

Youth and Advertisement on the Pages of Weekly Magazines *Veja* and *IstoÉ* (1980 decade)¹

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Abstract: The objective of this article is to discuss how ideas of youth were advertised by the printed media through publicity pieces during the 1980 decade in Brazil, a period marked by the political opening and the broadening of consumer markets. Documents analyzed are 30 publicity pieces published in the magazines *Veja* and *IstoÉ* throughout the studied decade. For this analysis, we resorted to Margulis and Uresti's (1996); Abramo's (1997) concept of youth, as well as the concept of consumption by Featherstone (1995), and the concept of means and mediations by Martin-Barbero (2008). From the analysis of publicity pieces it is possible to affirm that the selected magazines were aimed to a specific group of young people belonging to a certain social class, spreading a concept of youth and of being young connected to freedom and to a life marked by multiple possibilities and choices. This article is a result of the study entitled "The Press and the Youth: representations of youth published by the Brazilian press (1960-2000)" under a Fapesc grant.

Keywords: Youth. Press. Publicity.

This article aims to analyze how ideas about youth² were presented by two organs of the Brazilian press in the 1980s. For this, we will analyze a set of advertising pieces published in *Veja* and *IstoÉ* magazines, two weekly magazines with national circulation. The questions that will guide our analysis are: the way in which young people were presented in these advertising pieces and which notion of youth circulated in these weekly magazines and which can contribute to form a representation about this group in our society. We understand that the concept of representation allows us to analyze how images and discourses are selected and,

¹ This research was carried out in the digital collection of *Veja* magazine, available for free until 2017 in <http://veja.abril.com.br/complemento/acervodigital/>. Access in: 4 mar. 2016. The *IstoÉ* magazine was consulted in the collection belonging to the Contemporary Studies Laboratory/LEC of FAED/UDESC. I am grateful for the help of my IC scholarship holders, Maria Fernanda das Chagas, Stefani Dias Leite and Nathalia Joniane Hermann, who surveyed the collections.

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² The term *youth* is defined based on the age criterion adopted by the UN and by Law 12.852, of August 3, 2013, which instituted the Youth Statute, which, in turn, comprises individuals who are between 15 and 24 years old and between 15 and 29 years, respectively. However, this definition is insufficient for historical research due to the risk of anachronism and also because these definitions are made to meet the need to define who is young, in order to subsidize the planning and intervention objectives through public policies. In this sense, this definition of youth from age homogenizes a group marked by social, ethnic, gender and cultural differences.

consequently, what effects they have on our social practice. According to Roger Chartier, this concept makes it possible to understand:

the various relationships that individuals or groups maintain with the social world: first, the operations of classification and hierarchy that produce the multiple configurations, through which reality is perceived and represented; then, the practices and signs that aim to make recognizing a social identity, to exhibit their own way of being in the world, to symbolically signify a status, a social category, a power; finally, the institutionalized ways in which “representatives” (singular individuals or collective bodies) visibly embody, “present” the coherence of a community, the strength of an identity or the permanence of a power (2011, p. 20).

Veja and *IstoÉ* magazines remained on the market from their sale to the consumer and also thanks to the sale of advertising space. The analysis of the editions published in the 1980s indicates that both shared the same audience that is of interest to the advertising market, often running the same advertising pieces. From t-shirts to shoes, from life insurance to pre-university entrance exams, they used youth and the senses linked to it to sell products or services, but also to propose sensations and lifestyles, signs and senses.

The advertising found there was intended to awaken in the consumer the desire to buy, using it for the diffusion of a certain product. Propaganda, on the other hand, intended to spread an idea. However, as both use the same vehicles and techniques, they often end up being confused. In the specific case of advertising, it should be noted that in order to sell a product, widely used ideas and representations were used to create empathy with the consuming public. According to Luis Fernando Cerri (2005, p. 323), the advertising pieces, in addition to selling ideas and products, entered “in the field of collective representation” about what was meant by “society, its origins, characteristics and normalized behaviors”.

1980s: young Brazilians and the weekly press

In the 1980s, the country was undergoing major transformations. Politically, it begins as a dictatorship, ruled by João Batista de Oliveira Figueiredo (1979-1985), the last of the military presidents and came to an end being governed by José Sarney (1985-1990), who assumed the presidency after the death of Tancredo Neves , indirectly elected by the National Congress. This decade was marked, politically, by the manifestations of *Diretas Já*, by the debates around the new Constitution, promulgated in 1988, and by the first direct elections for president, ending

with the election of the first civil president, Fernando Collor de Melo (1990 -1992). Economically, this decade is considered a period of economic crisis, inflation, various economic plans and numerous currency changes. In the mid-1980s, public accounts were deteriorated; prices were out of control, recession and unemployment, a reality that affected workers and the salaried middle class (SCHWARCZ; STARLING, 2015, p. 471).

