of Media Citizenship



Source: Cirino; Tuzzo (2016, p. 60)

The pyramid presents some citizenship categories: the citizen would be that human being with a balanced life and who has access to the basic rights of citizenship, such as health, education, safety, leisure, employment, transportation, freedom to come and go, among others enacted in the constitution of Brazil. Here, the State does not guarantee access, but the subject can pay for it, meaning, according to Tuzzo (2014), it is a purchased citizenship. Though “privileged” compared to other strata, we can understand this citizenship category as the majority in quantity but the minority in power. The popular and massive media is built and worked daily to deal mainly with these individuals (BRITO JUNIOR, 2015).

Below the citizen, we have what Souza (2012) classifies as sub-citizenship and that we understand here as human beings who fall short of citizenship rights. Even if sharing spaces and cities with others, sub-citizens suffer the invisibility of not having access. Lines prevent these people from entering environments, consuming products, and

in many cases, even the non-consumption of drinking water, getting medicines and vaccines, and other essential items for survival, resulting in a low-quality and low-expectancy life. The media covers sub-citizens in situations of tragedy, absence, lack, and scarcity. They lack everything and have nothing (TUZZO, 2014).

Among the higher strata of the pyramid, we propose the definition of citizens or sub-citizens who, temporarily, are elevated to a different status, in which they have priority and differentiated access due to some accomplishment. For instance, a person may become a hero for saving someone's life, finding and returning money, or saving several animals in a catastrophe. There are several examples of people who leave their citizen or sub-citizen status to become famous citizens – humans exalted for their characteristics or for being under the media spotlight. That is the case of people who participate in reality shows or other TV shows or, more recently, exhibit themselves on digital social media and see their lives improve temporarily.

It is important to point out that they hardly ever go beyond this position since the next layer of the pyramid is very exclusive. The stratum of the celebrity-citizen begins to touch power but does not maintain it, as it is often a temporary power and only discursive or apparent, therefore, ephemeral (FIGUEIREDO and TUZZO, 2011).

The supra-citizen is a type of citizenship that one cannot easily accomplish since it is usually associated with great fortunes and political power. The distinction is due to their rights above the rights of other living beings in communities without directly proportional duties. That is the stratum that controls and manages the others since it is from where rules, spaces, and limitations flow. Through power, direct or indirect, it structures the whole of society, its values, and its directions (CIRINO; TUZZO, 2016).

Having composed the pyramid, we understand that there is no non-citizen since everyone, even those without rights, is not born outside the social context. There is not anyone exterior to or totally unharmed by the powers of this citizen chain.

The pyramid of media citizenship is a possible way to translate some concepts and unify them in a visual aspect of a perspective on how the media builds its discourses about citizens and their different types of access and permissions to social rights and also about vigilance as to their duties.

Therefore, it is necessary to discuss the social structures and their hierarchies since they result in many people being on the margins of complete social experience and the possibilities of life. A large part of this format derives from the ideology of performance, which, as Souza (2012, p. 170) points out, “[...] not only stimulates and rewards performance capacity but legitimizes permanent differential access to life chances and appropriation scarce goods”.

We understand, then, that the media conglomerate has a significant role in reproducing and sustaining the status quo, intending to maintain the hierarchization of individuals and their accesses. But it is not our focus to blame the press, but the contrary, since here we adopt the paradigm of medicine/poison, which in different amounts can save or eliminate a life. The toxicity in journalism, which enables the maintenance of this scenario, is not different from what is present in other ideological apparatuses (ALTHUSSER, 1983), such as educational and religious institutions. The issue is that, due to its power of diffusion and reach, the media can be an instrument for healing social foundations for changes in these other places of coexistence too (SOARES, 2013).

Space Tourism

The year 2021 was marked by space tourism for millionaires. Besides being eccentric entertainment, which few citizens who have bank accounts far above the world average can enjoy, the activity that lasts a short time and costs a lot of money can generate fame and even more fortune. Apart from wanting to take a walk through space, entrepreneurs interested in this business aim to increase other new businesses, which may yield them even more profit, reaffirming their condition at the top of the citizenship pyramid, where only supra-citizens can orbit.

Launching space tourism businesses requires vision and money. In 2021, some of Earth's most prominent entrepreneurs decided to look up. Jeff Bezos, the owner of Amazon, and Elon Musk, the CEO of Tesla and founder of SpaceX (Space Exploration Technologies Corp.), two of the wealthiest men in the world³, besides Richard Branson, from Virgin Atlantic, took the first steps towards the new millionaire hobby.

Richard Branson, the British billionaire, was the first businessman to go to space on July 11, 2021, on the inaugural voyage by Virgin Galactic.

