MEMES AND SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM: A NEW APPROACH TO TREND RESEARCH AND DESIGN

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ABSTRACT

This paper is the part of an ongoing study on a methodology for trend analysis focusing on innovative design. It endeavors to expose an alternative theoretical composition of a background for trend research and analysis. By introducing a wider comprehension of the term trend, the study presents the concept of a meme\textsuperscript{1} as theoretical support in order to perceive society as introduction nets, as acknowledged by Symbolic Interactionism. Parting from documental bibliographic research on social sciences, neuroscience, anthropology and overall qualitative investigations, we built a theoretical foundation for the further development of a prospective trend research methodology — which will result from the work’s continuuality.

Keywords: research methods; design research; innovation; interdisciplinary; trend analysis.

INTRODUCTION

The use of artifices such as trends that reverberate the spirit of times — zeitgeist — seems to be a strategy that is used by companies that aim to interpret and predict consumers’ aspirations to propose innovations coherent to commercial market qualities in a specific future. The
monitoring activities of trend research analyze information from distinct areas. Areas such as economy, politics, sociology, science, and technology help forecasters formulate prognostics presented as trends.

The collective public considers trends as the fashion common denominator. In addition, for fashion market authors, trends are the starting point of the textile engineer industry responsible for the production of fibers, threads, and colorants. As some present, fashion trends focus specific on the industry, providing information such as colors, shapes, materials, and finishing that are to be, or not to be, followed.

However, one shall not necessarily communicate trends through the imposition of industry about colors, shapes, and materials. Trends are nothing more than observed and analyzed signals that can guide us to an unknown future. It is more relevant to present trends in a conceptual way, through texts and iconographic plates. This means that the boundaries are more flexible and the information allows for interpretation and adaptation according to the target-public. This manner of communicating trends allows the addition of subjectivity in the designs and this subjectivity belongs to the designer and final user.

Companies in the design market are frequently investing more of their profits as a kind of insurance against failure. Throughout the research of emerging signs, from many different perspectives, companies guarantee the knowledge of relevant information to marketing and product development departments focusing on innovation. The attainment and interpretation of pulses in the spirit of the times (Zeitgeist) must be understood as the translation of a cultural language in a very specific moment, an investigator’s report about a time yet to come.

**TRENDS**

From the Latin *tendentia*, which means embraces to tend (to), trends are not more than possible directions of a determined future time. According to Brazilian sociologist Dario Caldas, the current shared concept of trend lies on ideas such as movement, change, future and evolution — mainly typical of quantitative positivist research.

Systematically or not, in trade market studies and businesses, there is a growing interest in the prospection of trends, which may indicate what is happening and anticipate what will influence people’s behavior. Around the concept and findings of trends, there are diverse interests that directly or indirectly imply a financial return or profit to companies that make such investments — the fashion business, for example.

In the current market society, concernment is so urgent that interrogators of the subject
discuss if, in reality, the fashion industry searches or create and impose trends through specialized media. There is also an alternate discussion on the way of how on could or could not produce trends.

Erner considers that the mercantile universe consensus of the fashion industry, for example, accrues of similar experiences of a small and restricted group of individuals that — although denying that condition — share the same values, since they frequent the same social spaces. Thereby, despite their creative efforts, the members of that group constantly manifest similar impressions, i.e., perceptions of the cultural manifestations' convergence.

Taking into account the economic explanation for the changing phenomenon of fashion novelty, some may believe that fashion is the result of a conspiracy of a select group of fashion designers and companies, making consumers always vulnerable to new wishes and aiming to fulfill those needs throughout consuming. Nowadays that the street expresses incredible creativeness and many main fashion trends have been explored after a primary observation of society and the world around us.

In the field of Design Management, the well-recognized Brigitte Borja de Mozota endorses that trends inform the market data promoting estimative analysis on future scenarios. The author justifies trend research as a strategy in search of design associated to innovation, which suggests profit and a more interesting position in the globalized Market. Gimeno, however, presents trends as constant novelties and asserts that the research of future novelties implies the recognition of the marketplace and target consumer. In operational and strategic levels, trends are congruous to competition, differentiation, and singularity.