The emergence and growth of social movements, the expansion of access to education, the return to a free press are some of the aspects that can also be mentioned as striking in the period. This decade, later, was also defined as the lost decade, due to the economic stagnation in several countries, mainly in Latin America, the ideological bipolarization due to the Cold War and the social setbacks of the conservative governments in the USA and England (Ronald Reagan and Margareth Thatcher). However, in the cultural field, there was an expansion of the consumer market for music, cinema and other consumer goods.

The crisis that Brazil went through in the 1980s was due to several factors, including the second oil shock, which occurred in 1979, which resulted in rising fuel prices, rising interest rates in the USA and falling in world trade, which affected several countries. In the early years of the decade, there was a retraction of the economy with a 25% drop in per capita income, an increase in the percentage of the population with an income below the poverty line and growth in external debt. This context will lead to the employment crisis and will also affect the insertion of young people in the labor market, which will prolong the youth for the children of wealthy families, with the extension of the training period, as well as causing the difficulty of economic majority among the young people of the popular classes, since they will have to occupy low paid positions, which will keep them dependent on their family for longer.

From the 1980s onwards, “structural changes in the age distribution of the population worldwide, resulting from the exceptional growth of the young group” (AQUINO, 2009, p. 26), which had a positive effect due to the increase in population active. 1985 was declared the International Year of Youth. At the end of the 20th century, this age group gained importance and started to be seen as a “strategic development actor”, as well as young people started to be seen as protagonists, not just as a problem or as a preparatory phase. In this decade, the group is understood in a more plural way, no longer as a homogeneous group, but as individuals who, despite being in the same age group, are quite different due to the social class to which they belong, the goods and the culture to which they have access, gender, ethnicity, among other distinguishing factors. Scholars start to use the term *youth* to highlight these differences. In addition, other distinguishing factors will also mark these individuals, such as the influence of

different factors, access to cultural goods and the experience that marks them and will provide the formation of different youth cultures (ABRAMO, 2008; PERALVA, 2007)

According to the report “Young population in Brazil: the demographic dimension” (produced by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics - IBGE - in 1999), the population between 15 and 24 years of age in the country showed a growth trend between 1940 and 1996, with a deceleration process from the 1970s. “In 1940, there were 8.2 million young people in this age group; 30 years later, these young people and young adults already numbered 18.5 million. In more recent years, 1991 and 1996, the respective population censuses enumerated 28.6 and 31.1 million people aged 15 to 24 years”³. According to this same study, the Brazilian population in this age group varied between 19% and 21% between the years 1940 and 1996. In 2000, there were 34.1 million individuals between 15 and 24 years old, that is, 20.1% of the Brazilian population, considered young. This percentage increases with the publication of Law 12.852, of August 3, 2013, which will increase the age of those who are considered young, which will now include all individuals aged 15 to 29 years.

In the course of the 1980s, the researched magazines published, in addition to the advertisements that will be analyzed, several reports of which young people are the target audience, which allows us to identify aspects of youth culture at the time. *IstoÉ* ran reports, mostly in the columns behavior and culture, about music, bands, dance, sexuality and consumption habits. *Veja* also published several reports in which young people are generally represented in columns of behavior or culture, as in the article “Temples of dance”, published on 7/4/1984, which explores the explosion of dance clubs in large centers like São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. In addition to these themes related to youth culture, the researched magazines also dedicated pages to talk about health and education, as occurred in the article “Youth Addiction” in nº 921 (04/30/1986, p. 64-65), which shows the results of a survey carried out in Rio Grande do Sul on youth and smoking, or the “To be or not to be” report by *IstoÉ* (nº 128, 09/21/1994, p. 63-67), which deals with of the entrance exams, through which, the article said, more than two million young people went through the “drama” of defining the profession of the future and entering university.

Veja magazine was, at the time, Editora Abril's main publication⁴. Created in 1968, it will establish a new standard for magazines, by privileging written text over images, thus breaking

³ More data on the young population in Brazil is available at this email address: http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/populacao_jovem_brasil/comentarios.pdf, p. 2. Access in: 20 mar. 2015.

