ARTICLES

ASSEMBLAGED BY DESIRE: POTTERHEADS' PRODUCTIVE CONSUMPTION

Agenciados pelo desejo: O consumo produtivo dos potterheads

Mediados por el deseo: El consumo productivo de los potterheads

ABSTRACT

The Harry Potter saga became one of the cultural products with a major impact on the twenty-first century. Its fans, called potterheads, relate in a social space known as fandom. Their practices are based on the appropriation of the cultural text in a productive consumption process within a context of participatory culture. Assuming desire from the perspective of Deleuzian assemblage theory, which presents this concept as a flow of productive energy that is articulated through a collective force, this study aimed to understand how potterheads' productive consumption is assemblaged by desire. We therefore explored multifocal data concerning practices of potterheads available on digital platforms using Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. Our results revealed that potterheads' desire assemblage maintains their bond with the canonical universe of the saga, as a way of maintaining identity and security in the transition to adult life, through relationships in the fandom and in pursuit of broader social legitimacy. The study contributes theoretically by adopting the Deleuzian notion of desire as a lens to understand the collective action of consumers in cultural contexts of practice.

KEYWORDS | *Potterheads, prosumption, desire, assemblage, Deleuze.*

RESUMO

A saga Harry Potter tornou-se um dos produtos culturais de maior impacto do século XXI. Seus fãs, chamados potterheads, relacionam-se em um espaço social conhecido como fandom. Suas práticas pautam-se na apropriação do texto cultural, num processo de consumo produtivo, em meio a um contexto de cultura participativa. Assumindo o desejo do ponto de vista da teoria deleuziana do agenciamento, em que tal conceito é apresentado como um fluxo de energia produtiva, articulada por meio de uma força coletiva, o presente trabalho teve por objetivo compreender como o consumo produtivo dos potterheads é agenciado pelo desejo. Para tal, exploramos dados multifocais referentes a práticas dos potterheads disponíveis em plataformas digitais, por meio da análise de discurso foucaultiana. Nossos resultados revelam que o agenciamento de desejos dos potterheads mantém seu vínculo com o universo canônico da saga, como forma de manutenção dessa identidade e de segurança na transição para a vida adulta, o que ocorre por meio das relações no fandom e na busca de uma legitimidade social mais ampla. A contribuição teórica da pesquisa evidencia-se na adoção da noção deleuziana de desejo como lente para se compreender a ação coletiva de consumidores em contextos culturais de prática.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE | *Potterheads, prossumo, desejo, agenciamento, Deleuze.*

ANDRÉ LUIZ MARANHÃO DE SOUZA-LEÃO [1]
aleao21@hotmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0002-7660-5845

FLÁVIA ZIMMERLE DA NÓBREGA COSTA [2]
flaviazimmerle@hotmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0002-9210-7889

[1]Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, Departamento de Ciências Administrativas - Recife - PE, Brazil

[2]Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, Centro Acadêmico do Agreste - Recife - PE, Brazil

RESUMEN

La saga Harry Potter se convirtió en uno de los productos culturales de mayor impacto del siglo XXI. Sus fanes, llamados potterheads, se relacionan en un espacio social conocido como fandom. Sus prácticas se basan en la apropiación del texto cultural, en un proceso de consumo productivo, en medio de un contexto de cultura participativa. Al asumir el deseo del punto de vista de la teoría deleuziana de la mediación, en que tal concepto se presenta como un flujo de energía productiva, articulada por medio de una fuerza colectiva, el presente trabajo tuvo por objetivo comprender cómo el consumo productivo de los potterheads es mediado por el deseo. Para tal, exploramos datos multifocales referentes a prácticas de los potterheads disponibles en plataformas digitales, por medio del análisis de discurso foucaultiano. Nuestros resultados revelan que la mediación de deseos de los potterheads mantiene su vínculo con el universo canónico de la saga, como forma de mantenimiento de esa identidad y de seguridad en la transición a la vida adulta, lo que ocurre por medio de las relaciones en el fandom y en la búsqueda de una legitimidad social más amplia. La contribución teórica de la investigación se evidencia en la adopción de la noción deleuziana de deseo como lente para comprender la acción colectiva de consumidores en contextos culturales de práctica.

PALABRAS CLAVE | *Potterheads, prosumo, deseo, mediación, Deleuze.*

André Luiz Maranhão de Souza-Leão | Flávia Zimmerle da Nóbrega Costa

INTRODUCTION

Recently, the entertainment industry has been one of the world's fastest growing industries, and Brazil represents one of the industry's most promising markets (International Trade Administration, 2016). One of the most successful products of this industry is the Harry Potter saga, whose book series has been the bestselling youth and teen literature during the first decade of the twenty-first century and one of the most successful sagas in the history of cinema. The narrative was developed in seven volumes, produced over a 17-year period, and translated into more than 60 languages, which makes Harry Potter one of the most powerful contemporary cultural texts (Brown & Patterson, 2009, 2010).

The cultural products provide their fans, as private consumers, raw materials over which identities are constructed (Guschwan, 2012). Through a high involvement with the products and an intensive exchange within communities, meanings and values are produced by and for their members (Boulaire & Cova, 2013). New modes of sociability are generated, legitimizing a form of existence where the affinities and relationships maintain the entertainment, production, and assemblage, inside and outside the *fandom* – the social space where these activities occur (Lee, 2011).

According to Jenkins (2009), the relationship networks established between *pop* culture fans, cultural producers, and technologies occur through a type of collaborative construction associated with the consumption of a cultural product, globally and democratically established, in a specific behavior of participatory culture. Therefore, fans consumed the products and changed how the cultural products were produced, distributed, and consumed so far.

The productive consumer has been understood based on a simultaneous process of production and consumption and is, therefore, called the prosumer (Cova & Cova, 2012; Dujarier, 2016; Eden, 2015; Ritzer, 2013, 2015). In a close relationship with communities and producers, prosumers co-create meanings and values that benefit themselves and, consequently, may add value to products and brands (Anderson, Hamilton, & Tonner, 2016; Kähr, Nyffenegger, Krohmer, & Hoyer, 2016; Troye & Supphellen, 2012). Hence, some authors evaluate whether the practices of consumers might reinforce or destabilize brand identities, repelling or promoting its audience (Parmentier & Ficher, 2015; Pongsakornrungsilp & Schroeder, 2011). Specifically, as for fans, this behavior is pervaded for their affective relationship with the cultural product, where consumers act passionately, militantly, creatively, and collaboratively (Jenkins, 2009).