Jeff Bezos – North American tycoon and founder of the Blue Origin company – went shortly after, on July 20, in a capsule attached to the top of the New Shepard rocket along with three other people on board on a fully automated and non-scientific journey. They were able to see the Earth from a window and experience microgravity for three or four minutes, starting a new era of private space travel that marks yet another episode in the space tourism business.

Jeff Bezos traveled with his brother Mark Bezos to a historic feat, taking with them the youngest and the oldest person to go into space, namely, the 18-year-old Dutchman Oliver Daemen and the former American pilot Wally Funk, 82 years old (LUSA and REUTERS, 2021). The date of the flight celebrated the 52nd anniversary of the landing of Americans on the moon.

Wally Funk fulfilled his dream of going to the moon after being part of a private program with 12 other women in the 1960s. At the time, however, NASA only admitted pilots with engineering degrees for space missions, and women could not perform these functions, preventing Wally from traveling into space.

Oliver Daemen is fascinated by space, the moon, and rockets and is the son of a multimillionaire who bought the ticket, auctioned by a candidate who gave up on the trip, for almost 24 million euros.

In an interview with Fox Business Network, Bezos said before the trip: "I am excited, but I am not anxious. We will see how I feel when

3 Estes são os 10 homens mais ricos do planeta. Forbes Internacional and Paulo Marmé, April 7, 2022. Available at: <https://www.forbespt.com/estes-sao-os-10-homens-mais-ricos-do-planeta/>.

I am strapped to my seat. We are ready, and the vehicle is ready. This team is incredible. I feel great, and I think my traveling companions do too” (LUSA and REUTERS, Jornal Público, 2021).

Unlike Branson and Bezos, Elon Musk was not aboard the SpaceX Falcon 9 rocket in a Crew Dragon capsule called Resilience, launched from the NASA Kennedy Space Center on September 15, 2021, which carried the first crewed mission completely deprived of humanity into orbit, named Inspiration4 mission.

None of the four crew members were professional astronauts, nor did they have experience with spaceflight. With them, the capsule also took some items that would later go for sale at a charity auction, such as an unpublished version of the song “Time in disguise” by King of Leons (DRAKE, 2021).

The figure below shows the Inspiration4 crew during a zero-gravity training flight. Left to right: Hayley Arceneaux, a medical assistant at St. Jude Children’s Research Hospital, childhood cancer survivor, and the first person with a prosthetic to fly in space; Chris Sembroski, an Air Force veteran who filled the seat from a donation made to St. Jude, who offered it in a draw (he did not participate in the contest, but his friend did and gave him the ticket); the millionaire Jared Isaacman, commander of the Inspiration4 mission, who chartered the SpaceX vehicle for an undisclosed amount; and Sian Proctor, the winner of an internet contest, which consisted of making a video describing why she wanted to go to space. The more viral, the better. Thus, the geoscientist who was close to being part of the NASA astronaut class of 2009 managed to occupy the fourth vacancy on the ship.

Figure 2 – Inspiration4 Crew



Source: John Kraus (DRAKE, 2021).

The Inspiration4 mission crew could see Earth through a glass dome installed on the spacecraft and helped raise \$200 million for St. Jude in Memphis. In media terms, *Netflix* will show a documentary about the mission. *TIME* magazine put the photo of the crew on the cover of a special edition with the title “The New Space Age.” The website *Axios* produced a podcast with several episodes that reveal behind the scenes of the mission. Also, several companies use Inspiration4 to promote their products.

The Inspiration4 Flight introduces a new type of ticket to space. Mission Commander Jared Isaacman is a 38-year-old man who made his fortune with Shift4 Payments, a payment processing company that generates more than \$200 million in sales annually. In October 2021, Jared chartered the orbital flight claiming it had cost less than \$200 million (a reference to his company’s annual profit). He stated that he would not fly with friends or relatives but with three other people chosen randomly. He baptized the four seats as Hope, Generosity, Prosperity, and Leadership, the latter occupied by him as commander of the ship.

In the case of Elon Musk, it is worth noting that his plans for many people to pay for trips to space are under construction. As he wrote on his Twitter account, “the plan is in motion. I intend to build 100 spacecraft

a year and send thousands of people from Earth to Mars when the orbits of the two planets align, reducing the distance and thus minimizing travel costs. The goal is to make several flights a day” (ELON, 2020, online). In addition, he stated that “anyone can apply to be a passenger on the spacecraft, as long as they pay for the trip and, if they don’t have money, they can ask for a loan” (ELON, 2020, online).