Readings that are more contemporary postulate that organizational management can take advantage of trends, or more accurately their crucial role on innovation. McCracken mentions the urgent aspect of cultural change studies within organizations. According to the anthropologist, there is a need for cultural research and he inserts the term culturehunter to replace the term coolhunter. The substitution evokes, at a pragmatic level, the replacement of an interest in more fundamental cultural changes, instead of fashions or gimmicks — something flamboyant and unique but that does not allow for replication and offers no posterior relevance.

Additionally, Raymond certifies that trends are pivotal to the comprehension of the emotional, physical, and psychological surroundings, since they actuate positively in innovation processes, considering that they foresee the knowledge of what is up-to-date and of what is yet to come in a broader market and social milieu. As reported by the anthropologist, meanwhile with the investigation and acquaintance of trends, we will be favoring in non-depreciative degrees a greater comprehension of subjacent principles and ideas that guide and motivate people.
The current literature on trends indicates the comprehension of a trend as the direction in which something moves and that carries cultural relevance to influence society, culture and business sectors. The influences observed and analyzed by trend forecasters are signs, translated into concepts in order to create a map. This map works as a mirror to a certain future age. In that way, trends are expressions of the spirit of the times announcing a future that is about to come.

TREND PROSPECTION THROUGH INTUITIVE CAPTION

One may say that there are people who are born “naturals” to trend researching. Those capture important pulses or abnormalities without much effort. They seem to notice visual, esthetical and technological opportunities before other specialists. Some say they are “before their time”. Those people capture with greater clarity, just like a composer who never studied music in a conservatory before composing their first symphony. However, many organizations do not accept this type of non-structured forecasting, because they often appear intangible due to the proposal of a reality that is far beyond from the present.

Most of those intuitive capturers are not able to explain how they have reached their research’s conclusions. That can be a considerably large problem when dealing with companies and a disservice reaching millions of dollars. Therefore, one must comprehend intuitive capture with attention and vigilance for it requires an understanding within a context in which methodology tools may help and may not disturb the “natural” professional. Nowadays, neuro scientific techniques of the human brain’s analysis using magnetic resonance help us understand how the human brain works and how we can improve the intuitive ability of ordinary people by apprehending how the intuitive capturers think and work.

Parting from the classics of Daniel Goleman’s Emotional Intelligence and Marcus Buckingham’s and Donald O. Clifton’s Now, Discover Your Strengths, Pink presents a new perspective on the characteristics of companies and individuals that outshine. Based on cutting-edge research from around the world, A Whole New Mind exposes six essential aptitudes on which professional triumph and individual accomplishment currently depend.

The essential aptitudes refer to a new era, named by the author as the Conceptual Era (Ibid.). In this new era, the intuitive capturers need to demonstrate their abilities and structure their thoughts to this new reality, a reality in which they are the commanders of the processes. Therefore, it is requires to know and apply the senses exploited by Daniel Pink in order...
to integrate the aptitudes of both brain hemispheres and present plausible solutions developed through emotional intelligence.

One often hears that each of the brains’ hemispheres is exclusively responsible for a distinct activity. Whereas the left side of the brain is in charge of logical and rational exercises, the right side deals with emotional actions and creativity. The distinction between the two hemispheres of the brain originated from the pioneer work of the neuroscientist and Nobel Prize 1981 winner, Roger Sperry. However, it is correct to affirm that each hemisphere is more dedicated to a specific labor than the other, in which contemporary experiments such as brain scanning proved that in any cerebral activity both sides of the brain must work together in the interest of reaching a satisfactory outcome. After the experiment results, one could only conclude that both hemispheres are collaborative and are continuously interconnected.

Daniel Pink considers that the interconnectivity of both brain sides is particularly fruitful as each of the hemispheres accomplishes complementary functions. The author indicates that when the left hemisphere specializes in texts, the right specializes in the context, but both sides’ labor is not exclusive. They work together combining specific qualities, as details, and the big picture.

Daniel Goleman\textsuperscript{17} verifies that besides the rational emotion born with us in our IQ there are other intelligence types that grow with a person throughout life — such as emotional, social and ecological intelligence. He suggests that, as well as we evaluate IQ levels, it is possible to grade EQ, which corresponds to the emotional quotient and affirm that the key to pioneering resides in the EQ and not in the IQ. The leadership demands abilities such as inspiration and persuasion, with an emphasis on the articulation of feelings. Those abilities are the key to all of those aiming to research the next design innovation opportunity.

