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A SOCIOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTION OF GOSSIP IN MASS-MEDIA

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Abstract

What is the social significance of gossip? The answer to this question acquires multiple valences, derived from the pattern of analysis that we intend to use here. Psychologically speaking, gossip is a behavioural pattern, anthropologically, gossip may be a mentality model; philosophy of culture and history regard gossip as a source of knowledge. As an attitude and a behavioural pattern, gossip can be construed as socialising, and the logical and relational scheme of human interaction has been analysed from the perspective of mathematical logic and of information sciences. The present paper aims to answer the question above from a sociological perspective. Starting from the social identity theory, role theory, and enlarging upon the concept of social typology, this study advances an original theoretical and methodological model of interpretative and descriptive analysis, i.e., a conceptual construction of the sociological significance of gossip and of the human types involved in this manifestation of socialising. In this respect, reference will be made to all social actors involved in a manifest situation of gossip: gossipmongers, people being talked about, and consumers of entertainment news in which gossip is the most important source of information. As stated in the title, the research focus is the social environment generically called mass-media. Specifically, we analyse the positive and negative effects of gossip on the public image of those involved in gossip. More precisely, we analyse the social significance of gossip in what we term gossip media/ gossip news on television (entertainment shows).

Keywords: gossip; social typology; social identity;

1. INTRODUCTION

Gossip is a socialising phenomenon as old as the time itself, a permanent need of all societies and cultures, which has remained unchanged in the context of the major social changes throughout the ages. The necessity of gossip conceptualisation as an important socialising element may stir controversies in what its validation is concerned. Why would gossip be a subject of sociological investigation? A multitude of reasons starting from interpersonal social interactions can be formulated in response.

One can argue, for example, that gossip analysis can provide answers to fundamental questions on man and the complexity of social life. C. W. Mills formulates, in his work, *The Sociological Imagination*, a series of fundamental sociological questions, such as: "what types of men and women

prevail in this society and period?" What types of "human nature" are revealed in demeanour and character in this society and period? And what is the significance for "human nature" of each of the traits of the society under the lens?" (Mills, 1975, pp. 35-36).

We believe that by answering these questions in reference to gossip, we can argue why gossip can become a sociological research topic. As we shall observe in the theoretical model developed in this study, there are human types that practise gossip or consume gossip news. Gossip is a consistent source of information, and also a contemplative exercise in self-awareness and awareness of the others. The contribution of gossip to the formation of social identity is unquestionable, since it rests on telling some intimate aspects of others to others. The initial relational "triangle" (gossipmongers, the gossiped, gossip consumers – either active or passive) is then spirally propagated – the story that accompanies this type of social interaction changing every time, either as a whole or at the level of details. The third-party, the subject of gossip, is always examined and mirrored in the public awareness or in their relational environment while absent, through an account placed between two poles – positive or negative. Gossip brings the dimension of ethical values of the intimate aspects in one man's life to the relational discourse. "Declassification" and the loss/betrayal of the trust of the gossiped one are aspects to be further discussed. To give an example: "gossip is that triadic social interaction in which two parties engage in the process of negatively moralizing the absentee third-party, on condition that moral judgment be grounded on reliable evidence, and that the moral assessors be animated by the sincere intention of telling the truth. Therefore, the lie is excluded from the definition of gossip which governs this study. By gossip we understand, in reductionist manner, only "the good gossip" - ill-speaking an absentee third-party behind their back, but using only the truth" (Rusu, M.S., 2015, p. 307).

We recognize in the definition above the theoretical model developed by symbolic interactionism. Erving Goffman proposes, in his study entitled Stigma. Notes on the management of spoiled identity, an alternative identity theory. Starting from the analysis of the concept of stigma, he describes social identity as the result of some attributes and features that we use anticipatively, when we first get in contact with one person, before effectively knowing that person. We anticipatively "stigmatise" a person with a personal trait by which we define his or her social identity. This trait that we ascribe to that person is transformed in normative expectations from that person. Goffman emphasises that it is more appropriate in this case to speak of social identity rather than of social status, which entails hierarchy, and not a personal trait of an individual (Goffman, 1986). Another argument in favour of undertaking scientific research on gossip can be drawn from Goffman's idea: it creates the relational context and gives the opportunity of stigmatising the other. The image on which gossip outlines a distorted perception of reality of the gossiped person's identity determines a specific matter of mentalities and social perceptions within a social group. In the present theoretical construction, we argue why these social types involved in the manifestation of gossip also fulfil social roles. The hierarchy Goffman mentions is present, as media gossip becomes a consumer goods. The economic value of gossip, quantifiable by rating, creates a hierarchy of those who sell, who make money of their selling gossipnews and those who buy it.