Besides the trips and high profits, Musk began to invest in, publicize, and propagate easy profits and the possibility of many people becoming rich with investment in cryptocurrencies. According to Knight (2022), on the website Economy Watch Follow the Money, Musk, who has a net worth of more than 185 million dollars, is heavily involved with cryptocurrencies. And it is common to see internet concepts such as Elon Musk Bitcoin 2022, Elon Musk Bitcoin Trading, Elon Musk Bitcoin Trader, Elon Musk Bitcoin Cryptocurrency, and many others.

Sodré (2021a, p. 57) explains the phenomenon by stating that “the discourse of the conservative and bourgeois ideology of capital is fading away, and there is not much need for it [...]. It must convince the middle, upper, and emerging classes that capital is the way out and the destination. In finances, this is the ultimate in abstraction”.

Still in 2021, on December 8, the Russian spacecraft Soyuz MS-20 took special tourists Yusaku Maezawa and Yozo Hirano, accompanied by cosmonaut Alexander Misurkin, for a 12-day stay at the International Space Station (ISS). Yusaku Maezawa, a Japanese millionaire, booked in March 2021 a seat on the flight operated by SpaceX for a trip to the moon in 2023. Throughout his stay at the International Space Station (ISS), he was busy making videos for YouTube and posts on Twitter with the help of producer Yozo Hirano (travel companion). According to Redação Away (2021), the Japanese millionaire paid 80 million dollars for his special “vacation”.

In detail, Yusaku posted on social media proposing challenges with snacks, besides explaining what it was like to sleep or go to the bathroom while in space. Another mark of the trip was the first space delivery of the Uber Eats company.

Figure 3 – Uber Eats delivery at the International Space Station



Source: Redação Away.

The news was released by Redação Away (2021), confirming that Uber Eats had sent a meal off planet Earth to the International Space Station, with Japanese businessman Yusaky Maezawa responsible for delivering the food on December 11, 2021, after a journey from Earth to space.

“Our goal is to help people go anywhere and achieve anything. So, we are very proud to serve astronauts on the International Space Station”, Uber CEO Dara Khosrowshahi said in a statement about Uber Eats’ marketing action (REDAÇÃO, 2021). Paraphrasing the famous American astronaut Neil Armstrong, the entrepreneur claimed it had been: “A small delivery for Yusaku Maezawa, but a big delivery for Uber Eats!”.

Between getting the mermaid’s kisses or having her tail for supper!

A novidade veio dar à praia
 Na qualidade rara de sereia
 Metade, o busto de uma deusa maia
 Metade, um grande rabo de baleia

A novidade era o máximo
 Do paradoxo estendido na areia
 Alguns a desejar seus beijos de deusa
 Outros a desejar seu rabo pra ceia
 Ó, mundo tão desigual
 Tudo é tão desigual [...]
 Ó, de um lado este carnaval
 Do outro a fome total.⁴
 (Gilberto Gil, 1994)

Despite portraying a chaotic scenario, the lyrics of Gilberto Gil's song express so clearly what happens in today's society, where some have so much money that they can no longer spend it only on Earth, and others do not have the basics for survival. Thus, between space tourism in the leisure axis of citizenship, there are the axes of health and food, which many people experience through the lack of resources for personal care and hunger.

In this article, we do not aim to discuss the pertinence of space exploration. Incidentally, this discussion has settled already since man stepped on the moon, being poetically explained in an emblematic letter written by a nun who lived in Zambia, called Mary Jucunda, in 1970, addressed to a scientist, Dr. Stuhlinger. In the letter (ABREU, 2016), the central question was: Why spend on space exploration with so many people starving?

The nun exposed the serious problems of hunger and all that it brought to the population; the scientist explained that, despite understanding and having a strong awareness of the situation, the space race had the function of improving the way of life on Earth, presenting the gains with research and the discovery of new technologies. In his

4 The news came to the beach/ In rare mermaid quality/ Half the bust of a Mayan goddess/
 Half a big whale tail/ The novelty was a must/ From the paradox stretched out in the sand/
 Some craved her goddess kisses/ Others craved her tail for supper/ Oh, such an uneven world/
 Everything is so uneven [...]/ Oh, on one side, this carnival/ On the other, total hunger.

words, the scientist believes and demonstrates that if human beings want to improve living conditions on Earth, they need to invest in knowledge in physics, biology, medicine, chemistry, and physiology to fight against problems like hunger, diseases, food and water contamination, and environmental pollution.

Hence, the American Government managed public money with strategic activities to develop new technologies and research. The space program was among such activities and a path for transforming humanity. Thus, going to the moon was not a way of looking up but down, using a strategy to transform humanity itself.

The nun thanked him and said that, understanding his response, she would then firmly believe in the profound value of the space program.