⁴ Victor Civita, founder of Abril, was born in New York and moved to Brazil in 1949. In 1950, he moved to São Paulo where he started his activities. The growth of the market for the communications industry was establishing itself

with the standard established by illustrated magazines, such as *Cruzeiro* and *Manchete*. *Veja*'s main objective was to inform its reader of the main news in the world - politics, sports, culture, economics - in a short period of time, placing it in the global logic, obeying the philosophy that it was necessary to save time and keep up informed. “*Time* or *Veja* occupies the same place in the world of magazines as fastfood in relation to eating habits: they correspond to a new reading habit that is introduced at a time of economic modernization of current societies” (MIRA, 1997, p. 133). To adapt to the taste of the consuming public, Editora Abril created, through *Veja* magazine, an informative and departmental journalism, with the aim of developing each report, each part of the magazine for a specific audience, aiming to reach several readers, with different focuses, specializing, for this, in the ability to condense all these requirements⁵. In addition, there was investment in marketing strategies so that mainly the middle class adhered to the magazine's subscriptions (MIRA, 1997). The magazine is consolidated in the publishing market; in the 1980s, it was one of the leading magazines in the country. In the survey, 184 reports and advertisements were identified that deal with youth or mention young people.

IstoÉ magazine started to be produced in 1976 and, in its first year of life, had monthly circulation, later becoming a weekly magazine. Published by Editora Três, its editor was the journalist Mino Carta (who had previously worked as editor of *Veja* magazine). In the research on the collection, 43 articles and advertisements dealing with youth and youth were identified. The Instituto Verificador de Comunicação⁶ has data on the circulation of these magazines in the period. *Veja* doubled its circulation during the 1980s. In the first quarter of 1980, a total of 327,133 copies were circulated. At the end of the decade, in the 4th quarter of 1989, this total rose to 765,715 units. The data related to *IstoÉ* are more incomplete: in the 2nd quarter of 1982, 112,737 copies were sold. The last data for the decade are from the 4th quarter of 1987, when 157,698 copies were circulated. IVC data only shows the number of journals that circulated. It is not possible to identify regions and / or states where it was most read. However, studies show that magazines and newspapers are not only read by the person who buys or subscribes. These magazines aimed to reach a larger portion of people, mostly the Brazilian urban middle class. Due to their national reach, they sought to meet demands and discuss topics of specific interest

in the same period that Editora Abril was emerging. Editora Abril's name was established over the 1960s, and was responsible for the launch of magazines such as *Quatro Rodas* (aimed at the male audience) *Realidade* (for information) *Claudia* (aimed at the female audience) among countless other magazines.

⁵ The number of pages for each edition of the magazine varied from 90 to 120 pages and was divided into sections, with different themes: Economy, Health, Politics, Culture, History, Education, among others. All of these sections were aimed at a specific audience. Politics and economics, to the family man, to the businessman, to the businessman. The health and education part, on the other hand, was and continues to be preferentially aimed at a female audience. Culture, sports and history, to the youngest, without distinction.

⁶ The information was made available by the agency after consultation by e-mail. <http://ivcbrasil.org.br/>

to a particular region and/or a social group. Such magazines are understood as bodies that, at the same time that they disseminate what was selected as the most significant to be reported, contribute to produce a narrative about the country and forge patterns to be followed, homogenizing forms and modes of identification among subjects of different social groups (MIRA, 1997, LUCA, 2005).

Youth and youth in the advertisements of *Veja* and *IstoÉ*

Since the 1960s, there has been a change in the consumer culture of developed Western societies. While the 1950s was considered a period of mass consumption, in the 60s and 70s the consumer market was segmented based on changes in production and consumption demands from different social segments, enabling a greater offer of products for different types of demands. In this period, the consumption of pasta begins to be replaced by a culture of individualized consumption, without fixed styles, with a large amount of information and a proliferation of non-hierarchical images. We are moving towards a culture without hierarchies, "with a profusion of information and proliferation of images, which cannot be definitively stabilized, nor hierarchized in a system correlated with fixed social divisions" (FEATHERSTONE, 1995, p. 120). Another change is the mastery of the notion of youth in the consumer market, which is increasingly internationalized, and typical symbols such as blue jeans and rock.