However, what propels and maintains the strong bond between fans and cultural products? What drives the *potterheads*'

behavior and their global and collaborative articulation? Based on Belk, Ger, and Askegaard (2003), this could be considered a passionate consumption centered on desire, which here is not necessarily understood as hedonic, aesthetic, or high-involvement consumption, but rather associated with the experience of aspiration in relation to variations of will and ability to control desires that involve objects and states of passion. Based on the Deleuzian concept, Ruckenstein (2015) highlights the contribution of understanding desire as established in the relationships and not rooted in the lack – as commonly regarded by consumer research –, arguing that, in a participatory culture and from the point of view of prosumers' practices, desire is configured and established in the motion flows among people, products, and market, becoming a sort of "bond" that permeates and energizes the produced relationships of recognition and involvement. Similarly, Kozinets, Patterson, and Ashman (2016) claim that the Deleuzian notion of desire is revealed as a productive energy flow, articulated by means of a collective force, aligned with the understanding of virtually established socio-cultural behaviors. Deleuze and Guattari (2010) understand human beings as machines of desire. For the authors, desire is something inherent and that wants to be experienced. Therefore, to desire is to always build an assemblage, which is a production invested in the social field.

Thus, by understanding desire as an aspect capable of clarifying the dynamics of the productive consumption process and based on the theoretical foundation of the Deleuzian concept of desire, the present study assumes that by interacting in their *fandom*, *potterheads* form an assemblage of desire. Thus, the question of our study is presented as: how is the *potterheads*' productive consumption assembled by desire?

Brown and Patterson (2010) highlight the potential of using the Harry Potter saga for the empirical investigation of the concept of desire. When seeking to understand how this force acts in social spaces, we aim to improve the understanding in the field of the *Consumer Culture Theory* (CCT), which is a fundamental concept in consumer research. In turn, the use of the Deleuzian concept favors the pluralism of the theoretical views of the field, especially because it is a theoretical contribution that displaces the understanding of desire as something individually experienced with its conception as a collective practice.

THE FAN AS A PRODUCTIVE CONSUMER IN BRAND COMMUNITIES

The fan has become a growing social identity, which can be explained by the combination of the growth of the media and

entertainment industry that has occurred in the second half of the last century and the relatively recent arrival of digital technologies (Jenkins, 2006). In notions that have been widely accepted since the beginning of the 1990s, the period when fans started to become an academic interest, Fiske (1992) establishes that the fan is, simultaneously, a user and active producer of cultural capital, which occurs through his/her relationship with *pop* culture products. Similarly, according to Jenkins (1992), fans are readers who write, spectators who participate, and consumers who produce. The understanding that fans are active has been widely adopted, especially due to the interest in analyzing them in the context of the so-called Web 2.0, whose logic strengthens the participation of its users (Bennett, 2014; Hills, 2013; Pearson, 2010).

From a consumer research perspective, the fan can be understood from the logic of productive consumption, which has been discussed under the concept of prosumption, a term that emphasizes the understanding of the undefined boundaries between production and consumption practices (Eden, 2015; Ritzer, Dean, & Jurgenson, 2012). The prosumer undertakes an increasing proportion of tasks in his or her consumption, which are traditionally considered production (Ellsworth-Krebs & Reid, 2016; Ritzer, 2010). Much emphasis has been given to the prosumer's role as the one responsible for the work, appropriated by the producer, in the production of consumed products and services (Dujarier, 2016; Rieder & Voß, 2010; Ritzer, 2015). However, according to Ritzer and Jurgenson (2010), although this may be true when considering the provision of traditional services, where the participation of prosumers is compulsory, predefined, and often controlled by the producer, the same cannot be true in the context of new prosumption forms associated with Web 2.0 because in these cases, the participation of prosumers is voluntary, desired, and difficult to control.

In this sense, Ruckenstein (2015) claims that the emphasis on this process became more evident within social relationships that are increasingly affected and molded by digital technologies, where a participatory culture was established and new forms of interactions and collaborations were promoted. The internet became a platform widely used by consumers to collectively develop knowledge about a specific product and relate to each other and producers (Cova & Cova, 2012).

According to Jenkins (1992, 2006), fans actively share and exchange knowledge, establishing a collective intelligence around cultural products through which communities such as *fandoms* are built. As any cultural formation, the *fandom* establishes its own rules (Schreyer, 2015) and provides their members the possibility to establish a sense of union and cohesion (Hewer, Gannon, & Cordina, 2015), as well as a model of cultural practice (Johnston,

2015). Hence, it is understood as a space where identities are built (Porat, 2010; Seregina & Schouten, 2016) and meanings are created (Jenkins, 2006).

As this process is developed through a practice associated with consumption, fan communities have obtained a growing interest in the CTT field (Cristofari & Guitton, 2016), especially from their understanding as brand communities (Muniz & O'Guinn, 2001). The *fandom* can be understood as a means for fans to interact with brands (Jenkins, 2009, 2014) or even a negotiated form of sharing the ownership of brands (McCulloch, 2013). Based on the relationship of fans with the franchise of media products, Robert Kozinets (2014) has proposed the concept of *brand fandom* (Brown, Kozinets, & Sherry, 2003; Cova, Kozinets, & Shankar, 2007). For the author (Kozinets, 2014), thanks to a base of fans – and not of conventional consumers – the franchise brands of media products can be refreshed or even successfully relaunched.

Schau, Muniz, and Arnould (2009) start from the concepts of consumption practices to understand how consumers create value in brands communities, which suggests that the observation of fan practices in *brand fandoms* can be an adequate way to understand how they produce meaning in such communities. Duffet (2013) lists a series of fan practices, which are classified into three types: connection, where fans connect to the media product they admire through in-person contacts, as occurring through autograph and photo sessions; appropriation, for example, where fans appropriate the narrative contents to produce, from these, new content called *fanfictions*; and *performance*, which is related to practices derived from products of which one is a fan, revealed for instance, in the production of information content about such products, in the production of videos and adaptation of songs based on their narratives, and characterization of characters. To these practices, we can also add discussions in social networks (Booth & Kelly, 2013; Gibbons & Dixon, 2010; Watson, 2010).

DESIRE AS ASSEMBLAGE IN THE DELEUZIAN THEORY

According to Ruckenstein (2015), the driving force of prosumers' activity is desire – assuming that Deleuzian thought indicates that desire should be understood as relational, produced, and continuously fed in social meetings – with an intensity that acts as a sort of bond of the social boby. In these terms, desire always derives from a meeting of forces. However, it does not wait for this meeting as the moment for action but assembles and builds itself on it. Therefore, the desire of prosumers is formed and intensified

in daily practices of consumers and their relationships with the product and market.

The concept of desire was established as one of the most adopted concepts in the field of consumer research. Its most commonly adopted understanding is based on the psychoanalytical theory, founded on the concept that desire is caused by the lack of the object of desire, which, never under possession, generates a constant state of dissatisfaction that becomes a driver of human behavior (Lacan, 1977). Differently from the dominant line, Belk et al. (2003) support the anthropological concept of desire, which happens within cultural contexts and is understood as an incarnated passion that involves the pursuit for alterity and sociability, as well as for danger and inaccessibility, in a process of cultural socialization permeated by tensions between seduction and morality. However, according to Kozinets et al. (2016), for such a core concept in consumer research, the notion of desire was the object of little reassessment, especially when considering the current context where consumers combine and connect collectively with their wills using new technologies. Based on such arguments, the authors utilize the Deleuzian approach to understand desire in the digital era.