But now, in 2022, we see nothing in common between the attempt to research in space to develop life on Earth and the self-centeredness of billionaires traveling to space.

Therefore, in this article, we focused on reflecting on the different forms of social existence of those having plenty and those who lack everything.

But these people are invisible, outside a media that generally does not address the problems of hunger, misery, and deaths by diseases of those who have become ‘invisible people,’ as described by Fernando Braga da Costa in his master’s thesis “Public Invisibility.” For the study, as a Psychology student at USP, Braga dressed as a street sweeper to understand the invisibility of that professional category, disregarded as people by society and cast to social invisibility (DELPHINO, 2008).

Thus, social invisibility is present in countries, states, and cities in different proportions and different ways. However, there is a veiled relationship between people who have too much and people who lack everything and the notion that the latter does not need to exist because they do not produce, generate profit, and therefore no longer participate in society. Looking up is one more way of not having to look down, of occupying oneself with what is beyond and not with what is within.

Covid-19 and the climate crisis have increased the number of people living below the poverty line, who cannot fight for survival alone and

depend on human reaction to save them and give them back hope for a dignified solution. In August 2021, a United Nations report warned that 23 countries would be the focus of hunger, reaching 41 million people. FAO and WFP reported that, in 2020, 155 million people faced acute food insecurity and that, according to the Global Report on Food Crises, 55 countries were at their worst hunger levels. The fact represents an increase of more than 20 million compared to 2019, with trends worsening in 2021 (CRISE, 2021).

The problem of hunger is complex and ranges from obstacles for food and humanitarian aid to reach places in need to a lack of drinking water, poor sanitation, and pests, such as infestations of desert locusts in the Horn of Africa and swarms of migrant locusts in Southern Africa. For instance, the Horn of Africa needs US\$ 138 million urgently to avoid a food crisis (CRISE, 2021).

This paper focuses on the absurdity of events and the disparity of social relations by making it possible to understand that the structures of society remain unbalanced, leaning more towards some groups when offering them a complete life experience in terms of basic needs and much more beyond them, and leaving others without the minimum – food, education, health, and safety, for example.

Conclusion

Sodré (2021a) describes a civil society parallel to an uncivil society. For the author, the civil society organizes itself around the productive system, leaving aside sectors that are not directly productive, specifically the plebs, the poor people, the subalterns, and the excluded.

The uncivil society emerges with the decay of civil society to the extent that it loses strong ties with political society and with production, with parties and politics – as a human aggregation and space for class struggles – and ceases to be dominant. The uncivil society is the result of the emptying of parliamentary representation.

From a legal point of view, the mechanisms are formally in operation: elections take place, governments are elected, and the celebration of the

spectacle of democracy continues, but the link between politics and civil society is weakened (SODRÉ, 2021a). From the perspective of communication and its processes, Sodr  and Paiva specify the uncivil society as:

The human order globally governed by communication technologies, solidary to the transformation in the mode of capital accumulation, to the destabilization of the classic forms of representation of the world, but also ambiguously permeated by the generalized incitement to institutional reinvention. (SODR ; PAIVA, 2002, p. 4)

This relationship includes the imposition of the perverse recipe of neoliberalism, which, far from noticing the deviations of liberalism, induces its radicalization towards a model that rejects the social welfare policy and opens space for “the violence of competitive capitalism supported by the free market” (SODR , 2021b, s/p).

Specifically in Brazil, this economic model gained strength with the arrival of Paulo Guedes in the Ministry of Economy and the view of the Bolsonaro government that financial aid destined for the population in need serves “the poor who do not like to work” (SAKAMOTO, 2021).

As predicted by Sodr  (2021a, p. 266), the new economic and political formatting of agendas set by neoliberalism added to the digitization of the economy, the reduction in formal employment, and the uberization of work increase the perspective, for the immediate present and the coming decades, of the replacement of human labor by robots, and affect the perception of historical classes.

This process not only challenges the classic image of the productivist and accumulating bourgeois (SODR , 2021a) but strikes especially sectors in the lower strata of the social pyramid, no longer regarded as the working class or even as labor reserve but as a social problem, an obstacle to development, and individuals whose only value lies in their possibility of voting. The contradiction between capital and work is secondary in the dispute for capital (increasingly inaccessible) or even in the struggle for historical survival, giving way to the struggle for immediate individual survival.

The pyramid of media citizenship thought by Cirino and Tuzzo (2016, p. 60) is an invitation to reflect on the construction of citizenship, the existence of various types of citizenship, and the non-right to citizenship itself. It is a view on how journalistic vehicles, the mainstream media, and digital social media contribute to presenting disparate scenarios and sustaining the current model of unequal relations.

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