The 1970s and 1980s will be years of expansion for the music industry and other activities that focus on this group. In this period, there is a change in attitude towards youth, which is no longer seen as a passage, but becomes the final stage of full development. Hobsbawm (1996) draws attention to the fact that these cultural changes, of increasing the appreciation of youth culture, did not correspond with the position occupied by young people in the spaces of power, dominated, in the 60s and 70s, by people born before of World War II. *Veja*, from its first issues, in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, will publish articles whose target audience was young people, mainly with reports that dealt with themes related to counterculture or to university youth. Alternative ways of life, like hippies, were treated negatively or even criminalized (AREND & GAMBÀ, 2014).

In Brazil, this segmented consumer culture will be organized from the 1980s onwards and strengthened during the 1990s. An example of this is what happens with the media, with the appearance of radio stations dedicated to programming aimed at a certain audience, as well as the appearance of special sections in newspapers. With magazines, an already segmented sector in itself, this will deepen, with the creation of Editora Azul in 1986, linked to Editora Abril.

This publisher took charge of publishing magazines that had a smaller and specific audience. When created, it absorbed the magazines *Contigo*, *Bizz*, *Saúde*, *Horóscopo* and *Carícia* (MIRA, 1997). The crisis of world capitalism in Brazil would be aggravated by high inflation rates, which would greatly affect the magazine sector, an item of superfluous consumption. According to Maria Celeste Mira, who studied the publishing house Abril, flexibility, agility and creativity was what moved the magazine sector from the mid-1980s. During this period, the marketing departments expanded their power in defining editorial choices, since it was admitted that marketing had become “a central notion within this same context, informing from the conception of a product or its reformulation, through research about the target audience, the potential advertiser, even the joint actions, such as promotions, contests, events, etc.” (MIRA, 1997, p. 235).

The advertisements published by the media gave space not to countless products and forms of consumption, but also to ways of life, to individual and / or collective desires, to values, ideas and symbols. When buying pants, you bought more than clothes to wear; an image was also purchased that was intended to be transmitted; it was believed in the insertion and acceptance in a certain group or in the satisfaction of a desire. From the second half of the twentieth century, advertising became a large-scale industry, selling much more than products; it sold values and ways of seeing, living and feeling.

Since then, for the historian, advertisements can be used as historical documents that make it possible to know about dreams, desires and ways of life that will form the social representations of certain themes and social groups. For Martin Barbero, culture and communication in modern society cease to be political objects to constitute “a primary political battlefield” (2008, p. 15). According to Fred Tavares (2006, p. 119), “advertising is a paid message, conveyed in the media (media), with the aim of selling a product or service, in the form of a commercial brand, to a public target (consumer), using linguistic and stylistic resources of ordering, persuasion and seduction through rational and emotional appeals”.

Young people started to be seen by the market as important consumers; equally, however, they would become a model to be sold, by reinforcing the notion of youth and all the demands created to meet this ideal. This aspect can be identified, for example, in several articles, published in the period, which discuss the *youthfulness* of society and the expansion of the consumer market in this segment, such as, for example, the *Istoé* article “To resist the obligation to be young” (nº 105, 10/15/1986, p. 59-65) or, then, the special report “The battle for youth”, published in that same magazine on December 9, 1987. One aspect to be highlighted is that, through weekly magazines advertisements, different companies started to sell not only their products, but also a way of life, permeated by the notion of youth. This can be identified, since

many of the images in the advertisements that resort to the notion of youth, are not necessarily conveyed to the individuals that make up the young age group. An example is the advertisements for insurance by Banco Bamerindus and Sul América. In Bamerindus advertisements, the calls say: "The insurance for you to pass 60 without losing the strength of 30" (*VEJA*, n. 1.057, 7/12/1988, p. 19), or else: "Insurance where you do not devalue with time" (*VEJA*, n. 1.052, 11/10/1988, p. 19). In the case of Sul América, the title says: "Life begins at 90", and in the text continues to point out that in the international year of youth, at the age of 90, the company reached "that age with the breath of making many young companies envious" (*VEJA*, n. 90, 4/12/1985, p. 129-130).

The framing of the young person as a student is the most emphasized in the analyzed magazines, both in articles, usually published in the Education column, as in advertisements. Most of the articles deal with issues related to higher education⁷, which helps to identify its reading public, as well as the trajectory that adults expected to be followed by young people. In advertisements, young people are related to carefree, happy, to live intensely, as in the famous campaigns of Benetton.