Contrary to the established psychoanalytical tradition, the Deleuzian notion of desire is based precisely on the claim that it is not based on lack. In the studies with Félix Guattari (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, 2010), the concept of desire is presented in a positive and productive way, understood as an inherent expression of social force that empowers connected social bodies. This force can be understood as a productive energy flow that is directed and transformed in specific interests (Kozinets et al., 2016).

The Deleuzian concept of desire is inserted in a broader approach, named the Assemblage Theory. Articulated as assemblage, desire is understood as an experiential phenomenon, which is external to the individual (i.e., social). The assemblage should be understood here as a complex arrangement of heterogenic elements (e.g., objects, bodies, experiences) that combine in a productive and functional way, never as a whole but as multiplicity (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, 2010). Hence, assemblage can be understood as an "arrangement" (Nail, 2017) where different configurations propitiate different practices (Araujo & Kjellberg, 2016; Scaraboto, 2015), which can be understood as a system susceptible to stabilization or destabilization by its components – which could be applied in how fans can stabilize or destabilize brand identities (Parmentier & Fischer, 2015).

Deleuze and Guattari (2010) articulate the notion of assemblage as machines operated by desire, culminating with the understanding that assemblages are machines of desire. The machine's structure is formed by three characteristics: an abstract machine, understood as its own existence condition, which refers not to something that concretely exists, but to relationship networks that allow its operation; the concrete arrangement, which refers to the elements that compose it materially and propitiate its relationships; and its agents, which are understood not as self-conscious subjects, but rather as mobile operators connected to the network (i.e., abstract machine) by its concrete elements (Nail, 2017).

Such machines are always coupled to others (Deleuze & Guattari, 2010), part of more complex systems (institutional, social, and cultural) called territories, through which desire connects experiences of social and psychological levels (Kozinets et al., 2016). Despite its name, a territory does not refer to a fixed space, but to the result, always dynamic and momentaneous, of arrangement processes between machines of desire. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) articulate the notion of territories as the result of territorialization, which is the process through which machines of desire connect. However, this notion is better understood from the deterritorialization and reterritorialization processes, because assemblages are susceptible to continuous decoupling and coupling, respectively. Hence, every time a territory results in a reterritorialization process – which infers a deterritorialization – it is different from its prior version.

Therefore, each machine considers the other's production as a product, which occurs as desire displaces through the productive unconscious, determined by connection, disjunction, and conjunction syntheses that produce subjectivities (Deleuze & Guattari, 2010). This productive unconscious is presented using the concept of body without organs (BwO), a virtual concept found in a potential state, loaded by various possibilities of forms of action and for being machines of desire (Deleuze, 2000). Therefore, the BwO offers the conditions for new forms of experience (Deleuze & Guattari, 2010), helping desire to configure as a liberating force of creativity and innovation (Kozinets et al., 2016). This understanding corroborates with Firat and Venkatesh (1995), adhering to the definition of the "new consumer" elaborated by Cova and Cova (2012).
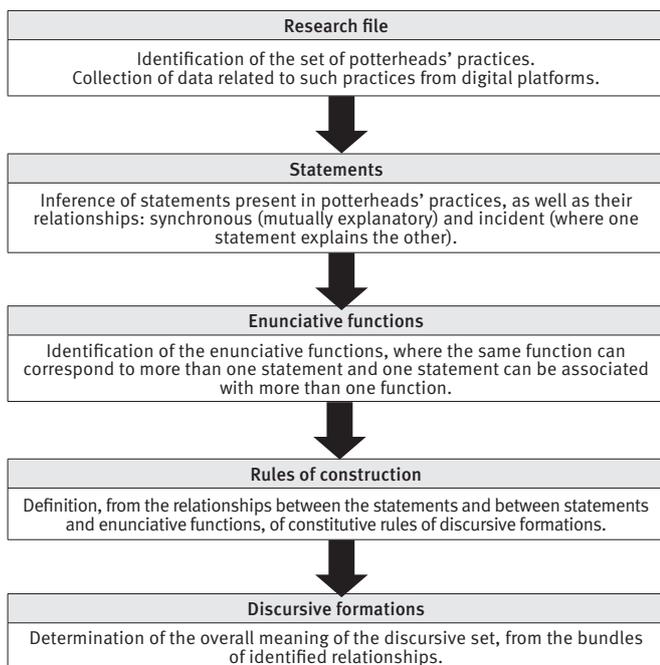
METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

In line with the adopted theory, it is understood that the most appropriate analytical pathway for this study is discursive analysis. Among the available options, the Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) has been adopted, as its philosophy is similar to Gilles Deleuze's. In this sense, Deleuze (2008) sustains the existence of a common philosophical concept between himself and Foucault.

Exhibit 1. Analytical categories

Concepts	Description
Statement	The statement, which represents the elementary discursive unit, is the existence mode (historical condition of possibility) of a set of signs that are presented as interdependent knowledge.
Enunciative function	Statements gain existence linked to their functions, which are able to reveal contents. The enunciative function indicates its performance in discursive activities, showing how they operate.
Rule of construction	The rules of construction are closely linked to the discursive formations and determine the boundaries and the possible forms of the saying.
Discursive formation	The formation reveals the regularity of the discursive field, pertinent to a specific time and space, given how the statement relates to the functions, which in turn are regulated by rules that indicate these conditions.

Source: Foucault, 2009.

Figure 1. Synthesis of the analytical process

Research file
Identification of the set of potterheads' practices.
Collection of data related to such practices from digital platforms.

Statements
Inference of statements present in potterheads' practices, as well as their relationships: synchronous (mutually explanatory) and incident (where one statement explains the other).

Enunciative functions
Identification of the enunciative functions, where the same function can correspond to more than one statement and one statement can be associated with more than one function.

Rules of construction
Definition, from the relationships between the statements and between statements and enunciative functions, of constitutive rules of discursive formations.

Discursive formations
Determination of the overall meaning of the discursive set, from the bundles of identified relationships.

The methodological organization of this study was based on Leão et al. (Camargo & Leão, 2015; Costa & Leão, 2012; Leão,

Ferreira, & Gomes, 2016), who presented the method based on Foucault's four fundamental analytical categories (Exhibit 1), analyzed sequentially with the interpretation of the data (Figure 1).

