

Original Research Article

CONSUMPTION, "TOURISM-MERCHANDISE" AND ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY: THE CARTOGRAPHY OF CONTROVERSIES AND THE CASE OF TELEGRAPH ROCK TRAIL – RJ

ABSTRACT:

The contemporaneity is marked, in part, by the Control Society, characterized, among other aspects, by consumption. In this scene, both the material and the immaterial objects come to have value in the market, so that one of the influential tools in this period is the use of sociotechnical networks, also involving the social behaviors of individuals and their desires of belonging. In this perspective, the research aims at analyzing the use of the images inherent to the landscape of the Telegraph Rock Trail - Rio de Janeiro, Brazil - transmitted in these networks, as an influencing factor in the increase of the number of visitors in this place, having as background to the control society. The study attentive to Bruno Latour's Actor-Network Theory (ANT), which measures the fact that the "human actor" and "non-human" can transform the social. Thus, Facebook posts were analyzed from the Cartography of Controversies, which is the operationalization of the Actor-Network Theory (ANT). For that, the contents of the publications from the years 2015 to 2017 were analyzed, in the page called "Pedra do Telégrafo_RJ", with 41 thousand participants. Clues point out that the use of sociotechnical networks, in the scope of consumption may have influenced the process of production of the trail, through its transformation into a product that now has market value, through the logic "tourism-commodity".

KEY-WORDS: Consumption, Actor-Network Theory, Trail of the Telegraph Stone.

1. INTRODUCTION

The control society for Deleuze, 1992 [1] is marked by several characteristics, among them, consumption, virtual surveillance and invisibility in sociotechnical networks and a deterritorialized control, being in a way, a step ahead of what Foucault, 1987 [2] defined as a Disciplinary Society. That, in this case, reflects a societal field of confinement and territorialization. While in the conception of control society, everyone controls all through the desire for belonging and the "desire to desire", in the Disciplinary Society, surveillance occurs in confinements such as in school, in the factory and in the prison. Therefore, within a physical and spatial logic. According to Hardt, 2000 [3], there is no clear passage in this succession, the control society is not replacing the disciplinary. Therefore, the Disciplinary Society did not cease to exist, it was only expanded within the perspective of the social field of production. For Hardt, op.cit. [3] the transition from one society to another cannot be considered an opposition, but an intensification, since for Deleuze, 1992 [1], the means of confinement discussed by Foucault went through a generalized crisis. Thus, the control society, in a certain way, gives another dimension to the Disciplinary Society, emphasizing that in previous societies the model was cyclical and later became something unfinished, demanded by new desires, allowing the dissemination of the facts. The company replaced the factory, allowing the Control Society to resize the Disciplinary Society, addressing the logic of consumption as its potential cleavage. In this way, capitalism that was directed by production, began to be driven by consumption [1].

Therefore, within a capitalism marked by consumption, new forms of liberation of the individual arise, that allow the transformation of non-capitalizable into capitalizable, and its expansion

50 and capture, standing out activities such as tourism and leisure¹ [4]. Thus, these activities, which are
51 inherent to the services, show an increase in the demand for the exhibition of images, which are often
52 represented and spectacularized by individuals who are avid for their consumption, within the logic of
53 "tourism-commodity", a notion based on in the sense of "commodity culture" [5], where culture
54 becomes a market capitalizable product. It should also be noted that the natural and / or cultural
55 landscape are usually exploited by tourism, which uses geographical space for its realization. In this
56 way, the behavior of visitors and tourists can be associated with the new capitalism, through the
57 enhancement of media that use spectacle and persuasion devices, seeking to manipulate social
58 relations, transforming life and nature into products ready for consumption [4]. Thus, both come to
59 present symbolisms as if they were marks, according to Pontes and Tavares, 2017 [7]:

60 They can construct symbols, by means of communicational processes that
61 fabricate subjectivities, as floating identities, fetishizing the goods,
62 transforming them into seductive marks. Through the production and
63 assemblages of values and knowledge there is, as explained, the
64 naturalization of consumer desires that are offered with an ideal of
65 existence. PONTES; TAVARES, op.cit., 135 [7].
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67 In this path, through the logic of the Control Society, nature becomes a productive object, in
68 which its image is an important vehicle for the social insertion of the individual, through consumption
69 and virtuality. Among these virtual media are the sociotechnical networks that, according to Latour,
70 2012 [8], through the scope of the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) or sociology of associations, the
71 "human actor" and "nonhuman" have an important role in their network connection, and can transform
72 the social and influence the creation of subjectivities.

73 Thus, based on Latour's theory [8], It can be observed that the Telegraph Rock Trail, object of
74 the present study, had the image of its landscape shared in sociotechnical networks and this behavior
75 of the people may have contributed to the gradual increase in the number of visitors to the site. Thus,
76 this "desire to belong" to the group of people who share their photographs with the landscape of the
77 place refers to the studies of Sibilía, 2002 [9], in which the individuals are attracted to the "new ways
78 of being". Therefore, they tend to change their attitudes to satiate their present desires and to make
79 new ones. From a similar point of view, Rolnik, 1997 [10] presents the theory of "prêt-à-porter"
80 identities as a support for the processes of "having" to "being", which are identities ready for
81 consumption based on the question of belonging and desire.