With a view to identifying another sound reason to justify the interest in gossip conceptualisation, we have established, with the arguments above, that social identity can be illuminatingly analysed starting from the social significance of gossip. As an example, let us mention the method proposed by Kuhn and Partland to a group of social actors, by which the subjects are required to answer the question "who am I?" It has been proven that people respond using social categories referring to their belonging to a social group, to roles; they identify themselves, at an abstract and ideological level, with various systems of values, interests, skills, in this particular order, for the most part (Bourhis, Richard Y., Leyens, Jacques-Philipp,e eds.., 1997, pp. 53-73). Gossip is the most frequent day-by-day opportunity to answer the question "who is X (the other)?" By the way in which we exploit the others' image, our opinions on the others, we can construct labels and stigmas. At a deeper level, our social identity is reflected in *categorisations*.

The categorisation theory, the depersonalisation phenomenon, the ascribing phenomenon, labelling and stereotyping theory are, theoretically speaking, as many alternatives of describing small social groups, from the interdisciplinary perspective of social psychology (Bourhis, Richard Y., Leyens,

Jacques-Philippe, eds.., 1997, pp. 75–89). We should also mention the idea that more social identities with common essential traits are further grouped in *identity categories*. Social identity is the set of personal traits that manifest socially and influence the relations of the social actor with the others. The mechanism of grouping social identities into categories (according to criteria such as gender, job, social class, age, religion) leads to the emergence of social types and models (Bourhis, Richard Y., Leyens, Jacques-Philippe. eds.., 1997, pp. 97-100). Along the same lines, the present paper outlines a few hypothetical categories and identity patterns derived from the practice of gossip and construed as its constructs.

2. PROBLEM STATEMENT

It may be surprising that a significant number of scientific papers deal with a topic such as gossip. There are so many topics of interest for a "serious" investigation in social sciences and humanities that the subject of gossip may be considered a *trifle* or a superficial aspect in the research career of any scientist. It is for this reason why most of the studies consulted during the documentation for this paper pay explicit attention to the justification for choosing this topic, from the perspective of a depreciative status of gossip.

On the one hand, the justifications especially concern the moral opprobrium to which gossip is subject, being labelled a negative inter-relational behaviour and phenomenon. Gossiping would be degrading for the human being, which is the reason why it should be avoided and reproved, and its reprobation, scientifically argued, can only be honourable for the one who takes such an initiative. (We acknowledge, in this respect, various writings of theological ethics, historical studies which document legislative measures and punishment of juridical nature against gossip in various ages or regimes, or philosophical arguments supporting the idea that gossip is degrading for human nature.)

On the other hand, supporters of the arguments in favour of the social benefits of gossip consider that *good gossip* is a universally human practice encountered in all communities and civilisations, which is understood as need for socialising and communication at the intimate and informal level, but also as an outlet of defusing the natural tendency (or predisposition) of the human species towards fighting man with man (*Home homini lupus est.*) The absence of gossip would trigger more profound conflicts, with more serious effects than those of gossip. Gossip thus maintains an indirect form of natural aggressiveness of man, as an expression of the need for power and control (Ingram, 2014). Usually, these studies belong to comparative ethnology and ethnography; in the fields of cultural anthropology, sociology and gender studies, the meanings of gossip reach their maximum of "positive" interpretation.

Last but not least, mathematical logic, engineering sciences and information sciences develop algorithmic schemes and applications for computer analysis of the online information sources and (more recently) social networks, with a view to process, analyse and statistically interpret the global social effects of gossip (Kenneth P. Birman, 2005).

The most important references to a theoretical framework (definition, social importance, classifications, and functions of gossip as a social phenomenon) which have been proven useful for building the argumentative base of the conceptual model of media gossip analysis will be outlined below.