The Benetton company developed the advertising campaign "All the colors of the world" several decades ago and had as a characteristic to convey questions about racism, diversity and difference. Its controversial advertising pieces were well known. In the 1980s, several of these pieces were published in *Veja* and *IstoÉ* magazines, including the one we present below (Fig. 1). The image, published by *IstoÉ* (nº 436, 5/1/1985, p. 33), shows a group of cheerful young people, embracing, wearing the brand's clothes, all colored. The text accompanying the image says: "Benetton came from Italy for you who live life live. And the colors. Benetton is joy. It's daring. Is that you. Benetton is young. It's relaxed. It is international. Benetton matches the lifestyle of golden youth from around the world".

⁷ In another text of my own, I found that, out of 51 articles published on education in the weekly magazines *Veja*, *IstoÉ* and *Visão*, in the 1980s, the vast majority focused on public and / or private universities. See: ROSSATO, Luciana. Brazilian schools and basic education in *Veja*, *Visão* and *IstoÉ* magazines (1980-1989). In: LOHN, Reinaldo Lindolfo (org.) *History on newsstands: a printed country: between social representations and political cultures*. Ponta Grosso: Todapalavra, 2016. p. 191-211.

Figure 1 -



Source: *IstoÉ*. n° 436, 1/5/1985, p. 33.

In this advertising piece, the idea is presented that youth is relaxed, bold and cheerful. The image of youth as carefree and partying is reinforced, as being the ideal way of life for youth, not only from Brazil, but from the whole world. More than selling clothes, advertising sold a way of putting yourself in relation to life. What is striking is the presence of a black woman, which was not common in other advertising pieces produced in Brazil in the 1980s.

Among the national companies focused on the youth market, we mention Hering, which, in the 1980s, reorganized and expanded its production in order to reach the national and international market. To this end, it invested in advertising that ran in both analyzed magazines. Centenary company, which started producing knitted T-shirts, which for many decades used as underwear, with the changes in habits and fashion, would have their market expanded. The T-shirt, his main production, along with jeans and sneakers, ended up becoming a sign of youth. In two advertising pieces of the company, published both in *Veja* and *IstoÉ*, it is verified the link with the youth, both in the text that accompanies the images, and in the clothes worn by the models,

all young. Despite producing clothes for all ages, the company's focus this decade was the young audience.

In the year of Hering's centenary, the company ran an advertising piece that focused on young people. With the question "What is the young people's favorite clothes?", They told the story of the company and its many years of experience in producing cotton knit shirts. From a garment initially aimed at workers, the shirt has been transformed, along with the company. The company grew, expanded its production. What was fashionable, changed several times during the company's 100 years: "The hair grew and shortened; the skirts went up and down [...]. And the shirt, there. The reason is simple: T-shirt is fashion. In fact, it is a classic" (*IstoÉ*, nº 196, 09/24/1980, p. 29).

Figure 2 -



Source: *IstoÉ*, nº 196, 09/24/1980, p. 28-29.



Source: *Veja*, n. 972, 04/22/1987, p. 66-67

The 972 editions of *Veja* magazine, published on 04/22/1987, features a two-page advertisement from Hering⁸. Advertising photography features a group of more than 20 young people from different youth cultures⁹. This diversity is highlighted by clothes, hair and makeup. The only point in common is the use of the t-shirt, which refers to a young identity, but not to homogeneity, since the t-shirts bring different texts and messages, such as *Diretas Já* and the symbol of Anarchism. In the photo, two objects also appear: a motorcycle and a portable stereo. The text accompanying the image says:

There is no stronger symbol of youth than a T-shirt. Hering understands this. He has been making t-shirts for 117 years. It is one of the largest t-shirt manufacturers in the world. That is why, every time someone tells the story of youth, they are telling the story of Hering. And vice versa. Avant-garde, non-conformity, passion, idealism, patriotism is part of their daily lives. Theirs and

⁸ The Hering Company was founded by the German brothers Bruno and Hermann Hering in 1880, in the city of Blumenau, and produced white knitted underwear. In the 1980s, it invested in the dissemination and expansion of its brand products in order to reach young audiences.

⁹ According to José Machado Pais, “if youth cultures appear generally referenced to sets of beliefs, values, symbols, norms and practices that certain young people show signs of sharing, the truth is that these elements can either be their own or inherent in the life stage to that one of the notions of “youth” is associated, as they can also be derived or assimilated” (PAIS, José Machado. *The sociological construction of youth - some attributes. Social analysis*, v. XXV, n. 105-106, p. 139-165, 1990. p. 140)

from Hering. Come to the side of the ever young. Put on a Hering shirt. This is where things happen (VEJA, n. 972, 04/22/1987, p. 66-67).