82 Faced with the excitement of the interweaving of the digital world with the individuals real life,
83 the influence role of sociotechnical networks, people's decision-making and social interference are
84 increasingly perceptible [11]. In addressing ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY (ANT), Cavalcante et. al.,
85 2017 [12], mention that:
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87 In ANT, knowledge is a social product of a network of heterogeneous
88 materials and suggests that society, organizations, agents, and machines are
89 all effects generated in networks of certain patterns of diverse materials, not
90 just human. In this sense, ANT makes sociology less anthropocentric, as it
91 points nonhumans as full rights actors that help to understand human and
92 social. Thus, the reductionist version of the material order of the social is
93 diluted, giving space to ANT, which does not conceive the idea that there is a
94 distinction between people and objects. For ANT, the social is formed from
95 the associations and the objective is to reveal the networks that are formed at
96 every moment, referring to the idea of alliances, flows and mediations.
97 CAVALCANTE et al., op. cit., p.3 [12]
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¹ It is understood by tourism when the visitor stays overnight in the place visited, being outside of its habitual environment for leisure, business, health, among others [6]. It is also worth noting that on the theme covered, in the Telegraph Rock Trail, visitors can be found for a day (hiker) and tourists. On the other hand, leisure can be classified as tourist or not. In this sense, the proposal of this work includes both day visitors and tourists, since the region of Guaratiba has evolved in the provision of hotel and gastronomic services in order to reach this demand.

99 Thus, in the tourist and leisure² activities this can happen, given that the socio-technical
 100 networks demonstrate, according to the study, the possibility of being influenced in the increase of the
 101 visitation to the Telegraph Rock Trail, located in the State Park of Pedra Branca, Rio de Janeiro West
 102 Zone. Clues point out that part of the visitors are willing to enjoy the optical illusion provided by the
 103 landscape, through the photograph in the place. Therefore, the expositions in the sociotechnical
 104 networks also occur, since people want to belong to the specific emerging groups, which also reflects
 105 the production of the desires of the individuals in relation to the groups that contemplate the nature
 106 through expositions of images in the sociotechnical networks. In the modes of "having" to "being",
 107 where the enjoyment of the landscape occurs, nature has a "product available for immediate
 108 consumption". Also, the Telegraph Rock Trail can be considered a "green mark" [13]. In this context,
 109 nature presents itself as a product to be acquired, generating subjectivities in individuals and
 110 promoting social changes in their respective relationship networks. This is noticeable through the
 111 changes that occur after the posting of photographs on the networks by some visitors, which result in
 112 increasing numbers of visits to the site, emphasizing a new socio-environmental reality with ecological
 113 appeals backed by market precepts [13]. In this consensus, under the control society's logic, this
 114 study aims to investigate how the landscape images of the Telegraph Trail function as an influencing
 115 factor in the socio-technical networks in relation to the increase in the number of local visitors. To do
 116 so, the research will be developed from the Cartography of Controversies, which is the
 117 methodological operationalization of Bruno Latour's Actor-Network Theory and will focus on the
 118 interdisciplinary view of philosophy and social psychology on the phenomenon of tourism.

119 This theory emerged as a methodological referential because of the continuous growth and
 120 technological incorporation in the social sphere, relating "humans" to "nonhumans" through networks
 121 [12]. In this sense, it becomes necessary a qualitative methodological approach that understands the
 122 socio-technical complexity and its evolution, in which the technical, political and social issues are not
 123 separated. Likewise, the methodology will be based on the literature review on topics such as
 124 "Sociotechnical Networks", "consumption", "Control Society", "Actor-Network Theory and its
 125 operability" and "cartography of controversies". Therefore, based on the objective outlined, we
 126 analyzed the shares of publications in the Facebook network, through the participation in the group
 127 entitled "Pedra do Telégrafo_RJ" in the years 2015 to 2017.

128 Continuing with the reflection, having the control society as a background, the relations
 129 between tourism / leisure and capital (mediated by consumption), can be transformed into a logic of
 130 "tourism commodity"?

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133 2. CONSUMPTION AND "TOURISM-MERCHANDISE" IN THE OVERVIEW OF THE 134 CONTROL SOCIETY

135 The Control Society [1] can be characterized, among other aspects, by the transformation of
 136 consumption into a kind of device that allows the control of the production of desires, allowing the
 137 individual some form of affirmation of himself through society. The term was developed based on the
 138 uninterrupted surveillance that individuals exert on each other simultaneously, forming a network of
 139 domains through consumption. Its performance occurs under the prism of a deterritorialized capitalism
 140 that leads to the emergence of a new order called the World Control Society [3]. Thus, Hardt and
 141 Negri, 2001 [15] define this new order as an "Empire" that operates from the global market and the
 142 companies that compose it. By this order, consumption allows for "inclusion identifications", where
 143 there is no longer "being outside" and "being inside", as everyone struggles to be always inside, and
 144 the vicious circle of consumption that makes individuals always feel out and fight (consume) to feel
 145 "inside" (belonging). From this perspective, consumption, besides other factors, becomes the
 146 cleavage of the control society. It is a fact that tourism and leisure itself are essentially capitalist
 147 activities, which depend on geographic space, as products, to happen. Thus, if these activities can
 148 contribute to the economic growth of many receiving localities, on the other hand, they can help to
 149 increase socioeconomic inequalities, when they do not include indigenous people in this process, or

² For Dumazedier, 1975 [14] the concept of leisure can be defined as the set of occupations to which the individual can give himself freely, whether to rest, to enjoy himself, to recreate and to entertain himself or to develop their disinterested formation, their voluntary social participation, or their free creative capacity, after getting rid of or releasing themselves from professional, family and social obligations (DUMAZEDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 34) [14].