Foucault (2009) considers *file* as the collection of documents used for the FDA. In a way, according to its function, it could be compared to what is understood as *corpus* in a qualitative study (Bauer & Aarts, 2002). To build the file, the *potterheads*' practice criteria have been used. In addition, to corroborate the theoretical concept built for the study, Foucault (2009) understands that practices are responsible for institutionalizing discourses, crystallizing them in the social medium. In total, 21 common practices have been identified in the *fandom* (Exhibit 2).

Exhibit 2. *Potterheads'* practices

To accuse poser

To adore the universe

To collect *merchandise*

To buy books and movies

To comment about the universe

To diffuse the saga content

To participate in the selection of the houses

To participate in fan meetings

To participate in movie and book releases

Re-edit/Remix cultural contents

To worship the artists from the movies and the author of the saga

To produce *fan fiction*

To produce *fan art*

To write specialized digital media

To play quidditch

To duel

To test small beans of all flavors

To get tattoos

To *cosplay*

To watch or read again movies or books

Figure 2. **Relationship map of the discursive formation**
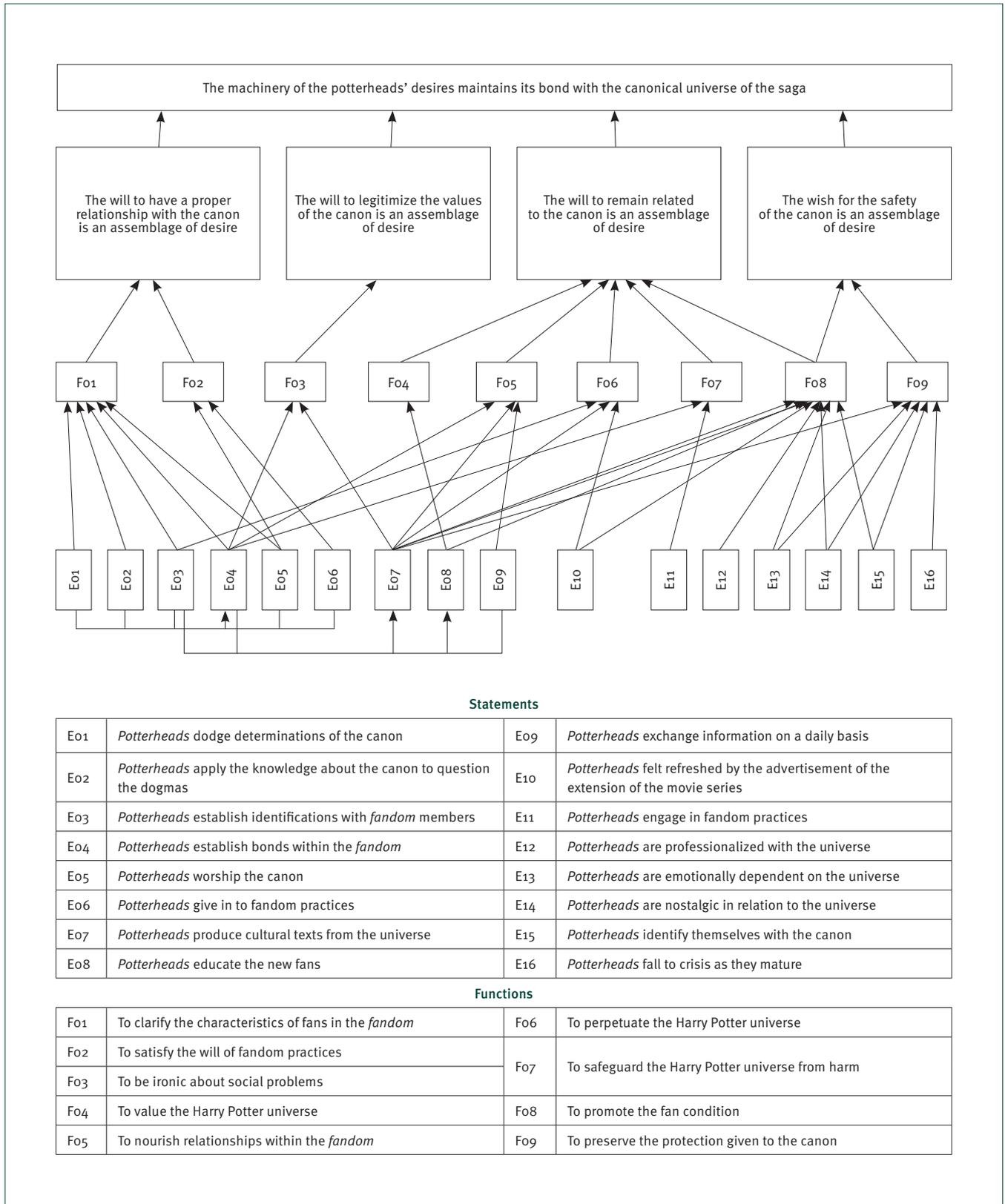
Statements

E01	*Potterheads* dodge determinations of the canon	E09	*Potterheads* exchange information on a daily basis
E02	*Potterheads* apply the knowledge about the canon to question the dogmas	E10	*Potterheads* felt refreshed by the advertisement of the extension of the movie series
E03	*Potterheads* establish identifications with *fandom* members	E11	*Potterheads* engage in fandom practices
E04	*Potterheads* establish bonds within the *fandom*	E12	*Potterheads* are professionalized with the universe
E05	*Potterheads* worship the canon	E13	*Potterheads* are emotionally dependent on the universe
E06	*Potterheads* give in to fandom practices	E14	*Potterheads* are nostalgic in relation to the universe
E07	*Potterheads* produce cultural texts from the universe	E15	*Potterheads* identify themselves with the canon
E08	*Potterheads* educate the new fans	E16	*Potterheads* fall to crisis as they mature

Functions

F01	To clarify the characteristics of fans in the *fandom*	F06	To perpetuate the Harry Potter universe
F02	To satisfy the will of fandom practices	F07	To safeguard the Harry Potter universe from harm
F03	To be ironic about social problems		
F04	To value the Harry Potter universe	F08	To promote the fan condition
F05	To nourish relationships within the *fandom*	F09	To preserve the protection given to the canon

79 © RAE | São Paulo | **58(1)** | **Jan-Feb 2018** | 74-86

ISSN 0034-7590

Multifocal data (Flick, 2009) composed the file of this study, which consisted of a total of 593 documents, of which 280 were in Portuguese and 313 were in English, because the *fandom* has no geographical borders. In total, 67 videos were collected from the YouTube platform and 526 images and texts were from different platforms of social networks, blogs, and *websites*. Two criteria were adopted for the selection of the data: relating to the *potterheads*' interaction, with no interest on the comments of third parties about their practices; and contemplating the *potterheads*' practices in this context.

The main issues encountered in the study were, on one hand, due to the fact that social media are under a constant dynamic of production and exclusion of information, and on the other hand, because the *fandom* is a social space marked by a particular culture where researchers do not belong. To tackle the first difficulty, data were collected from different social media, considering that the contents produced in the *fandom* are reproduced in different media. As to the second, the consulting support of two fans of the saga was adopted and these fans played an important role in the solution of questions that contributed to the recognition of practices and the definition of the media to be accessed for the collection of data.