One of the most cited authors who developed gossip theories is Robin I. M. Dunbar, a British anthropologist and evolutionary psychologist and a specialist in primate behaviour, the author of *Grooming, Gossip, and the Evolution of Language*, published for the first time in 1996. His theory, equally fascinating and speculative, on the evolution of human language from *primate grooming* and from the need of human species to socialise as effectively as possible in groups up to 150 people (which is termed *Dunbar's number*, the maximum number of people that each person knows and relates to at some point in their lives), represents the minimum scientific acknowledgement of gossip as a constant behavioural phenomenon specific to mankind in the socialising process. "I want, instead, to focus on the broader nature of this activity and argue that gossiping (though perhaps not gossip in its contemporary malicious form) is the core of human social relationships, indeed of society itself. Without gossip, there would be no society. In short, gossip is what makes human society as we know it possible." (R. I. M. Dunbar, 2004)

Patricia Ann Meyer Spacks, author of the book *Gossip* (1985), tackles gossip as a significant part of social reality, discerning, as Robert F. Goodman, Aaron Ben-Ze'ev do in their volume *Good Gossip* (1994), between *good gossip* and *bad gossip*. Gossip "as news or as a form of knowledge, is an educative discourse according to Sparks." (Feeley K.A., Frost J., 2014, p.6) From the perspective of social anthropology, also worth mentioning is Max Gluckman, according to whom gossip is "a social duty", which is "socially virtuous and valuable"; "but that when I hear they gossip viciously this does not mean that I always approve of them." (Gluckman, 1994, p. 315).

Little has been written on gossip in Romanian, at least in what scientific analysis is concerned. Other than that, "gossip as a topic of gossip", to cite Mihaela Rădulescu, is present in many tabloids and blogs which use the Romanian language as a means of communication. Interesting in this respect is the chapter signed by Mihai Stelian Rusu, Virtutile sociale ale bârfei: o apologie psihosociologică [Social Virtues of Gossip: A Psycho-sociological Apology] in the volume edited by P. Ilut, Dragoste, familie și fericire. Spre o sociologie a seninătății [Love, Family and Happiness. Towards a Sociology of Serenity]. The author aims to outline "a psycho-sociological apology of gossip, whose finality would consist of the moral rehabilitation of gossiping" (Rusu, M.S., 2015, p. 290, our translation). Another approach to gossip is that of V. Pavelcu, who comments on gossip in psychologising terms, in his 1945 volume, Elogiul prostiei Psihologie aplicată la viața cotidiană [In Praise of Folly. Psychology Applied to Daily Life]. In the chapter Elogiul bârfelii [In Praise of Gossip], the author highlights the warning function fulfilled by gossip at the social level. Gossip is the warning signal of what our peers think of us (V. Pavelcu, 1999, pp. 315-318). There is extensive literature related to the assertion of gossip as a media phenomenon. In what follows, a few titles consulted for this research are briefly introduced. In the already mentioned interdisciplinary volume Good Gossip, Nicholas Emler discusses in "Gossip, Reputation, and Social Adaptation" the function of gossip as a mechanism of adaptation and acquiring reputation in a group. (Emler, 1994). Another relevant work is that of Feeley K.A., Frost J., eds. (2014) When Private Talk Goes Public. Gossip in American History. In the introduction, the editors explain why gossip matters: "gossip functions more comprehensively that any of these other words, transmitting data about other people, whether true or false, positive or negative, specific or general." (Feeley K.A., Frost J., 2014, pp. 6-7). A study on Celebrities: From Teachers to Friends. A Test of Two Hypotheses on the Adaptiveness of Celebrity Gossip discusses the way in which the gossip about celebrities influences the latter's lives and behaviour. The study elaborates on the idea that gossip is learnt, and that the values transmitted through gossip become hallmarks for young people. (De Backer, C.J.S., Nelissen, M., Vyncke, P. et al., 2007).

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

What are the topics of gossip? What information does one receive through gossip? Why are we interested in gossip? Who are the people that we gossip about? The effort of answering these questions may satisfy our curiosity or may lead to the profound understanding of social aspects that trigger serious social problems. Gossip is spicy information about a star, but also a means of revealing essential aspects about us and the others.

4. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to propose a theoretical sociological model of analysis of the gossip phenomenon in the tabloid media and to conceptualise gossip in the sociological paradigm outlined in the introductory lines of this paper.