With this advertising piece, Hering was able to convey the image of a company that, even a hundred years old, was versatile and adjusted to the changes of time, in the same way as its main product, the T-shirt. It also conveyed the idea that youth, being young, was to show certain characteristics, such as passion, idealism, non-conformity. It is noteworthy the use of the notion of patriotism by the brand, which is not seen in other advertising pieces analyzed, nor in reports published, both in these magazines and in other press agencies during this period.

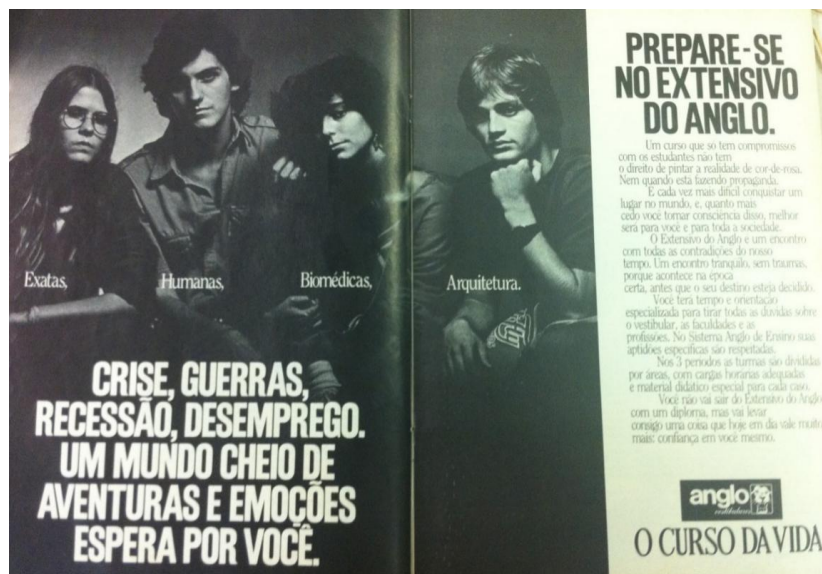
With the phrase “come to the side of the always-young”, he innovated the concept of youth, a phase that not only characterized age, but an attitude, a way of life, a new way for people to present themselves. Mario Margulis and Marcelo Urresti (1996) emphasize that youth is a symbolic value. In this case, even if not young in age, someone could be through the way of life and the consumption of products related to youth, such as a T-shirt, or else, the use of sneakers and jeans.¹⁰

We emphasize that living youth, be it as a social moratorium or as a symbolic value, is not accessible to all people due to several factors, such as economic, social, ethnic and gender, which generates the situation of having young people who do not live youth (as a period of experimentation and preparation for adult life) and adults who manage to live in a youthful way (from a young aesthetic).

It is in the twentieth century, especially after World War II, that young people in the United States will become the target of advertising and begin to be seen as consumers by the new society that had been formed. Not only, but it also happened that they had “become an age group with their own rituals, rights and requirements” (SAVAGE, 2009: 11). In Brazil, the influence of North American culture, through cinema, rock-and-roll, the press, as well as the increase in consumption power, will make youth and youth culture increasingly valued. Margulis and Urresti (1996) emphasize that youth is also a product; it acquires a symbolic value that associates it with a dominant aesthetic and is used to sell products. From goods to services, countless products take advantage of the notion of youth and the signs that are related to it to sell clothes, beauty products, cars, life insurance, cigarettes, alcohol, etc.

¹⁰ On how the representation of freedom and youth blend with the use of jeans from the 1950s, see CAMARGO, Anna Cristina. *Liberdade is an old faded blue pants: advertising, consumer culture and political behavior in Brazil (1954-1964)*. São Paulo: Hucitec, 1998.

Figure 5 -



Source: *IstoÉ*, nº 314, 12/29/1982, p. 72-73.