Finally, the investigation adopted the quality criteria of qualitative research (Paiva, Leão, & Mello, 2011). The representativeness of the *corpus* of the research was contemplated by means of the abundance of information acquired about the object, acknowledging the wide variety of expressions of different media. Reflectiveness was adopted throughout the entire analytical process, where constant inquiries attempted to address the numerous relationships evidenced by the empirical data and theoretical foundation. The triangulation of data occurred in the validation of the analysis performed by the authors. The rich and detailed description of the study is presented within the limits stipulated for the study.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESULTS

This study led us to identify a discursive formation, related to how the *potterheads*' machinery of desire maintains its bond with the canonical universe of the saga. It is based on 16 statements, nine functions, and four rules. Figure 2 presents these elements in their relationships. The transversal norm of these rules as assemblage of desires that refer to wills establishes them as the core aspects that make them singular. The discursive formation represents the synthesis of these singularities. All of them refer to a particularity of the *potterheads*' relationship with the canon

of the saga: adequacy, values, maintenance, and safety. Based on this, the results are presented using the rules of construction as reference.

The relationship with the canon

The first rule refers to how the fans bond to the canon through their relationships in the *fandom*, discussing the adequacy conditions to establish the longevity of this relationship. Two enunciative functions are the basis for this rule: one concerning how *potterheads* establish their characteristics in the *fandom* (Fo1), and another about the will to participate in *fandom* practices as a way to obtain sensation, pleasure, and accomplishment (Fo2). The first function is related to five statements, which refer to: the resistance of fans to norms and procedures established by the canon (Eo1); the appropriation, by the fans, of canon's contents to question their dogmas (Eo2); the mutual recognition of similar characteristics (Eo3); the link established by mutual actions of influence, support, and coercion that take place in the *fandom* (Eo4); and the actions that prove the conviction of accepting the affiliation to the identity profiles defined by the canon (Eo5). This statement is also related to the second function, which is connected to another and refers to *potterheads*' motivation to participate in *fandom* activities (Eo6). The statement that concerns the bond established in the *fandom* (Eo4) derives (incident relationship) from the others, which in turn relate to each other (synchronous relationships).

To illustrate the spectrum of relationships that reveals this rule, an example is presented about a discussion of fans about the initial membership process to the *fandom*. The condition implies, similarly to new students in a magic school in the saga, the predisposition to participate in a selection that links the fan as a member of one of the houses where such students are allocated, as determined by the Sorting Hat, which makes this indication by reading the minds of the applicants, according to his or her personality. Nevertheless, the will of a student may prevail. This occurred to Harry Potter himself, who noted that Sorting Hat was unsure between two houses and repeated his preference mentally, influencing the hat's final decision, which assigned him to one house and changed his mind. In the saga, this is a decisive selection, given that the houses are the scope of the performance of activities and the establishment of relationships, thus becoming an identity for life. Within the *fandom*, this is considered with the same seriousness, and thus, despite the many tests available for this purpose on the internet, the result considered true by the fans is Pottermore's, a *website* created by the author of the saga, considered canonical by the

fans, as the books themselves. The selection should be done only once, but the result does not always please the fan, who is forced to clarify his or her identity in the *fandom* or, more radically, to cheat the rules and repeat the selection, a fact that requires the gain of support and justification in front of the group, keeping his or her condition as a member.

The section below illustrates this aspect:

> That was stuck in my mind. I do not want Hufflepuff. Did I hesitate in some questions? What if the Sorting Hat is broken? I wanted another chance, just as Harry Potter had. Unfortunately, to fulfill my wish, I had to wait for several months before the website officially opened, to register another email and to start the adventure from scratch.
> But it was worth it. Now, my dashboard is dark blue and there is a very beautiful eagle in the middle. I do not like conformism. If I am talking about Harry Potter, participating to something that gives me the opportunity to experience a little the witch world, I want to feel it as close as possible. If I was outraged by Umbrige's abuse of authority, I would have also joined Dumbledore's Army. If I believed that Sirius was innocent and had the opportunity to help him, I like to think that I would do that. And if my opinion was not in line with the Sorting Hat's, why would I be silent?
> Therefore, if you believe you were assigned to the wrong house, do not be afraid: register another account, yes, and try to get in the house that you want. But be honest in your answers, as I was. I do not know if the beta version had some issues, if I was distracted or I do not know, someone casted Confundus on me and made me answer everything differently. What matters is that I am happy and excited to earn more and more points for the house of my heart. (Potterish, 2012, our translation)

In the selected example, a fan applies to one of the houses as a *fandom* practice (E06), following one of the essential steps to prove her loyalty to the canon (E05), therefore qualifying to benefit from collective practices (F02). However, the fan reports his/her discomfort with the result of the selection and

questions whether she would have the right to a second chance, as it happened to the main character of the saga, using the story itself (E02) to justify breaking a rule (E01) as a way to bond to characteristics with which she identified more (F01). Thus, the fan tries to create identifications among participants (E03) and to encourage them to also circumvent this rule (E01). The bundles identified in this example discuss the desire to have a proper relationship with the canon, as this should be a more pleasant and truthful experience to fans' expectations. Circumventing one rule indicates the resistance as a mode of legitimized condition in the *fandom*, yet, only because it was based on knowledge of its own established morale.

This rule indicates how *potterheads* establish their relationship with the universe canon, searching for balance between the established rules and their own wishes and convictions. This is possible in the *fandom* space due to the support of the community for actions considered correct, as well as the rejection of unaccepted ones. This is how the relationship established between fans and canon, through the fandom, is based on adequacy logic, established in the balance of forces.

From the saga to the world

The second rule refers to *potterheads*' desire for canon values to be legitimized as real social values. It is based on a single function, related to the use of canonic signs to produce social critic using humor and irony (F03), which is related to both statements with synchronous relationships that refer to the relationships established in the *fandom* using support, coercion, and mutual influences (E04) and the production of cultural texts inspired and derived from signs of the saga universe (E07).

To illustrate this bundle of relationships, the image of a character (Dolores Umbridge) who is hated by fans is used. She imposed a dictatorial regime in the Hogwarts fiction school during her short-term mandate as director, revealing pleasure in torturing the students physically and psychologically. The most common punishment she adopted was to force students to repetitively write sentences with a magic pen that used the user's blood as ink, leaving a scar of the text on the skin. Such production exhibits the text "The punishment to those accused of defending LGBT rights will be to write down 1000 times: 'There is no homophobia.'" The image is a composition with the character (E07), ironically used to make a social critique of the fact that the existence of homophobia is denied (F03). The production reveals a social posture considered hypocritical and that aims to legitimize the value of the canon (i.e., tolerance of differences) more widely in the society.