5. RESEARCH METHODS

A first essential feature of gossip, as a socialising phenomenon, is *invariability*. The public's need to gossip and their fulfilment of this need through consumption of libellous information provide a complete image of the mentalities, social and moral values of the age, of the principles and preferences of

a given society. Gossip brings private life into the public space, it brings behaviours and attitudes of public figures to the attention of the public opinion.

The social functions of gossip are, according to Foster, information, entertainment, friendship influence, evolutionary utility, dynamic utility and guilt. (2014)

The sociological analysis of gossip as a socialising mechanism and as communication/circulation of information is an undeveloped means in the process of understanding the sources and original causes of major social problems. Revealing the primary causes might optimise the process of their solution, but the preoccupation with the superficial aspects of gossip renders insignificant this form of public expression.

In a glamorous environment, gossip becomes currency or a form of hidden advertising, in the case of celebrities.

The definition of gossip underlines the exaggeration, in a negative sense, of *any* information concerning a public figure's private life. To gossip means to speak ill of someone, to slander, to denigrate, to tell-tales, to babble, or to tattle. The etymology of the word in Romanian $(b\hat{a}rf\check{a})$ is unknown. Thus, we acknowledge gossip as gossip when it expresses *anything* about a person in negative and degrading frames.

Within the social paradigm, the meaning of gossip is substantially nuanced, acquiring new, socially significant dimensions. The social mechanisms of gossip occurrence complement the anthropological and psychological approaches to the ways in which gossip occurs and manifests. Before establishing the topics of interest of gossip, it is important to understand the way in which it is formed, beyond the peculiarities of each glamour topic.

Sociologically speaking, gossip may be:

a. A form of socialising. Socialising is people relating to one another at a social level. It manifests at the level of social groups of any kind and its purpose is the capitalisation of the aspects shared by the group members – a shared activity, sharing interests and appropriating group values and establishing the role within a group. The actual effects of socialising are: friendship, association, free expression of sentiments and feelings towards the others, consolidation of the self-image and of self-esteem in relation to the others. Socialising entails integration in a group and acceptance of the values, interests and principles shared by its members. The subjects provided by the action of gossiping one member of the group or a public figure are numerous. Man's need for socialising, for having their opinions heard, for acquiring the others' respect or liking, and for avoiding to become a subject of gossip are satisfied by the participation in a gossipy behaviour. The topics of gossip in a socialising group, the attitude towards the other's gossiping, the acceptance or non-acceptance, participation, the expression of an opposite opinion on this form of socialising are means of constructing a social identity, of expressing mentalities and social attitudes.

b. A form of social communication. The topics of gossip are discussed at a public level in the tabloid media. The effort of some social actors to meet their social need for free expression of opinions, values, and life principles is not reduced to the level of limited social groups to which they belong, but displays the "exclusive" information they have in the public sphere. This can actually be their only means of expressing publicly and of drawing attention towards them. The gossip-consuming audience tries to taste, first and foremost, from the scandal itself, which is much more spectacular than the subsequent gossip. Television shows which focus on such topics invite more or less famous public figures who declare themselves members of the entourage of the person under the lens and who claim to know facts or, at least, people in the surroundings of the celebrity, who "told them the story". This is how gossip takes shape, from an amalgam of more or less exact information, mixed with more or less pertinent opinions.

c. A form of social sanctioning. The differences that manifest between various social roles and the differences between the social expectations imposed by a role-status and the associated non-conforming social behaviour are an important source of sociological analysis in which social anomalies, contradictory social mentalities, changes of values and social principles that can affect social organisation and may trigger serious social problems can be observed. To a certain extent, the differences mentioned above are natural expressions of the relations that occur between people's social statuses and roles. Each one of us goes beyond the framework of their status or of the social role one plays day by day. Everybody

disappoints someone at some point or tries to be someone else. In the end, social identity is formed both in relation to the others and to our social statuses-roles. An individual's identity is formed both from desirable, acceptable, and conforming behaviours and contradictory relations to other people or to their own statuses-roles. Sociology has noted a mechanism of sanctioning the individuals who do not comply with their social status-role. The mechanism of social sanctioning produces, in its turn, both beneficial effects of remedying these contradictory social relations and negative effects, such as stereotyping and labelling.