Pink provides six guidelines to help develop the new intelligence that contemporary times request. He believes that it is possible to dominate all six senses of the Conceptual New Era, but who acquires the domination first will certainly appreciate the advantaged\textsuperscript{18}. The six senses, or guidelines, are:

\textit{Design} – Moving beyond function to engage the senses.

\textit{Story} – Narrative added to products and services — not just the argument. Best of the six senses.

\textit{Symphony} – Adding invention and big picture thinking (not just detail focus).

\textit{Empathy} – Going beyond logic and engaging emotion and intuition.

\textit{Play} – Bringing humor and light-heartedness to business and products.

\textit{Meaning} – the purpose is the journey, give meaning to life from inside yourself.
When it comes to human thinking, we may build a new paradigm from the already existent intelligence processes, based on which scientists and researchers present their theories and definitions. It is valid to review that two highly recognized human intelligence researchers, Goleman and Pink, built their theories from a reality close to trend analysts. Their theories are of great contribution to trend prospection when associated to the proposition of finding innovation opportunities and interpreting them to possible designs.

One recognizes trend forecasters by their intuitive caption. One of the differentials of that intuition consists in synthetizing opinions, behavior and knowledge of many into one or a few future visions. The networks of trend collection invest in collective intelligence to reach the same result. Mass-knowledge ground the ideas of a trend.

THE MEMES AND THE VIRAL CONTAMINATION PHENOMENON

A meme, as Dawkins writes in *The selfish gene* — already in 1976 — is a cultural version of the gene. That can be justified by the self-reproduction process as an answer to social, ethical, biological and environmental changes that may affect one’s survival. Raymond\(^{19}\) invests in an etymological study of the word *meme* and brings us to their root: the Greek word *mimema*. *Mimema* has the meaning: to imitate. Moreover, the same author points out that the word has evident semblance to the French term *meme* that signifies *the same*, significance that is equally essential to a meme’s composition.

Currently, there are a handful of definitions for the term *meme*. For Dawkins\(^{20}\) — the author who coined the name — a meme is the basic unit of cultural transmission or imitation and its study is *memetic*. He acknowledges that the word *meme* references the Greek word root and resembles the French word. In his defense, the researcher attests that these types of coherent reflexes happened in an unexpected manner, and that as he coined the term, he intended only to create a trick to compare and rhyme with gene.

Plotkin\(^{21}\) proposes a psychological definition in which *meme* consists in the unity of cultural heredity equivalent to a biological gene. It is the interior representation of knowledge. One may also indicate a cognitive definition as propounded by Dennett\(^{22}\). To the author, *meme* is an idea, or a sort of complex idea that constitutes a specific and memorable unity. This idea propagates through vehicles — that are the physical manifestations of a *meme*. The meme exemplified another self-replicating unit with potential significance in explaining human behavior and cultural evolution.
A meme can be anything, from melodies, ideas, verbal expressions, clothes, to specific behaviors, design utensils or build structures. As well as the genes transmit genetic information and migrate from body to body through spermatozoids and ovules, memes are transmitted by memetic endowment that is transferred from a brain to another per imitation processes, through which a person duplicates the behavior of another being, according to the acquired advantages one obtains by doing so. Another module of memetic endowment is education, the procedure to which we submit children and youth aiming at the apprenticeship of disciplines and practices consolidated in the overall culture. Dawkins attests that one imitates another because evolution has recorded that it is easier to survive socially, intellectually, and culturally if one reproduces or duplicates another’s characteristics, particularly if those characteristics offer clear advantages in terms of competition regarding beauty, intelligence or social or cultural superiority.

The exact definition of meme by Dawkins in 1982 in the book *The Extended Phenotype* considers that meme is a unit of information in a mind which existence influences events in a way that copies of itself are created in other minds. The multiplication process explored by Dawkins relates directly to Richard Brodies’ assertion that the memes are the mind viruses.

Martin Raymond\textsuperscript{23} concludes that a trend work as a meme. It infects us as well as this mind virus and its contagious process works similarly as the meme exponential contamination process. When one purchases a piece of cloth, a product, furniture it is usually appreciate it, or some of its attributes were considered attractive, but mostly, because possessing it enhances us with cultural, social and psychological value. The possession of certain products produces feelings of boldness, conservativeness, difference or accomplishment, since the product was associated to people who already possess it and carry their values as well. Furthermore, a product carries a mythological association through the advertisement strategies\textsuperscript{24}. Some people apprehend those associations very wittingly. However, for many other consumer habits, they correspond to unconscious decisions. Those people are limited by following the public conduct.