The rule shows how the canon of the saga is used by fans as reference to elaborate debates about established social values, many of which affect their choices and social life. Thus, some *potterheads*' practices are presented as political positions directed to certain values they considered unjust and countered by values present in the saga with which they identify. This action becomes possible as the *fandom* is presented as an environment providing emotional support to their members.

Potterheads forever

The next rule reflects the *potterheads'* desire to maintain their bond to the canon even during adulthood. This rule was based on five functions. The first refers to the effort of the fan to spread the value of the Harry Potter universe (Fo4) and derives from a statement regarding the guidance of new fans' involvement with the universe (Eo8). The second function refers to maintaining bonds between fans (Fo5) and relates synchronously to statements that discuss the bonds (Eo5), the exchange of information (Eo9), and production (Eo7) within the scope of the *fandom*. The third function refers to the promise to keep the universe alive (Fo6) and is based on two related statements, once again about the producing cultural texts based on the universe (Eo7), now concerning the identification between fans (Eo3), and also one that relates to the excitement caused by the advertisement of new products of the franchise (E10). The fourth function relates to the aim of fans to safeguard the image of the universe (Fo7), based on two statements about the establishment of relationships between *potterheads* (Eo4) and their dedication to *fandom* practices (E11). Finally, the last function of this group is attempting to keep the condition of the fan alive (Fo8). This function is related to seven statements, three of which were already presented in this group (Eo7, Eo8, and E10). The remaining refer to professional competencies developed in the *fandom* (E12), to nostalgic memories of experiences related to the universe (E14), the affinities of the fans with the canon (E15), and their strong affective bonds with the universe (E13). In this group of statements, the first three maintain synchronous relationships between each other and incidents about the last.

This bundle of relationships has been illustrated using an image that refers to the gap below the stairs that was used as Harry Potter's room when he was still a child and was brought up by his aunt and uncle after the death of his parents. It is also complemented by a text that states, in a playful tone, if a *potterhead*'s son is not like his parents, he will be treated as the character in the indicated situation: "My children must

adore Harry Potter, otherwise I will just put them inside a cabinet under some stairs. So, they will not be forced to love Harry Potter... They will become Harry Potter." This example shows the objective of converting descendants to new fans (Eo8), and it evidences the *potterheads'* affective dependency in relation to the universe of the saga (E13), given that they feel the need to transfer their legacy to their offspring. Therefore, they disseminate the value of the universe (Fo4) when restating their condition as fans (Fo8). These aspects confirm *potterheads'* desire to maintain their active relationship with the saga's universe beyond their youth.

The rule refers to a managerial challenge. The Harry Potter universe is developed as youth and young adult narrative, and its fan base is formed by people who grew up following it and are now beginning their adult life. However, these fans refuse to accept the end of their bond with the saga with this passage and make an effort to keep it alive and ensure its future existence. This process is the means to keep their identity (i.e., *potterhead*) alive, which occurs by strengthening the relationships within the *fandom* with the assumption of responsibility to propagate, externally, the legacy of the saga.

A basis for life

The last rule refers to the *potterheads'* desire to feel safe in relation to the canon, a condition presented as a maturing crisis coincident with the end of the saga. The rule is based on two functions that refer to fans' attempt to maintain this condition (Fo8), as well as the protection provided by their relationship with the universe (Fo9). The first function is the only one in the study that relates to two rules and, therefore, was already discussed. The second refers to five statements, also previously discussed (Eo7, E13, E14, E15, and E16).

To illustrate this bundle of relationships, a post was found where a *potterhead* reports in video how his fan condition became a job:

> This week came a muggle, which in this case was a real muggle, not that he is not a witch; this week a big idiot came to my twitter talking about the fact that I am 24 years old and record videos about the HP series on You Tube, exactly. I was judged, the guy started taking a bunch of crap because I still record videos about the HP series. [...] I think this guy does not know the Indiana Jones, Star Wars, Lord of the Rings fans. [...] I became fan of the series in 2001, when

I was 11 years old, and since then I follow the series, and the series is part of my daily life to this day. I have never had one single day where I did not think about the HP series since I came out of the movies and had just watched the Philosopher's Stone; seriously, I am serious! I have not stopped thinking about the HP series for one single day and I think about it to this day and we are in October 2014. Why? Because I felt affection, I started loving this series so much; a love that lasted and lasts to this day; I gave in, I said: I love this series from the bottom of my heart, if someday I can work with anything involving it, I will. And that is how I had the idea to create the Potter Observatory – imagine if you earned money with your work, to talk about something you love. (YouTube, 2014, our translation).

The *youtuber* discusses his identification with the series (E14) and nostalgia about it (E13), faced with the attributions of adulthood (E16) and how this allowed him to work with something involving the saga (E12), aiming to maintain his condition of fan (Fo8) and the canon's aegis (Fo9). This provides him with a feeling of safety provided by the universe, given that he starts to accomplish a challenge of adult life based on a knowledge that he possesses.

If the previous rule indicates the desire to maintain the identity understood as youth and young adult in maturity, the present one shows how the *potterheads*' relationship with the saga represents emotional and social safety. The fact that they grew up involved with the Harry Potter universe causes the *potterheads* to find, in their lessons with the canon, a way to deal with the challenges of adulthood, where the *fandom* is the repository of values and bonds that subsidize this support.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

According to this study's results, the assemblage of desire evidenced in the *potterheads*' productive consumption has the function to maintain the bond with the saga. This guarantees the maintenance of an identity constructed by consumption throughout the years and provides safety during transition to adulthood. As such, *fandom* relationships are used as a basis, and there is the pursuit of social legitimacy beyond this community. Retrieving the theory presented as a foundation

to interpret these findings, we will reflect upon the theoretical implications of the study.

To understand precisely how the assemblage of the *potterheads*' desire works, the components of this desiring machine are taken. *Potterheads* act as its agents, and the creativity of their productive consumption practices evidences the energy of desire. This becomes possible thanks to the connection established between them. It can be understood that new communication and information technologies, aligned with the participatory logic of Web 2.0, are presented as the concrete arrangement of this machine, while the *fandom*, as a space of affection and sociability, becomes the abstract machine that guarantees the existence of conditions for the assemblage of *potterheads*' desires.

In turn, all *potterheads*' actions in the *fandom*, which were found or selected for analysis, refer to their relationship with the canon. More than presenting itself as a reference for the collective activities of its fans, the canon is established as a field of knowledge, about which such practices are developed, configuring, in Deleuzian terms, a territory. This reference is used to measure the relationships within the *fandom* and to propitiate the *potterheads* to position themselves socially. Nevertheless, this knowledge is not considered exact: they are debated, appropriated, and given new meaning, through the constant processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization.