150 there is no adequate planning. For Coriolano, 2009 [16] tourism is an activity characteristic of
 151 modernity, at the moment that transforms leisure as a commodity to be consumed in travel, assuming
 152 other consumption. In this context, entertainment would be a form of consumer control, that is, tourist
 153 activity could be equated with an object that controls consumers in search of momentary desires,
 154 which is modeled on the control society proposed by Deleuze, 1992 [1], marked by consumption and
 155 the desire to desire, where landscapes are often represented by the dissemination of images [17],
 156 influencing the concept of tourism-commodity.

157 The logic of "tourism-commodity" comes through the association with the concept of "culture
 158 of goods" by Guattari and Rolnik, 2000 [5], where culture is understood as all goods, people,
 159 references and ideologies related to the production process of semiotic objects transforming it, as it
 160 were a capitalizable product to be sold in the market. For the author, the "merchandise culture" is
 161 objective in the sense that:

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 163 (...) culture here is not to do theory but to produce and disseminate cultural
 164 goods, in principle without regard to value systems other than level A
 165 (culture-value) and without worrying about what I would call levels cultural
 166 boundaries, which are at the level B (culture-soul). It is not a question of "a
 167 priori culture, but of a culture that is produced, reproduced, and constantly
 168 modified." Thus, a kind of scientific nomenclature can be established to try
 169 to appreciate what is, in quantitative terms, There are very elaborate grids (I
 170 think of those in progress at Unesco), in which one can classify the cultural
 171 levels of cities, of social categories, and thus, in function of the index, of the
 172 number of books produced, number of films, number of rooms of cultural
 173 use, etc. GUATTARI; ROLNIK, 2000, p. 19 [5]

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 175 Hence, there is only one culture, capitalism, which can be characterized as ethnocentric and
 176 intellectocentric, separating semiotic universes, judging them better or worse in relation to a person or
 177 a group, and produces subjectivities [5]. According to this understanding, the perception of "tourism-
 178 commodity" can be understood as a new product of value of consumption in the market, transforming
 179 the experience acquired in tourism into a merchant, placing it at the same level as the commerce of
 180 cigarettes, among others. Therefore, the idea of commodity dominates all that is lived, including the
 181 experiences, thus commodifying desires.

182 In the case of tourism and leisure, the desire for freedom is manifested by the escape of the
 183 routine or the stress of everyday life and become products in the market to be consumed, through the
 184 logic "tourism-commodity." An example would be the emergence of ecological products, either
 185 through stamps or through the transformation of the natural landscape into product, by means of the
 186 spectacularization of life experiences, which are many attributes used in tourist advertisements. Thus,
 187 in a world marked by fluidity, disposability and consumption, both materiality and immateriality
 188 become products, such as nature itself, in this way, Debord, 1997 [17] describes present-day society
 189 as a 'society of spectacle', where it is marked by the use of images, since the human being has lost
 190 the capacity to produce his own representation of reality, thus using spectacular images, where
 191 advertising plays an essential role in this dynamic.

192 Within this scenario, consumption in the Control Society offers the image of ramifications that
 193 are born, grow and are characterized to be characterized again with indefinite appearances in
 194 different places, through devices also of consumption. So, in the midst of all these transformations
 195 provided by capital, we can identify the possibilities of "productilization of nature" [18].

196 Thus, within the notion of "tourism-commodity" nature, as landscape, presents signs of being
 197 consumed with the clothing of a product that has a market value, as exemplified by Pelbart, 2003 [4]:

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 199 Call it as you want this around us, cultural capitalism, immaterial economy,
 200 society of spectacle, era of biopolitics, the fact is that growth is observed in
 201 recent decades a new way of relating capital and subjectivity. PELBART,
 202 2003, p. 34 [4]

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 204 In this way, nature can be transformed into a product to be consumed, expanding the relation
 205 between capital and subjectivity, which is expressed as a psychosocial consumer identity, within the
 206 market and control society, where values are signified and re-signified in the relations between
 207 nature, consumption and society. This logic of immaterial capitalism functions in transforming non-
 208 capitalizable into market value. According to Tavares and Irving, 2013 [19], contemporary capitalism

209 transforms non-capital into capital, in all spheres - let us understand tourist proposals, including the
 210 landscape incursions taken as ways of "being", "doing" and "having pleasure", obedient to the
 211 conditions imposed by desires.

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And beyond the creation of desires, one constructs the sense of
 commodification of difference, of originality. From the concept of this net
 sustainability, (...) new values associated with nature emerge as a strategy
 of commercialization of authenticity. Paradoxically, at the same time as the
 spectacularization of nature as a product of aesthetic consumption by
 difference, the very conception of commodity nature becomes fragile.
 TAVARES; IRVING, 2013, p. 7 [19].