Sociologists and philosophers of consumer behavior, such as Svendesen\textsuperscript{25}, Lipovetsky\textsuperscript{26}, Baldini\textsuperscript{27}, Wilson\textsuperscript{28}, Mafessoli\textsuperscript{29}, Baudrillard\textsuperscript{30}, and Erner\textsuperscript{31}, among others, believe that people do not have conscious control of their choices. In the foreground of our sub-consciousness and of the surrounding society, perceptive and inadvertent forces operate in addition to the subtle social, environmental and psychological pressures pursued by friends, family, media and even strangers that induce one to follow a certain flow subconsciously. This absence of control happens more often than one may like to believe.

According to Dawkins\textsuperscript{32},

*Just as genes propagate themselves in the gene pool by leaping from body to body via sperms or eggs, so do memes propagate in the meme pool by leaping from brain*
to brain via a process which, in the broad sense, can be called imitation. If a scientist hears, or reads about a good idea they pass it on to their colleagues and students. They mention it in their articles and lectures. If the idea catches on, it can be said to propagate itself, spreading from brain to brain.

When a person germinates a fertile meme in another’s mind, the person literally parasites the other person’s brain, transforming it in a vehicle, a media for the meme propagation, exactly like a virus may parasite a genetic mechanism of a host cell. The cultural transference is analogous to genetic transference, in a sense that, however conservative, it allows the origin of an evolution. Such evolution of a trend that forecasters aim to identify.

**MEMES AS SYMBOLIC CHIPS: SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM**

One should understand the capture and interpretation of zeitgeist pulses as the translation of the cultural language in a specific moment, an investigative report on times yet to come. To assure validation and corroboration of this zeitgeist, spirit of times, or culture momentum is the share of values, the sharing of memes, mainly given by memetics. As stated in the previous division of this paper, memes are the basic unities of cultural diffusion and repetition. They are the symbolic chips, traded, produced, reframed and transmitted within the culture.

One may comprehend as Symbolic Interactionism the sociological explanation for ideas, values, behaviors, or any other memes sharing directly with the theoretical canvas. This sociological slide, based on Cultural Semiotics, known as Russian Semiotics, comprehends that as entities belonging to the same institutions, standards and social structures of a society are subject to the same sources and information logic, the same signals. To the interpretative investigator, and to the trend forecaster, the main goal of the research is to comprehend the social life and the construction of meaning inside a specific cultural context. Symbolic Interactionism considers, then, that the social action is the action in virtue of which subjects provide subjective meanings to experiences and actions, and memes transmit those meanings.

The symbolic Interactionism allows individuals to act and react according to the meaning attributed to social collective definitions, created by socialization processes. The social interaction occurs by a symbol that is passive of interpretation. From that point of view, we understand society as a process in which individuals and society are very much inter-related and human behavior acquires a subjective appeal as a fundamentally necessary part of social dynamics and development.
This theoretical approach may be characterized as qualitative and extremely systematic, whose goal is to evoke theories that allow the apprehension and analysis of social and psychological issues as well as events. The meanings of experiences given by specific groups and the overall culture that guide behavior are consonant with the theoretical assumptions of symbolic interaction. In the world that we live in, nothing possesses autogenous, essential, or intrinsic significance.

Meanings were and are designated by experience and through interaction with objects, actions and their effects on "me". When the meaning is already defined, then it can be related to the object of a specific action. Consequently, the signification process of an object to an individual or a group is given when a human being provides a determined value or importance to the object.

To study human kind is to study society. Humans are the result of the social environment in which they socialize. Parting from that premise, it is understood that acculturation and signification processes arise through, and as, language systems. It is through observation and analysis of systems that anthropologists and sociologists situate resemblances and divergences, select transcriptions and create rich narratives of a culture’s state, paradigm or paradigm shift.

To watch societies and envisage them in many different schemes is the first step to identify the paradigm shifts, or abnormalities, taking place in contemporary times. According to Bauman and May, culture has to do with the introduction and maintenance of a certain order and with the combat with everything that draws us away from that order, as an indication of chaos.