The study reveals the potential for investigating *online* communities as favorable spaces for productive consumption practices (i.e., prosumption), intensified by their insertion in a field of participatory culture. Specifically, the investigation emphasizes the singularity of the fan as a highly emotionally involved consumer dedicated to activities related to cultural products he/she is linked to, and the *fandom* as a brand community, characterized as a space based on knowledge that is originally conceived by a cultural product, although not controlled by associated brands. In this sense, even though they do not have a performance nature, the results presented here also indicate the need of *marketing* management to observe *fandom* dynamics because the productive consumption that occurs in these social spaces are able to stimulate the identity of associated brands.

The theoretical contribution of the study is observed in the adoption of the Deleuzian notion of desire as a perspective to understand the collective action of consumers in practical cultural contexts, articulated by the understanding of consumption activities as productive and by virtual interaction environments as favorable spaces for participation. The adoption

of this perspective in future studies can improve the discussion about the pertinence of this approach in the consumer research field. Considering the unfolding of the present study, the adoption of this approach in studies about *fandoms* of other fantastic universes or about other cultural products (e.g., music and *games*) could, respectively, improve and extend the discussion presented here. On the other hand, the investigation of fan practices can also focus on understanding how these activities are related to brands.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

REFERENCES

Anderson, S., Hamilton, K., & Tonner, A. (2016). Social labour: Exploring work in consumption. *Marketing Theory*, *16*(3), 383-400. doi:10.1177/1470593116640598.

Araujo, L., & Kjellberg, H. (2016). Enacting novel agencements: The case of Frequent Flyer schemes in the US airline industry (1981-1991). *Consumption Markets & Culture*, *19*(1), 92-110. doi:10.1080/10253866.2015.1096095

Bauer, M., & Aarts, B. (2002). A construção do corpus: Um princípio para a coleta de dados qualitativos. In M. Bauer, & G. Gaskell (Eds.), *Pesquisa qualitativa com texto, imagem e som: Um manual prático* (pp. 39-63). Petrópolis, RJ: Vozes.

Belk, R. W., Ger, G., & Askegaard, S. (2003). The fire of desire: A multisited inquiry into consumer passion. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *30*(3), 326-351. doi:10.1086/378613

Bennett, L. (2014). Tracing textual poachers: Reflections on the development of fan studies and digital fandom. *Journal of Fandom Studies*, *2*(1), 5-20. doi:10.1386/jfs.2.1.5_1

Booth, P., & Kelly, P. (2013). The changing faces of Doctor Who fandom: New fans, new technologies, old practices? *Participations*, *10*(1), 56-72.

Boulaire, C., & Cova, B. (2013). The dynamics and trajectory of creative consumption practices as revealed by the postmodern game of geocaching. *Consumption Markets & Culture*, *16*(1), 1-24. doi:10.1080/10253866.2012.659434

Brown, S., Kozinets, R. V., & Sherry, J. F., Jr. (2003). Sell me the old, old story: Retromarketing management and the art of brand revival. *Journal of Customer Behavior*, *2*(2), 133-147.

Brown, S., & Patterson, A. (2009). Harry Potter and the service-dominant logic of marketing: A cautionary tale. *Journal of Marketing Management*, *25*(5-6), 519-533. doi:10.1362/026725709X461830

Brown, S., & Patterson, A. (2010). Selling stories: Harry Potter and the marketing plot. *Psyvhology & Marketing*, *27*(6), 541-556. doi:10.1002/mar.20343

Camargo, T. I., & Leão, A. L. M. S. (2015). Pague e pegue: Uma arqueologia do discurso do adultério mercadorizado. *RAC-Revista de Administração Contemporânea*, *19*(6), 732-749. doi:10.1590/1982-7849rac20151924

Costa, F. Z. N., & Leão, A. L. M. S. (2012). Formações discursivas de uma marca global num contexto local: Um estudo inspirado no método arqueológico de Michel Foucault. *Organizações & Sociedade*, *19*(62), 453-469.

Cova, B., & Cova, V. (2012). On the road to prosumption: Marketing discourse and the development of consumer competencies. *Consumption Markets & Culture*, *15*(2), 149-168. doi:10.1080/10253866.2012.654956

Cova, B., Kozinets, R. V., & Shankar, A. (2007). Tribes, Inc.: The new world of tribalism. In B. Cova, R. V. Kozinets, & A. Shankar (Eds.), *Consumer tribes* (pp. 1-26). New York, USA: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Cristofari, C., & Guitton, M. J. (2016). Aca-fans and fan communities: An operative framework. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *17*(3), 713-731. doi:10.1177/1469540515623608

Deleuze, G. (2000). *Diferença e repetição*. Lisboa, Portugal: Relógio d'Água.

Deleuze, G. (2008). Rachar as coisas, rachar as palavras. In G. Deleuze, *Conversações* (pp. 105-117). São Paulo, SP: 34.

Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1987). *A thousand plateus: Capitalism and schizophrenia*. London, UK: Continuum.

Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (2010). *O anti-Édipo: Capitalismo e esquizofrenia*. São Paulo, SP: 34.

Duffet, M. (2013). *Understanding fandom: An introduction to the study of media fan culture*. London, UK: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Dujarier, M. A. (2016). The three sociological types of consumer work. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *16*(2), 555-571. doi:10.1177/1469540514528198

Eden, S. (2015). Blurring the boundaries: Prosumption, circularity and online sustainable consumption through Freecycle. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *17*(2), 265-285. doi:10.1177/1469540515586871

Ellsworth-Krebs, K., & Reid, L. (2016). Conceptualising energy prosumption: Exploring energy production, consumption and microgeneration in Scotland, UK. *Environment and Planning A*, *48*(10), 1988-2005. doi:10.1177/0308518X16649182.

Firat, A. F., & Venkatesh, A. (1995). Liberatory postmodern and the reenchantment of consumption. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *22*(3), 239-267. doi:10.1086/209448.

Fiske, J. (1992). The cultural economy of fandom. In L. A. Lewis (Ed.), *The adoring audience: Fan culture and popular media* (pp. 30-49). London, UK: Routledge.

Flick, U. (2009). *Introdução à pesquisa qualitativa*. Porto Alegre, RS: Bookman/Artmed.

Foucault, M. (2009). *A arqueologia do saber*. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Forense Universitária.

Gibbons, T., & Dixon, K. (2010). 'Surf's up!': A call to take English soccer fan interactions on the internet more seriously. *Soccer & Society*, *11*(5), 599-613. doi:10.1080/14660970.2010.497359

Guschwan, M. (2012). Fandom, brandom and the limits of participatory culture. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *12*(1), 19-40. doi:10.1177/1469540512438154

Hewer, P., Gannon, M., & Cordina, R. (2015). Discordant fandom and global football brands: 'Let the people sing'. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *17*(3), 600-619. doi:10.1177/1469540515611199

Hills, M. (2013). Fiske's 'textual productivity' and digital fandom: Web 2.0 democratization versus fan distinction? *Participations*, *10*(1), 130-153.