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It is also emphasized that, due to the connectionist form, new appeals of authenticity occur
 and the movement is continuous, due to the new forms of consumption promoted by the control
 society. Nature becomes a "brand" to be consumed, as well as the landscapes, entering an incessant
 cycle for the satisfaction of desires, which are configured in the form of new hosts. From this
 perspective, there is the possibility that this phenomenon occurred with the landscape of the
 Telegraph Rock Trail, in which images began to be commercialized from the high index of image
 sharing, through the logic of "tourism-commodity", increasing considerably the number of on-site
 visitors for tourism and leisure purposes. As a result of these observations, we attempt to approach
 the Actor-Network Theory [11], highlighting the relationships between the influences generated from
 the interference of the "non-human", which are represented by all types of technologies their actors -
 the "humans". From the look in the Control Society, also marked by the production of insatiable
 desires, how to think about the role of sociotechnical networks and of these actors ("human" and
 "nonhuman") as subjects?

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2.1 The Sociotechnical Networks and the Latour Actor-Network Theory: A Look From the Optics of the Control Society

In the face of different arguments concerning contemporary transformations, many scholars
 come to the consensus that the Internet has an influential bias in the lives of individuals, whether in
 the social, virtual or communicational field. Today, new forms of dialogues promoted through
 communication, the appropriation of information and knowledge are observed in society [20]. In this
 scenario, sociotechnical networks arise, which can be defined as a set of heterogeneous actors
 associated in the process of conception, production and diffusion of knowledge. They are
 characterized by the existence of "human" and "non-human" networks [11]. Where accelerating
 processes can be decisive for the occurrence of the condition of nature produced, through the
 consumption of their landscapes.

For Latour [11], the sociology of scientific knowledge has undergone changes in its
 conventional notions, and may be called sociology of associations. Insofar as society changes, the
 notion of demarcation between subject and object, man and nature, both human and nonhuman, also
 change, that is, the notion of social mute, inserting nonhumans and technical artifacts in that process.
 Thus, the influence of technical artifacts on the decisions of individuals in society are increasing,
 which can be constantly visible in sociotechnical networks.

It is noticed that it is increasingly common the exposure of individuals on trips and / or their
 moments of leisure in the sociotechnical networks, mainly through landscapes images. For Sibilis,
 2012 [21], what we thought we were inside the individual is increasingly shifting to the surface of the
 body. This can be observed from the act of self-exposure in sociotechnical networks and from the
 need to be seen, since there is only the confirmation of the other through the visibility of proving
 images, making subjectivities that offer parameters of inclusion in different social groups. Images are
 deeply embedded in people's daily lives, since today's society is deeply visual. In turn, with
 globalization, this characteristic has become stronger. Thus, having as a background the control
 society, marked by some peculiarities, among them, the society of the spectacle [17] and of the
 image, where the "having" has an emphasis on "being", consumption it only makes sense when one
 can exhibit it [21]. In this sense, Latour, 1999 [11] describes the Actor-Network Theory, correlating
 technology, science and society, where he proposes that the actor be defined from his role in society
 and what he produces in his connection network, so that social task is defined by the actors
 themselves. For Latour, 2012 [8]:

The ANT does not affirm that one day we will know if the society is "really"
 made of small individual calculating agents or of portentous macro actors;