Thus, societies contract structures that conduct activities and cultural manifestations by a cultural code. When analyzing the culturally organized social world, one may notice how structured and articulated the conduct of individuals in specific social surrounding is. As everyday life sociologists have demonstrated, our abilities to accomplish tasks and interact with others require tacit knowledge, without which weaving social lives would not be possible.

To reach a good compression of the culture, the interpretative researcher must dedicate effort into understanding others and the connections established by them. To deal with subjective data, trend forecasters often begin with unstructured texts (verbal or visual), without apparent connections. Effort and mental flexibility to comprehend the links created in between memes and the various value levels credited to memes and their connections are necessary. It requires full attention to, first, map the culture and, then, identify the abnormalities or subversions that will possibly renovate the cultural background.
Trend researchers as culture investigators concern themselves with symptoms and significations. What interests us is the communicative character of signs, memes, social experiences and desires, in a search to clear our cognizance of society.

EXAMPLE OF STUDY: A NEW FREEDOM

As an example resource, we chose to present here a brief summary of a project developed by students of the interdisciplinary course of Trends in the context of the Design Undergraduate Program of the Santa Catarina Federal University (UFSC). The project took place during the first semester of the year of 2013. For the project, students proposed an innovative product or service based on a trend identified directly by them (figure 1). The theoretical framework taught in the classroom corresponded with the theory basis that also sustained this paper; therefore, it qualifies the given example as a suitable demonstration.

The group comprised four students who presented the trend A New Freedom. The trend presents a counter flow as a rescue of nature and the valorization of the individuality and differences of bodies. According to the trend, the contemporary woman searches for a new type of seduction and the body — still a physical attraction element — gives place to personality and attitude as expression forms that transmits feminine security and self-confidence. The freedom consists in getting rid of the exaltation of the body figure and integrating comfort in the shapes — allowing a poetic dialogue between the fabric and the body, which interacts with the proportions of the constructed garment.

To the group, females live in an era in which the psychological comfort renounces the physical comfort. They identify — witness, in their own words — the emergence of a new concept of sensuality that goes beyond the appreciation of the body figure and is no longer a barrier to the physical and psychological comfort. For the students, the contemporary woman moves with elegance and irreverence, and the fluidity and softness of the fabrics allow her to feel light and comfortable on a daily basis, which makes her even more spontaneous and sexy. Along with the research report and the product designed, students produced a trend video (figure 1). The completed video is available at https://goo.gl/4QveyM.
THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS TO TREND ANALYSIS FOR INNOVATION

This paper focused on the accordance of the theories as Symbolic Interactionism, Emotional Intelligence and memetics to a trend research methodology by adjusting the methodological and paradigmatic foundations to the exercise of prospective research on lifestyles’ emerging symptoms. The research elaborated in this report focused on the earlier stages of social and cultural data collection and analysis to a posterior prospection of trends applied to innovative product and service ideas into the scope of an understanding of why and how these trends reveal themselves.

One should understand culture as a system that, as in every system, presents non-linear patterns, attractions that connect certain symbolic chips or instable points. Which means that when considering a systemically context a small dynamic initiated by a mere meme may reach great consequences. Culture is, therefore, a complex collection of elements — or memes — where many independent agents interact with others through a series of possible exchanges. To concentrate on the complex meme interaction is the major work of a trend researcher.

Durkheim relates that “social facts are results of communal life. It is a product of actions and reactions between individual consciences and if it resounds in which one of them, it is due to the special energy that derives from its collective genesis. Each person is drawn by others”. Thus, to study behavior, products and lifestyle of some individuals it is also to attain acknowledgement of characteristics and behavior central inside the cultural corpus. The argument corroborates with Interactionism postulates given that each individual’s pulse echoes the undulations of the spirit of their time — zeitgeist — and its customs.

According to Bauman and May, it is possible to affirm that social phenomena, however obviously inexistent without human beings, do not reside in human beings, but rather outside of them. Just like nature, culture expresses itself through social facts; it becomes intrinsic to the human condition in a society organization. However, those phenomena are not static. It is
proper to the researcher to understand actions that might seem similar to any observer, but
enriched by sense, by meaning. Thus, the complex design of cultural studies is imperative
when realizing that human actions need to be understood more than to be explained.