International Trade Administration. (2016, October). Top markets report: Media and entertainment: A market assessment tool for U.S. exporters. *U.S. Department of Commerce*. Recuperado de http://trade.gov/topmarkets/pdf/Media_and_Entertainment_Top_Markets_ Report.pdf

Jenkins, H. (1992). *Textual poachers: Television fans and participatory culture*. New York, USA: Routledge.

Jenkins, H. (2006). *Fans, bloggers, and gamers: Exploring participatory culture*. New York, USA: NYU Press.

Jenkins, H. (2009). *Cultura da convergência: A colisão entre os velhos e os novos meios de comunicação*. São Paulo, SP: Aleph.

Jenkins, H. (2014). Rethinking "rethinking convergence/culture". *Cultural Studies, 28*(2), 267-297. doi:10.1080/09502386.2013.801579.

Johnston, J. E. (2015). Doctor Who-themed weddings and the performance of fandom. In L. Bennett & P. J. Booth (Eds.), *Performance and Performativity in Fandom. Transformative Works and Cultures*, (18). doi:10.3983/twc.2015.0637.

Kähr, A., Nyffenegger, B., Krohmer, H., & Hoyer, W. D. (2016). When hostile consumers wreak havoc on your brand: The phenomenon of consumer brand sabotage. *Journal of Marketing*, *80*(3), 25-41. doi:10.1509/jm.15.0006

Kozinets, R. V. (2014). Retrobrands and retromarketing. *Spreadable Media Web Exclusive Essays*. Recuperado de http://spreadablemedia. org/essays/kozinets/#.VcTHzvlViko

Kozinets, R. V., Patterson, A., & Ashman, R. (2016). Networks of desire: How technology increases our passion to consume. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *43*(5), 659-682. doi: 10.1093/jcr/ucw061.

Lacan, J. (1977). The subversion of the subject and the dialect of desire in the Freudian unconscious. In *A Reader's Guide to Écrits: A selection* (pp. 293-352). London, UK: Tavistock/Routledge.

Leão, A. L. M. S., Ferreira, B. R. T., & Gomes, V. P. M. (2016). Um "elefante branco" nas dunas de Natal? Uma análise pós-desenvolvimentista dos discursos acerca da construção da Arena das Dunas. *RAP-Revista de Administração Pública*, *50*(4), 659-688. doi:10.1590/0034-7612151913

Lee, H. (2011). Participatory media fandom: A case study of anime fansubbing. *Media, Culture & Society*, *33*(8), 1131-1147. doi:10.1177/0163443711418271

McCulloch, R. (2013). Of proprietors and poachers: Fandom as negotiated brand ownership. *Participations – Journal of Audience & Reception Studies*, *10*(1), 319-328.

Muniz, A. M., & O'Guinn, T. C. (2001). Brand community. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *27*(4), 412-432. doi:10.1086/319618

Nail, T. (2017). What is an assemblage? *SubStance*, *46*(1), 21-37. doi:10.3368/ss.46.1.21

Paiva, F. G., Jr., Leão, A. L. M. S., & Mello, S. C. B. (2011). Validade e confiabilidade na pesquisa qualitativa em administração. *Revista de Ciências da Administração*, *13*(31), 190-209. doi:10.5007/2175-8077.2011v13n31p190

Parmentier, M., & Ficher, E. (2015). Things fall apart: The dynamics of brand audience dissipation. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *41*(5), 1228-1251. doi:10.1086/678907

Pearson, R. (2010). Fandom in the digital era. *Popular Communication*, *8*(1), 84-95. doi:10.1080/15405700903502346

Pongsakornrungsilp, S., & Schroeder, J. E. (2011). Understanding value co-creation in a co-consuming brand community. *Marketing Theory*, *11*(3), 303-324. doi:10.1177/1470593111408178

Porat, A. B. (2010). Football fandom: A bounded identification. *Soccer & Society*, *11*(3), 277-290.

Potterish. (2012, 1 julho). Pottermore e o direito de escolha [Post da web]. Recuperado de https://potterish.com/2012/07/pottermore-e-o-direito-de-escolha/

Rieder, K., & Voß, G. G. (2010). The working customer: An emerging new type of consumer. *Journal Psychology of Everyday Activity*, *3*(2), 2-10.

Ritzer, G. (2010). Focusing on the prosumer: On correcting an error in the history of social theory. In B. Blättel-Mink, & K.-U., Hellmann (Eds.), *Prosumer revisited: Zur aktualität einer debatte* (pp. 61-79). Berlin, Spain: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Ritzer, G. (2013). Prosumption: Evolution, revolution, or eternal return of the same? *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *14*(1), 3-24. doi:10.1177/1469540513509641

Ritzer, G. (2015). Prosumer capitalism. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *56*(3), 413-445. doi:10.1111/tsq.12105

Ritzer, G., Dean, O., & Jurgenson, N. (2012). The coming of age of the prosumer. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *56*(4), 379-398. doi:10.1177/0002764211429368

Ritzer, G., & Jurgenson, N. (2010). Production, consumption, prosumption: The nature of capitalism in the age of the digital 'prosumer'. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *10*(1), 13-36. doi:10.1177/1469540509354673

Ruckenstein, M. (2015). Playing Nintendogs: Desire, distributed agency and potentials of prosumption. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *15*(3), 351-370. doi:10.1177/1469540513499225

Scaraboto, D. (2015). Selling, sharing, and everything in between: The hybrid economies of collaborative networks. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *42*(1), 152-176. doi:10.1093/jcr/ucv004

Schau, H. J., Muñiz, A. M., & Arnould, E. J. (2009). How brand community practices create value. *Journal of Marketing*, *73*(5), 30-51. doi: 10.1509/jmkg.73.5.30.

Schreyer, C. (2015). The digital fandom of Na'vi speakers. In L. Bennett & P. J. Booth (Eds), *Performance and Performativity in Fandom. Transformative Works and Cultures*, (18). doi:10.3983/twc.2015.0610.

Seregina, A., & Schouten, J. W. (2016). Resolving identity ambiguity through transcending fandom. *Consumption Markets & Culture*, *20*(2), 107-130. doi:10.1080/10253866.2016.1189417

Troye, S. V., & Supphellen, M. (2012). Consumer participation in coproduction: 'I made it myself"Effects on consumers' sensory perceptions and evaluations of outcome and input product. *Journal of Marketing*, *76*(2), 33-46. doi:10.1509/jm.10.0205

Watson, J. (2010). Fandom squared: Web 2.0 and fannish production. *Transformative Works and Cultures*, (5). Recuperado de http://journal.transformativeworks.org

Youtube. (2014). Vergonha por gostar de Harry Potter?. Recuperado de https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PhJp5qHIH2w