268 nor does it state that, as anything goes, one can choose his favorite
 269 candidate by chance. On the contrary, the relativistic conclusion arrives, that
 270 is, these controversies provide the analyst with the resources needed to
 271 trace social connections. The ANT only maintains that once we have
 272 become accustomed to these many changeable frames of reference, we will
 273 arrive at a good understanding of how the social is generated, since the
 274 relativistic connection between frames of reference allows a more objective
 275 judgment than the absolute (that is, arbitrary) suggested by common sense.
 276 LATOUR, *op.cit.*, p. 53 [8]
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278 It is therefore sought to highlight that the controversies from social networks will reflect a
 279 common sense among the actors, regarding the proposal of the study. Therefore, it is necessary to
 280 clarify some issues inherent to ANT. According to Alcadipane and Tureta, 2009 [22], the ANT should
 281 be based on what can be constructed from the observations made through the practices of actors that
 282 constitute this network, identifying what and who does the actions to be performed, demonstrating the
 283 presence of social. Network communication is not static, and the ANT differs from the others by the
 284 inclusion of "nonhuman" elements - in allusion to the machines or technological tools of
 285 communication - and requires the manipulation of empirical elements, where no distinction should be
 286 made a priori.
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288 In the Actor-Network Theory, the notion of network refers to flows,
 289 circulations, alliances, movements, rather than refer to a fixed entity. A
 290 network of actors is not reducible to a single actor or to a network; it is
 291 composed of heterogeneous series of animate and inanimate elements,
 292 connected and agitated. MORAES, 2013, p. 02 [23]
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294 Where associations occur in the interlacing of the real with the virtual. For Latour, 2012 [8],
 295 the actor, in the "visitor" case, within the Actor-Network concept would be not a source of an act, but a
 296 moving target of a broad set of entities swarming in their direction. Therefore, the Actor-Network
 297 Theory gives individuals sufficient space to express themselves, as previously mentioned. In this
 298 scenario, in the perspective of sociotechnical networks, humans would not be the only actors, but
 299 rather a node within the actions that take place in those networks. Thus, these networks can also be
 300 formed by objects.
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302 Unlike a dualistic approach, which affirms the existence of two privileged
 303 poles - the Sun and the Earth, the subject and the object, God and the Devil
 304 - an ontology of variable geometry declares multiple possible inputs. I think
 305 it is the principle of generalized symmetry proposed by Latour as a
 306 consequence of this ontology of multiple inputs and connections. MORAES,
 307 2013, p. 03 [23]
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309 Alcadipane and Tureta, 2009 [22] reinforce the issue of symmetry, noting that there are no
 310 humans dissociated from non-humans and vice versa and that they are interdependent, since both
 311 participate in the heterogeneous network. Thus, what makes ANT differentiated would be what
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313 (...) it does not assume, a priori, a supremacy of humans over nonhumans.
 314 In addition, it may be seen as a historical ignorance to disregard the role of
 315 nonhumans in the development of the productive process. ALCADIPANE;
 316 TURETA, 2009, p. 651 [22]
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318 For the authors (*op.cit.*), there is a thin boundary between "humans" and "nonhumans". Not
 319 that they are the same, but the actors and the network are not separated because in an empirical
 320 situation, both entities are inseparable depending on the activity of the actors that depend on the
 321 network and vice versa. Thus, the product "nature" is highlighted in this process. Therefore, for
 322 Latour, 1999 [11] "network" means a series of transformations. It is the synthesis of interactions
 323 through various types of schemas, inscriptions and forms within a punctual site, in addition to actions
 324 that are characteristic of associated entities, not just human characteristics.
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326 On the one hand, the network of actors must be differentiated from the
327 traditional sociological category of actor, which excludes any non-human
328 component. On the other hand, it can not be confused with a type of bond
329 that connects in a predictable manner stable and perfectly defined
330 elements, because the entities of which it is composed, whether natural or
331 social, can at any moment redefine their identity and their mutual relations,
332 bringing new elements. MORAES, 2013, p. 02 [23]
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334 For Moraes, 2013 [23] the networks are not amorphous, but highly differentiated, since they
335 eliminate the binary opposition of modern thought. The network is in this sense the affirmation of such
336 a difference. "It consolidates the power of the empirical as the ground of invention of reason, truth,
337 society, nature". MORAES, op.cit., p.04 [23]. By entering this logic, it is possible to identify that in the
338 network plane there are operations of translation that engender at the same time nature and society,
339 subject and object.
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341 The practices of mediation, of hybridization dispose the whole space, in
342 such a way that we no longer speak in two types of representation, but only
343 in hybrids or quasi-objects. Latour invites us to shed light on these quasi-
344 objects, effects of the networks of actors. The non-modernity of sciences
345 makes such hybrid objects legitimate. MORAES, 2013, p. 06 [23]
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347 Where these quasi-objects would be the result of the interaction between man and his
348 technological tools of communication. In the same consensus, Moraes, op.cit., p.7 [23] mentions that
349 Latour reveals the "quasi-objects" through a parliament of things. "... the parliament of things
350 supposes an image of science as a practice of mediation, sharpening new sensibilities aimed at the
351 proliferation of hybrids, for their entry into the collective." Latour, 1994, p. 142 [24] defines them as
352 "they must be represented, it is in around them that the Parliament of Things meets from now on." It is
353 in this context that the parliament of things becomes a place of resolution of the imbroglis of the
354 networks. So:
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356 The principle of multiplicity, put on the scene by the parliament of things, is
357 the connecting principle of the networks of actors: performative alliances
358 connect heterogeneous actors among themselves and result in the many
359 representatives who speak in the name of things. Thus, in the parliament of
360 things, as Latour says, it does not matter if one speaks of the hole of the
361 ozone layer while another speaks of the voters, because what unites them
362 is the unique fabric of things defined by their hybridity. MORAES, 2013, p.
363 7-8 [23]
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365 In the study, the parliament of things would be present in the dialogues established in the
366 networks where the unusual is addressed, transmitted by the images of the place in observation. In
367 this aspect, Latour defends the Parliament of Things as an embodiment of the network of actors. "The
368 parliament of things has a bearing on the sciences from its audacity, its experimentation, its
369 uncertainty, its warmth, its strange mixture of hybrids, its mad ability to recompose social bonds".
370 LATOUR, 1994, p. 140, [24]. And, it is in this web that the devires contained in the actions of the
371 actors and spectators around nature are branched. The precepts of "becoming" extolled by a
372 consumer-controlled society with unfinished desires can promote the productivization of nature as the
373 interconnected maneuvers between "humans" and "nonhumans" transformed by these hybridizations
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375 Within this scenario, the present study is based on the ANT, which runs through dichotomies
376 that traditional sociology establishes between social and natural, viewing reality as the effect of
377 networks of heterogeneous materials and not as something taken for granted [22]. Thus, within the
378 scope of this work, it is understood the importance of the action of "human actors" and "nonhumans"
379 in the production of information and individual and collective knowledge. In the case of this study, this
380 is how the information and images of the Telegraph Rock Trail are transmitted in the sociotechnical
381 networks, having as "background" the control society, where the emergence of the consumer society,
382 allied to society spectacle and technology, may have contributed to the possible production of nature,
383 especially in the Telegraph Rock, through the verification of the increase of visitors influenced by the
384 sharing of information in sociotechnical networks, reaffirming the sociology of associations proposed
by Latour, 1999 [11] , where the human and the nonhuman can transform the social. So, what would