The division of disciplines and disjuncture in the current educational system makes it
impossible to learn “what is woven together”, i.e., understanding the complex. The more we get
used to subdividing the knowledge, the more difficult it is to understand the holistic panorama.
For Juvenal Arduini38, the holistic view perceives the universe as an interlaced whole, but it is
diversified. The consistency of holism resides in the articulation of an organic and harmonious
whole that preserves the identity of each being. This vision is both horizontal and vertical,
as it encompasses the totality of beings that compose the world and captures the density
of each being. We must be aware that the linear logic is not the only possible path. In fact,
the complex study of interaction connected to meme analysis seems much more plausible to
cultural studies.

By investing in approaches that conceive the research of cultural trends through more
flexible conduct it is possible that a more intense and prolix collection of changes’ dynamics
renovate themselves continuously in a reflexive manner. The meme collection, correlation
and interpretation as symbolic chips should be the understructure of trend research methods
and innovation prospective studies, when conducted by a critical and explorative analysis of
events, behavior and their significance given by society.

The Interactional Symbolism based research enriched by the memetic theory defended by
Dawkins and the integrated intellectual canvas stated by Pink allows fora theoretical corpus to
sustain a pragmatic and elaborate method of trend analysis and interpretation. The qualitative
research has merit in terms of the expansion of knowledge, which is mostly due to the efficiency
in the exploration of new areas of knowledge and the interrelationship with the existing ground
knowledge derived from the humanities.

Since studying the being in its complexity and collectivity by lifestyle associated perspectives
and cultural, political, religious and social economic framework, the trend investigator enables
themselves to better understand the human as they are, how they think, what and how they
feel, what constitutes being alone and what is incorporated from their groups of sharing. Thus,
the report provided by this professional, a true culture hunter, lies on a more solid base that will
also reverberate in the design of innovative products and services that are more likely to meet
the future consumer demand.
DISCUSSION

This paper endeavored to expose an alternative theoretical composition of a background for trend research and analysis. As we unveil the rich possibilities of incorporating recent theories to Symbolic Interactionism, our future goal is to recreate a methodology for trend researching and innovation for the Trend Seminars of Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC/Brazil) and MOODlab: Laboratory of Market Observation and Oriented Design (LOGO/UFSC). The trend observatory proposes to investigate the social and cultural fields for reporting the results aiming to contribute to the process of innovation.

Parting from documental bibliographic research on social sciences, neuroscience, anthropology and overall qualitative investigations a theoretical foundation was built to the further development of a prospective trend research methodology — which will result from the studies continuity. The — still to be — model aims to allow the proposition of valid and plausible projections based on cultural change observed and examined through a meme interaction scientific method, suggesting the validation of a delimited and concluded hypothesis.

The theoretical choice will allow the monitoring of data derived from diverse knowledge fields, such as: politics, economy, culture, technology, business, etc. The meticulous analysis of those influences plays the role of orienting a compass for transversal and holistic symbolic interaction analysis that enables a sensible recommendation to the various niches of commerce, grounded on cultural trends.

The observation, analysis and interpretation of trends — through memes or symbolic chips — is what guides the great industry sectors to the genuine desires and requests of the consumer population. For Trendwatching, a trend is a manifestation of something that is innovatively unchaining or serving consumer needs, desires and values. The deep desires remain the same, but behaviors and ways to satiate them are in constant motion. Therefore, it is required to know the basic desires and paradigms within the culture in order to identify the changes and innovations purposed by memes.

At a time when information acceleration and availability allow for access to general knowledge, the difficulty seems to be not only to evaluate the sources, but also to organize and synthesize them. However, to analyze them, it is imperative to do so with detachment in order to understand the phenomena as they actually are, thereby avoiding major failures. The lack of a method leaves room for frivolous and, therefore, dangerous approaches. Thus, the use of a methodology that is well grounded in theory is necessary to assure the organization, legitimacy and alleged impartiality of the assembled information.
Notes:


4 Idem.


10 MCCracken, Grant, *Chief Culture Officer: como a cultura pode determinar o sucesso ou fracasso de uma organização*, 2011.


13 Idem, p.15.

14 Ibidem.


16 Idem.


21 PLOTKIN, Henry, “People do more than imitate”, 2000, pp. 72-73.


35 Idem.


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