Young people, in clothing advertisements, are represented in a very different way than in articles, or even advertisements, which focus on the future, as, for example, in advertisements for a college preparation course or in insurance advertisements life, such as Bamerindus and Sul América Life Insurance, more sober advertisements in the use of colors, in black and white (or, with just one color) and a much larger explanatory text. Even though it is a product to be enjoyed in the future, in the case of insurance, the ideal of youth (and its maintenance) was used as one of the justifications for purchasing the product. These advertisements have / had in common the uplifting discourse of the figure of the young person as defining their own future, as well as maintaining a dialogue directly with the reader, as is evident in the section of *IstoÉ* (nº 314, 12/29/1982, p. 73), as follows: "It is increasingly difficult to conquer a place in the world and the sooner you become aware of it, the better it will be for you and for the whole society". For Carmen Lecardi, "the future is thus related to potential openness - the future constitutes, today more than ever, the space of possible becoming - but, at the same time, with an expressed indeterminacy, with increasing frequency, as insecurity" (LECARDI, 2005, p. 50).

In another advertisement, Bamerindus said: "Spend a few minutes of your youth", to induce the consumer to purchase life insurance, because, the advertising continued: "There are things you do when you are young and you hardly ever do them when you get older", unless the reader acquired a Life Insurance Plena Bamerindus, which would allow him "to pass 60 without losing the strength of 30" (VEJA, n. 1.058, 12/14/1988, pp. 42-43). In the Anglo vestibulares

advertisement, in *IstoÉ* magazine (nº 317, 01/19/1983, p. 34-35), the advertisement brought a photo with four young people under the call that said: “Crisis, war, recession, unemployment. A world full of adventure and emotions awaits you”.

While advertisements for clothing and consumer goods were colorful, with young people in a relaxed situation and laughing, in advertisements where the future was at stake, black and white or low-color photographs were chosen, showing the young, or even not so young, with serious and thoughtful expressions. Could the use of few or even the absence of colors and sober expressions be understood as pessimism about the future? The 1980s was a period marked by uncertainty regarding the future due to the transformations that were taking place in Brazil, such as the political reopening, the constant exchange of currency, the questions placed on the agenda due to the strengthening of social movements, which was reflected both in articles dealing with issues such as university education, health and sexuality, smoking and drugs. The future came to be understood from a pessimistic perspective, as an indefinite and unknown period, no longer as a period of belief in progress and a great future for the country, very present in the reports and advertisements published by *Veja* magazine in the 1990s. 1970 (SILVA, 2014).

Youth and youth: some issues

Youth - as a social category - emerges strongly in the post-war period in the USA and changes the way in which this period of life is perceived by both adults and young people¹¹. In the 1950s, youth came to be seen as a difficult period of questioning and contestation. This is widely conveyed through cinema, as, for example, in the 1955 film "Traversed Youth". At this moment, rebellion comes to be seen as a state that all young people would go through, and not just those who would be part of the so-called “dangerous classes”. Rebellion is no longer demonized or restricted to the “dangerous classes”, and is now seen as “normal”, even as a source of innovation and social reinvigoration, as long as it is properly controlled through the renewal, after a while, of these “rebels” socially established standards of normality.

In the 1960s and 1970s, youth movements proliferated and expanded. Young people who participated in these movements questioned the political, social, cultural organizations and the morality of Western societies. They refused to conform. According to Eric Hobsbawm, the 1960s were marked by changes in family relationships and by the "increase in a specific and extraordinarily strong youth culture" (HOBSBAWM, 2002, p. 317). The protest movements of

¹¹ On this, see chapters 29 and 30 of SAVAGE, Jon. *The creation of Youth: how the concept of teenager revolutionized the 20th century*. Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 2009.

the 1960s in the USA and Europe will have a large participation of young people who start to question a new world order and new forms of political participation. In Brazil, a portion of young people became involved in movements contrary to the civil-military dictatorship and participated in cultural movements that questioned cultural and moral standards. Helena Abramo says that young people appear more “as a source of utopian energy than people capable of effectively carrying out such a transformation” (2007, p. 82). It should be noted that this positive image of young people in the 60s and 70s (idealists, rebels, innovators, utopians) will be built, later, in the 1980s.

Youth became a research theme in the 1960s of the twentieth century from two approaches: as a problem and as a transitory phase of preparation for insertion into adult life. On the one hand, a vision that identifies young people as a group prone to risky behavior, which would lead to involvement with delinquency and drugs. On the other hand, it characterizes the youth as a transition period, a transitional phase between childhood and adult life. One aspect of this latter view is that the young person is identified as a student, which gives him the right to a period identified as a social moratorium, a time credit granted to the individual that allows him to delay his entry into adult life (AQUINO, 2009).