385 the insertion of these precepts be in relation to the detail of the place? Is nature configuring itself in a
 386 product to be consumed?
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388 2.2 The Telegraph Rock Trail: Nature for Sale?

389 The Telegraph Rock Trail is part of the PEPB (Pedra Branca State Park). The PEPB,
 390 according to INEA, 2013 [25], is a Comprehensive Protection Conservation Unit and has 393.84
 391 hectares and around 80 kilometers of perimeter. The PEPB is considered one of the largest urban
 392 forests in the world because it is totally within the municipality of Rio de Janeiro. It is due to this
 393 reason that the possibility of inserting the native inhabitants in the local conservation through the
 394 public use of their attractions can be seen, being able to provide a spontaneous militancy of the users
 395 in defense of this space from the intimate relation of the visitors with this natural environment.

396 On the other hand, this relationship can be affected by the fact that nature presents attributes
 397 of mercantilizantes values. Within this context, it should be noted that, with its 354m altitude, the
 398 Telegraph Rock Trail has attracted visitors for awakening an optical illusion in photographs. Thus,
 399 even the landscape being composed of natural resources such as Restinga da Marambaia, the
 400 oceanic beaches of the neighborhoods Recreios dos Bandeirantes, Barra da Tijuca and Barra de
 401 Guaratiba, most visitors seek to photograph and insert the spectacular images in their social networks
 402 to glimpse the possibility of being accepted in networks of people with the same identity. Many tourists
 403 and visitors come to the site for the motivation that the landscape can be shared in sociotechnical
 404 networks, since the place is famous for providing an optical illusion of a cliff facing an abyss, which
 405 becomes a beautiful setting for photographs.

406 The Telegraph Rock Trail, also known as "Guaratiba Hill", is possibly named after receiving
 407 during World War II an outpost of radio communication for observation of enemy submarines and
 408 prevention of attacks on Brazilian vessels [25]. The place gained evidence from the publication of a
 409 photo of the environmental engineer with his girlfriend, simulating a risk situation on the edge of a cliff
 410 in 2015. The publication received more than forty thousand tanned and had a great repercussion,
 411 which can serve as a clue to the beginning of the process of producing desires related to the
 412 consumption of that landscape and its sharing [26]. Since then, it is possible to identify signs of a
 413 growing demand for the place that was known for the unusual photos that show people on the edge of
 414 the abyss, confirming the assumptions of Network-Actor Theory. Reports in the networks discriminate
 415 that in days of greater movement, there are queues to photograph in the place that can arrive the
 416 waiting of 2 hours [32]. The images shown below were realized through a specific angle that creates
 417 an optical illusion, as shown in figure 1. On busy days, the queue to take a photo at the scene may be
 418 waiting for 2 hours.
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Figure 1: Optical Illusion of the Telegraph Rock



Source: Trilhando Montanhas, 2018 [27]

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3. THE CARTOGRAPHY OF CONTROVERSIES AND THE NETWORK-ACTOR THEORY

426 The notion of Actor-Network Theory for Latour, 1999 [11] does not dissociate the "human"
 427 and the "non-human", stating that the two operate in the transformation of the social. According to
 428 Castro and Pedro, 2010 [28], in order to understand the Actor-Network Theory, first, one must keep in
 429 mind the concept of network, where "each of the nodes that make up the network constitutes an actor,
 430 this actor is, at the same time, a network, since it is composed of connections, and establishes
 431 connections other than those that are in focus". CASTRO; PEDRO, 2010, p.354 [28]

432 In this sense, the Cartography of Controversies could be denominated as the
 433 operationalization of the Actor-Network Theory. For Cavalcante et. al., 2017 [12] Cartography of
 434 Controversies translates into a methodology that enables cartography of networks, as well as its main
 435 actors ("human" and "non-human" actors), who would be the spokesmen and their respective
 436 connections. These connections came to the fore in the 1970s, when sociological researches sought
 437 to understand the fundamentals of the behavior of the scientific community and the formation and
 438 evolution of the ideas of these virtual communities. For Venturini, 2010 [29], the Cartography of
 439 Controversies works as the didactic and methodological version of the Actor-Network Theory, which
 440 presents itself as a set of techniques to map, explore and visualize controversies and controversies,
 441 mostly related to technical- scientific research. For the above-mentioned author, controversies can be
 442 identified as issues that have not yet produced consensus. Having its emergence in heterogeneous
 443 relations or collective life, where there is the existence of a varied range of actors

444 Cavalcante et. al., 2017 [12], analyzing Latour, states that for a networks approach, seven
 445 methodological rules would be necessary to be followed, among them:

446
 447 1. We must aim for a fact that is always in action - and never crystallized -,
 448 setting us up at moments of black box construction, that is, moments in
 449 which the subject in question is still subject to controversy. 2. The condition
 450 of artificiality or the nature of a fact is the effect of the processes of
 451 circulation in the networks. 3. The stabilization of nature is always the
 452 consequence of settling disputes - not its cause. 4. The stability of society is
 453 also always the consequence of the resolution of controversies. 5. We must
 454 put ourselves in symmetry regarding the establishment of any polarity and
 455 observe all the nodes that are being tied in these processes. 6. We need to
 456 pay attention to the extension of the network that is built in any situation of
 457 controversies involving accusation of irrationality and search for social or
 458 logical explanations that justify such an accusation. 7. It is necessary to
 459 trace the network that supports any special quality to which we assign a
 460 dose of stability. PEDRO & NOBRE, *op. cit.*, p. 52 [30]

461
 462 Thus, according to Pedro and Nobre, 2010 [30], to study these networks requires a
 463 methodology of work, where the cartographer is minimalist, valuing the observations coming from its
 464 insertion and monitoring of the network, through four stages, among them:

465 01- Look for a door of entry - it is necessary to 'get in the network', to start following the actors
 466 and, somehow, to participate in the dynamics that their movements allow to draw.

467 02- Identify the spokespersons - it is necessary to identify those who communicate the text
 468 and who end up synthesizing the expression of other actants.

469 03- Access the registration devices, that is, everything that makes possible a visual exhibition,
 470 of any type, in texts and documents, and that allow to 'objectivize' the network.

471 04- Map the associations between actants. It is a matter of delineating the relations that are
 472 established between the various actors and that end up composing the network.
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474
 475 Within this scope, the work will use the cartography of the controversies, through the four
 476 steps described above, according to the lines of analysis pre-established from the verified clues.
 477

478 **3.1 Building a Method: The Cartography of Controversies and the Telegraph Rock** 479 **Trail**

480 The research proposes to make a methodological incursion on the publications shared in the
 481 network Facebook. Initially, an exploratory analysis was performed of four networks: Instagram,
 482 Twitter, Youtube and Whattapp, which are considered the most used by Brazilians [31]. First, it was
 483 intended to analyze the existing publications in the respective networks, from the beginning of the
 484 activities of the pages until December 28, 2017 - period of survey of the data of the research.

485 However, in the Instagram network it is only possible to analyze the totality of publications, and it is
 486 not possible to segregate the analysis by filters, exemplifying: through selection of the annual
 487 publications, as outlined in the objectives of the research [33]. On Twitter, only the quantities analyzed
 488 of publications, but the network was not accepted at work because, a priori, it would have a much
 489 lower number of hits compared to Facebook. To use Whattapp it would be necessary to modify the
 490 method for a participatory analysis, since the authors should be part of the process. The Youtube,
 491 could not be chosen, since one could not enter into some group and check the coexistence in the
 492 network. Even so, the study was performed in each case. Finally, we opted for the observation of the
 493 occurrences in Facebook. However, by inserting in the search tool the words "Pedra do Telégrafo", it
 494 was observed on the networks YouTube, Twitter and Facebook that the number of publications
 495 increased significantly from 2015, the year in which the photographs, became known worldwide.
 496

497 **Table 01: Amount Publications / Public Photos: Twitter / Facebook / Youtube versus**
 498 **years.**

Year	TWITTER	FACEBOOK	YOUTUBE
2013	03	4	1
2014	05	8	10
2015	379	1.005	73

499 Source: Prepared by the authors (2018)

500

501 Thus, the work is based on documentary research (of journalistic articles about the place), the
 502 literature review and the Cartography of Controversies. It is also worth noting that the research has an
 503 exploratory character and it is an issue not much discussed in the social sciences. It was then decided
 504 to emphasize the actor-network theory, correlating it to the perspective of the Control Society, based
 505 on the virtual data, the approaches of Latour, 1999 [11] and the proposed steps to analyze the
 506 controversies cited by Pedro and Nobre, 2010 [30]. This work aims to understand scientifically the
 507 cultural behavior of communities in the electronic environment, as well as the consequence of these
 508 ramifications and controversies, since there are clues of the increase of visitors to the place in focus,
 509 after the publication of photographs in social networks. For this, the data collection will come from the
 510 sociotechnical networks, especially Facebook, according to the study's propositions.