The absence of social conformism, the departure from the social patterns in which we position ourselves at some point, as well as the obvious differences between one's demeanour in the private and the public spaces (because each one of us experiences these differences day by day) become, in a public figure's case, subject of gossip. As stated in the introduction, gossip goes beyond the natural frameworks of social representation, highlighting an *exaggerate contrast* between appearance and essence. An objective, scientific interpretation of the gossip phenomenon emphasises the dissonance between the social status and the image that a public figure tries to build for himself or herself, on the one hand, and what truly characterises that person, on the other, a reality that becomes apparent in their private environment. Gossip can be a form of social sanctioning of the public figures by the public interested in worldly matters. Following the revelation of some aspects of the public life, an obvious contrast between the public image and what the person behind the public image manifests day by day in point of attitudes and behaviour comes to light.

d. A form of social valorization by exaggerating the importance of some events or normal life situations. All subjects of gossip are positioned in the paradigm described above. This is why we note that important events or normal life situations become, in the case of public figures, topics of fashionable debate or gossip. Public figures' birth, death, wedding, pregnancy, christening, divorce, infidelity, abuses and domestic violence, sexual orientation or religious choice are constant topics of gossip. Motherhood is in fashion among celebrities because the image and the femininity pattern they have built up to the moment of pregnancy appears to contrast with the role of a future mother, but look and behold, celebrities also succeed in exceling in this somehow unfamiliar field. Motherhood is an act of bravery and an opportunity for celebrities to display their knowledge in the field by giving advice, video demonstrations or press statements.

What is more, sociology of emotions analyses, from the perspective of the socially capitalised emotions (shame, embarrassment) the trends that the public fond of glamour topics display in their preference for certain types of public figures. In what follows, we will elaborate on this perspective.

At the macro-social level, gossip is that information that brings the private lives of public figures to the attention of public opinion and in the public space. At the level of the social group (friends, workmates/ schoolmates, neighbours, relatives, etc.), gossip is private information about a person who is called here the social actor of gossip.

The discourse of gossip is in permanent change. It is heterogeneous and leaves much room to interpretation and ambiguity. The debate of a fashionable subject is characterised by contradictory elements and opinions, and also by an instable emotional charge. The spectacle of gossip in the tabloid media displays novel human types for the specialised literature: the gossiped, the gossipmonger (either professional or amateur/ occasional), the "spokesperson" of the slandered celebrity, the self-gossiper, the slanderer, and the observer. The social roles assumed by all these during a show or an interview may be the object of a distinct sociological analysis.

The public figure or the social actor of gossip (as people gossiped about in a group) is individualised in the social environment through the attention they receive at a certain moment.

Who is the public figure who is gossiped? The classification of the categories of public figures may rest on more classification criteria. In this theoretical study, focus is laid on conceptualising those categories of public figures which are *the subject and object of gossip*, i.e. personages who become public figures through their *constant presence* in the tabloid media, as a result of the information they claim to possess about other public figures. Concurrently, there are public figures who are constantly under the lens of the tabloid media because of the revelations of the "savour" of their private lives and who turn into

the target of public gossips. We term this category of public figures *stars* or *celebrities*. This category of public figures is, usually, the object of gossip.

However, before elaborating on this approach further, a distinction should be made between celebrities and notorious figures, whom we call *opinion-makers*.

The opinion-makers are professionals notorious in their field, perceived as reliable by the general public. Their public acknowledgement is gained through their own merits, through the personal example they set. They are rarely the object of gossip, which only gives them more notoriety, and their public image is not substantially altered if they do turn into subjects of gossip. They are not a market product, they do not rely on an entire PR team or a whole marketing industry aiming to promote their image. They live strongly anchored in the social reality and pass value judgements on various subjects relevant to society. These public figures earn acknowledgement through the image of normality they display, as spokespersons of a category of ordinary people who share their values and life principles. They "sell themselves" on the media market with their authentic public image, and the public or the media do not discover a huge contrast between their public persona and the private person. The opinionmakers are social actors who react against the effects of gossip and who try to fight it with intelligent, resourceful methods. Self-irony, the assumed presentation of some situations in their private lives which can become objects of gossip, doubled by a disarming attitude towards the tabloid media and their consumers, make difficult for the opinion-makers to fall prey to scandal or public gossip. Gossip manifests itself tendentiously when the opinion-makers can no longer react in order to defend their notoriety and image. The physical disappearance of a personality unleashes a huge scandal. Through gossip, a current of opinion is revealed, which shows a sociologist the dimensions and limits that the gossip-consuming public is willing to reach.