For Jorge Castro, Luseni Aquino and Carla Andrade, youth, currently, “has been the target of intense academic, political and public policy debates” (2009, p. 1). But it was not always so. Until the 1990s, there were few discussions and few studies on this topic, which also reflected less concern in defining this group / category. Today, when talking about youth, “we are talking about people, movements, but we are also talking about identities, social relations and the inseparability between reality and social representation. Between what is reality and how we learn and reproduce that reality” CASTRO, AQUINO, ANDRADE, 2006, p. 1).

For historians Giovanni Levi and Jean-Claude Schmitt, the difficulty of defining what youth is and the place of young people is one of the factors that explain the limited number of studies on the subject among historians. For them, youth is a social and cultural construction, which is characterized by its character of limit and transience. It is situated between “childhood dependence and the autonomy of adulthood, in that period of pure change and restlessness in which the promises of adolescence are realized, between sexual immaturity and maturity, between the formation and the full flourishing of mental faculties , between the lack and the acquisition of authority and power ”(LEVI & SCHMITT, 1996, p. 8).

Concepts and categories are not self-evident or self-explanatory; they are historic buildings. The definition of youth and being young also has historicity and is established from different aspects, such as age, physical-biological changes or behavioral changes. However, the

criterion for defining youth based on the age criterion was the target of numerous criticisms, which led to the formulation of other aspects that need to be considered, such as the question of whether or not to enter the labor market, or the analysis of rites of passage into adulthood at different times and with different cultural groups. Through these discussions, young people appear as a problem or as agents of transformation. Although this phase of life is established by chronological and biological criteria, it needs to be analyzed as a discursive construction, a social and cultural construction that defines what it is to be young in relation to what it is to be a child and an adult, which varies according to the different historical and cultural contexts.

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age is a socially manipulated and manipulable biological data; and that the fact of talking about young people as if they were a social unit, a constituted group, endowed with common interests, and relating these interests to a biologically defined age already constitutes an evident manipulation (1983, p. 113).

For this scholar, it is necessary to think of the concept of youth from the relationship with the other, in this case, with the old. The definition of young or old varies according to society and the characteristics of each era. Bourdieu cites the studies of the Middle Ages historian, George Duby, who showed that in this period “the limits of youth were the object of manipulation by the holders of the heritage, whose objective was to maintain in a state of youth, that is, irresponsibility, the noble young people who could claim succession” (BOURDIEU, 1983, p. 112).

Mario Margulis and Marcelo Urresti argue, in the text entitled "La Juventude es más que una palabra" (1996), that age, together with sex, is one of the organizing axes of social classification and structuring of meaning. However, these classifications are imprecise and dubious, especially in today's society, marked by questioning traditions and economic, social and cultural heterogeneity. They include in their reflection the notion of youth as a product. In addition to being a state, a social condition or a stage in life, youth acquires a symbolic value that is associated with a dominant aesthetic and is driven to sell products. However, these authors do not endorse cultural conceptions, since, in their opinion, such conceptions empty the concept by not considering other dimensions, in addition to the symbolic. For them, youth must be analyzed from three aspects: age, moratorium period (social and vital) and symbolic product. In addition, in each of these aspects, differences arising from other dimensions, such as material, historical, political, generational, gender and ethnic, must be considered.

Some considerations

In the advertisements analyzed, the notion of conveyed youth is that of a symbol that relates to freedom, daring, strength. The young people who appear in most advertising pieces are cheerful, colorful and innovative in their attitudes and habits. Being young is not restricted to belonging to a certain age group, but it means having habits and consuming products that mark, through their signs, belonging to a certain lifestyle. However, this image is not unique. There are, to a lesser extent, advertising pieces in which the imagery options refer to uncertainty and pessimism about the future, which also appears in articles dealing with issues considered “problems”, such as sexuality (since it leaves young people defenseless disease and pregnancy), smoking and drugs. Themes such as student movements and counterculture youths, which had space in the 1970s on *Veja* pages, decreased considerably, giving space to articles on aspects of youth cultures, mainly linked to music and dance. According to Levi and Schmitt (1996), the speeches about youth that usually prevail have as reference “golden youth”, expression of a minority, and do not consider the inequality between social classes. This conception takes youth with a group in formation and considers this group only from the concerns in relation to education and leisure, which excludes a significant portion of the individuals of this age group who already work. To analyze *Veja* magazine and *IstoÉ* is also to work with absentees, with young people belonging to different social groups, linked to other cultural references, which were not covered in its pages. The choices made by these magazines help to build a restricted way of living youth that cannot be experienced by everyone or applied to everyone.

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