511 The community and / or the Facebook network was selected among the others because it
 512 allows the analysis of publications by categories, enabling the categorization per year. As a result, the
 513 work proposes the analysis of the page "Pedra do Telégrafo_RJ", which has approximately 41
 514 thousand participants, through the observation of the publications of the spokespersons and the
 515 network in 2015, 2016 and 2017. The temporal option of these years occurred from the publication of
 516 photos that exposed the optical illusion in the sociotechnical networks. During this period there was a
 517 continuous increase in the number of visitors on the trail. Finally, to give cartographic clues about
 518 what Facebook publishes in relation to the Trail of the Telegraph Stone, the most used words in this
 519 network were mapped using the word cloud feature of the Atlas Ti software (Figure 2).
 520

521 4. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

522 First, all the pages were searched, through different spellings on Facebook, referring to the
 523 Telegraph Rock Trail, where it was verified:
 524

525

Table 02: Groups about Telegraph Rock - Facebook

Community	Members
Pedra do Telégrafo	41.000
Trilha Pedra do Telégrafo	2.700
Pedra do Telégrafo (entretenimento)	648
Pedra do Telégrafo – Barra de Guaratiba – RJ	494
Pedra do Telégrafo (Agência de turismo)	418

Excursão Pedra do Telégrafo	376
Pedra do Telégrafo (Guia Turístico)	147

Source: Prepared by the authors (2018)

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Due to the number of participants, the researchers of this article opted for the page "Pedra do Telegrafo_RJ", whose first publication was on April 4, 2015. Thus, analyzing the four stages of research proposed by Pedro and Nobre, 2010 [30], an incursion was made at the entrance door, followed by the actors from the participation in the respective group. The spokespersons were identified, that is, those who published in the years 2015, 2016 and 2017, totaling 256 publications. The registration devices were also accessed, that is: the contents of these publications were analyzed and a cloud of words was structured, with those most used in the researched publications (Figure 02³).

Figure 02: Atlas Ti Word cloud



Source: Prepared by the authors (2018)

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The most observed words were: "trail", "safety", "guided" and "information", which may be related to the guided tours scheduled on the respective page, meaning that the focus of the analyzed community refers to the marketing of visitation services tourism, a fact that reaffirms the players of the tourist company as spokespersons.

Next, the associations between the actants ("human" and "non-human" actors) were mapped through the comments and tanned in the publications of the spokesmen identified there. In general, in the analyzed publications, the network moves through tastings, shares and comments. In the period stipulated for observation, the most tanned publication by the network (537) was characterized by the photograph of a visitor - a public figure - pretending to be pulled by the hair not to fall on the cliff, and, by marketing the sale of the respective script, made by the agency, along with the photo. Therefore, it was also noticed that the most shared publications, tanned and commented are those that present the optical illusion provided in the rock, which are configured as an invitation to carry out the trail, through the sale of services. Already the comments, in general, are characterized by markings of other people. In this scenario, we can observe the increase in the number of publications in proportion to the number of visitors, confirming Latour's, 1999 [11] reflection on the association of the "human actor" with the "non-human", culminating in the transformation of the social, either by the relationship between the networks or through the spokespersons. As the photos are published, they automatically influence the visitation to the place. Thus, it becomes apparent that consumption can transform material and immaterial goods into products to be marketed, producing them [1]. In relation to the subject at hand, Pelbart, 2003 [4] discusses the capitalization of the non-capitalizable, which can be

³ The words that are in Portuguese refer to the new ones.

563 identified in the Telegraph Rock Trail. There are clues that through the influences aroused by desire
 564 around the landscape, by leisure and by nature itself that a transformation may be occurring in the
 565 symbols that rise to the level of "marks" [7].

566 Although this topic presents real numbers, the research does not consider them in the final
 567 analyzes, since they have a qualitative character and aim to identify subjectivities and feelings of
 568 desire making in individuals, who share these experiences in the sociotechnical networks.
 569

570 **4.1 Final Considerations**

571 In contemporary times, the transformations occurred in the real and virtual realm. Therefore,
 572 there was, in a way, a transition from the disciplinary society to a control society, characterized,
 573 among other aspects, by the vigilance in the sociotechnical networks and by the consumption, where
 574 everyone came to control all through various means. In the meantime, the use of these networks is
 575 characterized by the exposure of people and the invisibility of the networks in the information
 576 networks, culminating in virtual surveillance. This study analyzed the visitation of the Telegraph Rock
 577 Trail under the logic of the era of virtuality and consumption, having as background the Control
 578 Society, based on the Actor-Network Theory and the Cartography of Controversies [11].

579 Based on the clues presented, one can identify and affirm Latour's, 1999 [11] reflection on the
 580 fact that the "human actor" and "non-human" can transform the social. The relationship either
 581 between the networks or through the spokespersons corroborates for such an affirmation, and is
 582 constituted through the publications related to the optical illusion provided in the photographs, in the
 583 field of study, where an influence occurs in the increase of the number of visitors to the place.

584 Nature, as a landscape, shows signs of being consumed with the clothing of a product that
 585 has a market value from the perspective of a "tourism-commodity".

586 It is also identified that the market exhibits the image of nature productively and in accordance
 587 with the principles of the Control Society, outlined by Deleuze, 1992 [1]. In this logic, natural attributes
 588 dissociate themselves from the roles of components of human subsistence and are associated with
 589 the components that constitute the existence of a fluid and schizophrenic market in their actions.
 590 Thus, at the same time as they defend nature through their rhetoric, they promote actions that can
 591 compromise their integrity, by the decision to know the place and to walk the said trail, by the
 592 aforementioned aspects. However, this study is not exhaustive here, and contributes to leverage new
 593 research with the respective theme.
 594

595 **CONSENT**

596 No applicable.
 597

598 **ETICAL APPROVAL**

599 All authors declare that the survey was approved by the ethics committee of CFCH – UFRJ
 600
 601

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