The stars or celebrities are direct products of the tabloid media. The core interest of the celebrities is to build a public image for themselves and to permanently feed it with elements previously decided by their PR team. The celebrities' image is the "deliverable" of the media industry. This product must sell so as to cover the costs of investment in the public image. On the media market, valorisation is quantified by rating and number of fans. Beyond their field of activity, the stars publicly behave within the frames of reactivity and social desirability. They live their public life in the spotlights, which forces them to be aware at all times of the fact that they are the centre of attention from a public with constant expectations. The star behaves in the public space in compliance with the public's desires and with the image they have built for themselves, which is also based on public's requirements. A piece of gossip reveals negative aspects of the lives of celebrities, which makes us note the person behind the public persona. The social status and the public image of a star are affected by the roles and behaviours the stars adopt in their private lives.

This approach raises questions related to the identity structure of the stars and to the place they occupy in a society. The stars' social identity is constructed in a social reality built around them, at the same time with the construction of their public image. The greater the differences between the social identity and the image of a celebrity, the more numerous the subjects of gossip will be. The tabloid media feed an audience fond of glamorous topics with the life standards of a celebrity, with the luxury and extravagances they display. A glamorous world is thus outlined, one functioning with completely different rules, standards and models of living, one in which mentalities are different from those of the general social framework. The celebrity world, sketched in the reports of socialite events as a place where gossip flourishes, is the social environment in which celebrities valorise their potential by showing the public an ideal model of living. Behind the glamour of the "red carpet", there is a socio-professional community made up of experts in public relations, producers, managers, marketing consultants, make-up artists, stylists, designers, hair-stylists, etc. They make up the social system in which the activity of the star is carried out, a direct source of information and emergence of gossip about what is happening behind the stage of the stars' lives.

Celebrity gossip pays close attention to behaviours and attitudes of such people from the perspective of their emotional life, of the affective experience they manifest in the public space. People find out details of the private life of a star if the latter reacts emotionally to aggravations coming from their inner circles. An important emotional reverberation is precisely the star's public reaction to the

gossip and scandal in which he or she is drawn. The celebrity's presence in televised shows or in the written media, through interviews, in which he or she gives the public their own variant of the topic of gossip is accompanied by the celebrity and his or her fans' emotional reaction. A public reaction of shame, embarrassment (or the lack thereof) with regard to a delicate subject in their private life greatly satisfies the public's needs and curiosity.

At the public level, celebrities play the role of models, of reference standards of physical appearance, looks, demeanour, attitude, for a public of which their fans are a part.

Fans are a special category of audience in permanent search for the sensational when it comes to their idols. Their need to know as many aspects as possible from the private lives of their idols is a way of getting closer, more familiar with the favourite star; they feel affectively related to the ones they admire. An affective need of the fans is that of perceiving the celebrity they admire as being honest.

If the marketing product of a star is no longer enough for the public's requirements, extreme PR measures are taken, and gossip becomes a means of advertising. In such a context, new types or categories of public figures appear, people who want to leave anonymity behind and who offer to act as "spokespersons", observers or professional gossipmongers.

What distinguishes "spokespersons" from "professional gossipmongers" is the different discourse and the different messages they send. *Spokespersons* are intimate friends or relatives of the celebrity, who sit on televised shows on the celebrity's demand and transmit his or her point of view to the public. They try to remain neutral when faced with the provoking questions of the moderators or reporters. *Professional gossipmongers* are regulars of the tabloid shows who possess indirect information about the slandered celebrity. They express personal opinions, which they argue from the perspective of their experience and philosophy of life. With their attempts at a common-sense analysis, the professional gossipmongers assume the role of being the moralising voice of the public.

In this context, the rating is defined as the "stock market" of showbiz. The high ratings recorded by gossip, as a general theme of debate in the tabloid media reflect the general orientation of the public towards sensationalism.

6. CONCLUSION

The theoretical perspective that we have attempted to build in this study opens the path to an applied sociological research based on the quantitative analysis of comparing statistical data of national rating, as well as on a quantitative analysis of televised fashionable shows, using the observation form and content analysis. The hypotheses of such research can be formulated starting from this theoretical study, by operationalizing the concepts developed in this conceptual design of sociological inspiration.

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